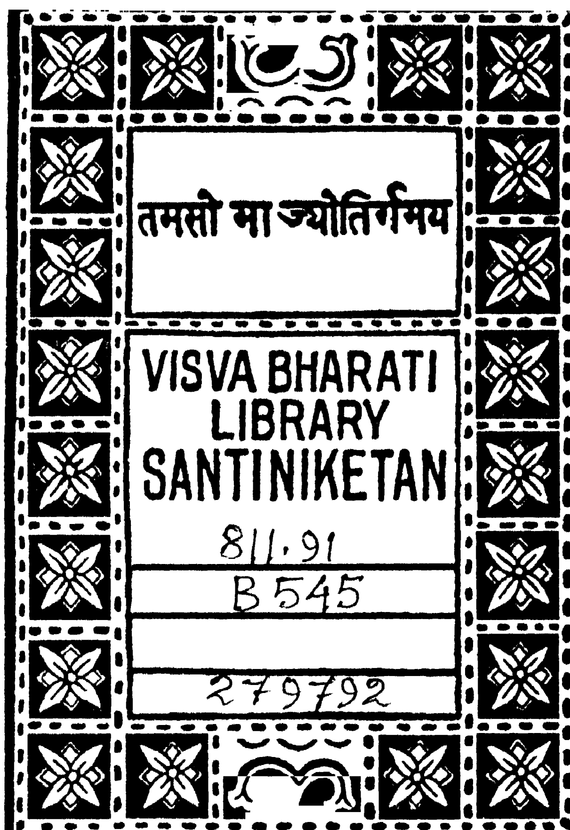


तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
VISVA BHARATI
LIBRARY
SANTINIKETAN
811.91
B545
279792

AŚVAGHOṢA : A CRITICAL STUDY

ASVAGHOSA

A Critical Study of his Authentic Kāvyas,
and the Apocryphal Works,
with special reference to
his Contributions to the Classical Sanskrit Literature,
and his Doctrinal Standpoint as a Buddhist

DR. BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA,
Ph. D. (Marburg/Lahn), D. Litt. (Calcutta),
Viśva-Bharati



SANTINIKETAN
WEST BENGAL
1976

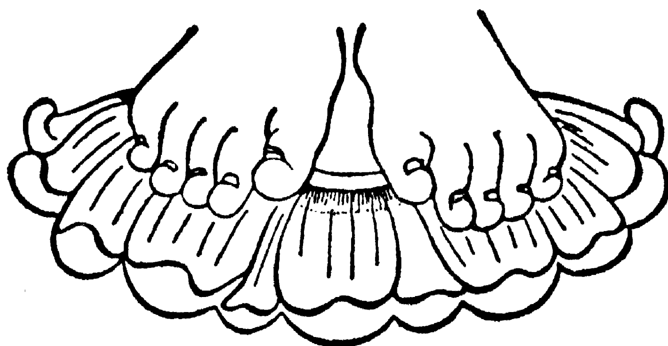
Research Publications
February, 1976

First Edition

PRICE : RUPEES SIXTY ONLY

Printed and Published by Bidyut Ranjan Basu,
Santiniketan Press, Santiniketan, West Bengal

500 copies



To

the sacred lotus-feet

of his revered Doctorfather,

Prof. Dineschandra Bhattacharya

FOREWORD

I have been watching with keen interest the career, specially the academic performances, of my young friend Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D., ever since he was a pupil of mine in the Honours class at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. I have read with pleasure and often with profit his original contributions on different subjects published in respectable journals which include the ZDMG of international repute. It does one's heart good to note how he always brings to bear upon his work a strictly objective view and remarkable industry with a view to arriving in his researches at the correct conclusion. His papers on different branches of Sanskrit learning, specially grammar and rhetoric, have thus attracted the notice of scholars.

His *magnum opus* is, however, his great work on Aśvaghosha which I have read in MSS. and which, it is understood, will shortly be published by the Viśvabhāratī University. In this scholarly work on the great Buddhist poet, preacher and philosopher, the writer has — to my knowledge — for the first time collected and arranged adequately the huge mass of existing materials on this comprehensive subject of study and has discussed them critically in all the aspects. In this connection he has taken pains to solve some of the thorny problems on the subject, presenting the latest views, for example, in respect of the genuine and apocryphal works ascribed to the great master, a true assessment of his contribution to Sanskrit literature as well as to Buddhism and the question as to whether he belonged essentially to the Hīnayāna or the Mahāyāna School. One may have one's own opinions in regard to some of the interesting theories propounded by Dr. Bhattacharya in this work but there can hardly be any doubt that no existing book embodies so much of dependable information and fruitful research in this important branch of study in all its varied aspects. I am sure that his work, when published, will prove to be one of considerable value to all interested scholars in the field.

34, Kalikumar Banerjee Lane,
Calcutta-2
9. 10. 69

Sd/- Dineschandra Bhattacharyya
(Formerly of the Sanskrit
College, Presidency College
and Calcutta University)

PREFACE

The present treatise on Aśvaghoṣa purports to give a succinct account of his genuine kāvyas, and the apocryphal works, with particular stress on his literary and doctrinal aspects. The aim and scope of this research work are indicated clearly by the title itself.

This work records in a synthetic way the diverse results of the analytical investigations into the afore-said aspects of Aśvaghoṣa-studies which have been carried on during the prolonged period of some seventeen years. Thus the critical enquiries on comparative and historical lines were undertaken as early as 1951 when my esteemed teacher, the late Prof. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Viśva-Bharati University, advised me to take up the study of Aśvaghoṣa. The research project was carried out systematically during the leisure hours of my teaching career, and despite the heavy pressure of the professional preoccupations and other unprecedented impediments coming on the way the preliminary results of my research activities of a short period went to constitute my M. A. thesis (as a part fulfilment of the M. A. Degree). The further prosecution of the planned research was hampered due to the sad demise of Prof. Bagchi. Then since 1955 I have been working continuously on a much larger scale under the expert guidance of my revered Guruji, Prof. Dineschandra Bhattacharya of Calcutta University, for placing before the scholarly world a comprehensive account of Aśvaghoṣa both as a classical kavi and as a Buddhist missionary. Meanwhile newer avenues of possibilities of the contemplated fuller treatment of the subject were opened to me by means of the award of a scholarship for two consecutive semesters (1956-57) by the „*D*eutscher *A*kademischer *A*ustausch*d*ienst" (Bonn) which was followed by the fresh offer of a special stipend for two other semesters (1957-58). These scholarships facilitated my stay in West Germany and my study and research in Sanskrit poetics and Indo-philology fortunately enough at the feet of my revered and benevolent Doktorvater, the late Prof. Dr. Johannes Nobel of the Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn. I am extremely grateful to the authorities of the said *DAAD.* for opening to me the portals of such rare opportunities which I tried to utilise to the best of my abilities by reading, besides my usual Ph. D. subjects, some rare books and articles on Aśvaghoṣa during my Studienzeit at Marburg and collecting fresh materials from these sources which would not have been possible in India. Prof. Nobel, my German Guruji, always

encouraged me to carry through my schematic researches in Aśvaghoṣa, presented to me some of his rare publications bearing on my subject and championed my case whenever I proposed to cross new frontiers in my studies. He also did his best for me to procure the noch nicht veröffentlichte Fragmente, or the photocopies thereof, of the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa referred to by my respectable Parama-guru, the late Geheimrat Lüders. But the much coveted fragments, or their photostat copies, or even the transcripts thereof, belonging to the important Turfan collection could not be traced in post-war West Germany. If these fragments, or any copies thereof are ever brought to light they would widen no doubt the horizon of the Aśvaghoṣa-studies in the present state by offering to the scholarly public further materials of palaeographic, linguistic and literary interests. In any event, the publication of these textual remains and their concord with either the so-called "Allegorical Drama" or the "Hetaera Drama" would confirm ultimately my standpoint on the coordination among the printed fragments constituting the single drama, viz., the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa. The refutation of the popular three-drama theory and the proclamation of the one-drama siddhānta were made by me already in 1957 in München in course of the 24th International Congress of Orientalists. All such points have been discussed in full details in the present work for a kind perusal by the interested scholars.

However, some other research papers of mine in English and Sanskrit on Aśvaghoṣa have been published after 1957 in the esteemed Festschrifts, reputed research journals and the Proceedings of the learned Conferences of India and Europe.

Now I feel refreshed that my sustained labours spread over the span of some seventeen years are woven systematically (go-pucchanyāyena) into this volume. The results of my researches which are embodied in this treatise are based for the most part on the up-to-date data collected directly from the standard editions of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas and other works—though the different translations and the important and relevant literature on Aśvaghoṣa available to me are not ignored. Thus I left no stone unturned to make the present work as text-based and factual as possible, and rejected after a thorough examination all sorts of unsubstantiable myths or semi-mythical fabrications.

In this context I acknowledge with my sincerest thanks the various helps which I derived from the painstaking and thought-provoking writings of some notable predecessors in the domain of Aśvaghoṣa-studies like Professois Johnston, Weller, Lüders, Nobel, Lévi, Bagchi, etc. I also took cognizance of the original and important contributions of other scholars in this field. In any case, I appreciated properly the valuable labours of my forerunners which went into their scientific editions with the carefully collected critical apparatus. It must be admitted on all hands that the priceless efforts bestowed by them upon the restoration of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts, and several apocryphal works, paved the path for the posterity. I have no hesitation in stating here that it was not practicable for me to see for a profitable collation of the textual materials all the printed editions of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts translations, critical and exegetical notes, reviews, articles scattered in the rare backnumbers of some learned journals, still existing or already defunct, and the books on Aśvaghoṣa, which my precursors like Johnston and Lüders were in an advantageous position and better equipped than me to consult and utilise to the fullest possible extent.

Nevertheless I have the limited satisfaction of working on the varied data which were culled directly from the standard printed texts available to me and thus accumulated gradually during the prolonged period of research. I tried my level best to utilise conscientiously and properly these amassed data at my disposal by eschewing all irrational (nirhetuka) speculations of legendary character, and assimilating, marshalling and recasting the materials into the present work. I exercised my own discretion while determining the appropriate readings in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts, examining the different translations in the light of the textual readings, whenever possible, interpreting the Sanskrit texts without any pre-conceived theories, and drawing independent conclusions from the undistorted premises. It is obvious that my judgement agreed with that of my predecessors in respect of certain points and differed from the latter with regard to some others. But the individual mention of the predecessors' works at every step, whether there is agreement or deviation or innovation, has been avoided as a general rule because that would only hamper the flow of the detailed

discussion. Besides, such sources have been entered in the Bibliography of the consulted literature given at the outset of this work. It is therefore needless to refer to these sources in course of the discussions and embarrass unduly the easy perusal of the learned readers. However, I express unassumingly my deep sense of indebtedness to my esteemed predecessors after whose works this modest attempt is "maṇau vajra-samutkīrṇe sūtrasyevāsti me gatiḥ".

Thus, this work presents the materials in my stock in the traditional Sanskrit method which is thoroughly text-based.

In this context I take delight in mentioning that during the composition of this dissertation my youngest daughter, Miss Uma, meine kleine Mutti to claim my tenderest affection, watched me writing these pages and counted them till the end with her glowing eyes which bespoke her genuine eagerness and evinced her ardent admiration.

I must also mention here that my beloved wife, Mrs. Sova Devi, whose devoted sacrifices for me are too personal to be counted, has been as ever the first listener to every section of the present dissertation, and her practical criticism of my writings has always been of immense pleasure and profit to me.

Now I convey my heartiest and grateful praṇāmas to the lotus-feet of my revered Gurujis of India and Germany who had been extremely kind to impart to me their traditional siddhāntas in the various śāstras in the different stages of my career.

Thus Prof. Dineschandra Bhattacharya, M. A. (triple), etc., formerly of the Government Sanskrit College and Presidency College, Calcutta, and later on of the University of Calcutta, has been my benevolent teacher since my teens from whom I have imbibed an independent outlook in my critical study and research. He has watched with valuable guidance, fatherlike affection and constant care my collection of the research materials, marshalling of the relevant data coming under the different chapters and composition of the thesis at every step during the prolonged period of some thirteen years (since 1955). Despite his serious ailments he has kindly perused the entire manuscript of my work and recorded his blessings in the form of the Foreword. It is with his kind permission that I dedicate this unworthy „Kleinigkeit" to his sacred lotus-feet with my heartiest reverence and gratitude.

The late lamented Prof. Dr. Dakshinaranjan Śāstrī, M. A., Ph. D., of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta, who initiated me into the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar, would have rejoiced most at the completion of the present treatise.

The sarva-tantra-sva-tantra Prof. Sukhamay Bhattacharya, Sapta-tīrtha, Śāstrī, etc., of the Vidya-Bhavana, Viśva-Bharati University has been inculcating in my heart since 1951, with the selfless affection of a father and the benevolence of an ideal Guruji, the valuable traditional siddhāntas of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra and other śāstras. He has also trained me up in the pro-Vedānta Sāṅkhya-Yoga philosophy as laid down in the Mahā-Bhārata. He has been extremely kind to listen to every vital point in this work, and my other researches, with apt advice, both theoretical and practical in crucial cases, has encouraged me while this work was in progress and urged me to complete it at an early date.

The late Prof. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M. A., D. Lit., of Viśva-Bharati University, who was the first to advise me to make an original approach to Aśvaghoṣa's classical technique and philosophical standpoint, did not live to see this work.

The late Prof. Dr. Johannes Nobel, my revered Doktorvater of the Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn, West Germany, who transfused his independent spirit of study and research into my heart, and encouraged my contemplated work on Aśvaghoṣa, and whom I still remember in tearful eyes, is no more to see the Ergebnisse of my Aśvaghoṣa-Forschungen.

I must also place on record my deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Friedrich Heiler and Dr. Käthe Neumann of the Philipps-Universität Marburg/Lahn for their kind Vorlesungen on the Comparative and Historical Studies in the Religions of the World, and especially Buddhism, and their affectionate encouragements with Rat und Tat in my researches in Aśvaghoṣa.

The heartiest blessings of my revered Guru-caraṇas have been showered perpetually on this unworthiest disciple of theirs, and these ennobling blessings only enabled this incompetent self to embark upon an original undertaking and complete it at long last. The well-confirmed siddhāntas of these Gurujis went into the making of the present dissertation, and of course the merits, if any, are all due to my Gurujis, and the blemishes are all mine because pramādā

nanu lokamātra-sulabhā malinayanti yathājātaṁ śiṣyam — na tu jātu lokottara-śemuṣījuṣo yaśo-dhavalita-dharā-talān Guru-caraṇān.

In this context I should also place on record my heartiest indebtedness to the revered Prof. Dr. Kalidas Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D., etc., ex-Vice-Chancellor, Viśva-Bharati University, for encouraging me with kind words during the preparation of this dissertation, and opening wide to me the portals of further research prospects.

I also mention here with respectful remembrance that the benevolent Dr. Sudhiranjan Das, formerly Chief Justice of India and Vice-Chancellor, Viśva-Bharati University, has blessed me with his countless acts of unforgettable kindness, and the late esteemed Prof. Dr. Dhirendramohan Datta, M. A., Ph. D., etc., the far-famed philosopher, has spurred me on to my research activities with his inspiring words.

Now, I should be failing in my duties if I do not express my sincerest thanks to the host of my well-wishers and friends to whom I have been obliged in some way or other during the preparation of this work, and of whom mention must be made of the following gentlemen :

The late Prof. Benoygopal Roy, M. A., for his inspiring words and practical advice ; Prof. Dr. Ramsingh Tomar, M. A., Ph. D., for his kind encouragements and allowing me to read some rare books from his personal library ; Sri Santidev Ghosh for his practical counsel and encouraging remarks ; Dr. Kalidindimohan Varma for the friendly discussions on some problems of rhetorical technicalities ; Prof. Tan Yun Shan for some profitable consultations and important reprints ; Dr. Jan Yün Hua, M. A., Ph. D., for some fruitful discussions on Buddhistic philosophy, giving me some of his offprints, lending me to read some books and articles of his personal collection, verifying some dubious points from the relevant Chinese sources and throwing some constructive suggestions for a speedy completion of my work ; Prof. Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., etc., for the kind permission for printing his valuable opinion on the jacket of this book ; Prof. Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, M. A., Ph. D., etc., for his kind opinion on this work ; Sri Biswarup Bose, retired Reader, Kala-Bhavana, Viśva-Bharati University, for the kind permission for printing in this book the two exquisite line blocks by his illustrious

father, the late Prof. Nandalal Bose ; and Sri Subir Bose of the Viśva-Bharati University Press for his practical counsel in respect of the appropriate get-up of this book.

I have also to thank Dr. Bimal Kumar Dutt, Librarian, Central Library, Viśva-Bharati University, and Sri Santipriya Ray of the Vidya-Bhavana Library for their friendly co-operation in many ways and the kind authorities of the celebrated Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris for supplying me with the xerox copy of the expert review by Prof. A. Meillet of the „Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen" of Prof. H. Lüders as published long ago in the Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique, Paris, Vol. 17, 1911-1913.

Lastly, I convey my heartiest thanks to Adhyapaka Kalyan Kumar Bagchi, M. A, Secretary, Research Publications Committee, Viśva-Bharati University, for evincing a personal interest in publishing this creditable research work in a befitting manner with two superb line blocks and some valuable opinions printed on the jacket.

The press-copy was submitted to the afore-said Research Publications Committee on the 9. 3. 69 and, after the proper processing, the printing was started at the Viśva-Bharati University Press in the beginning of 1971. The printing of the highly technical and complicated matter embodied in this voluminous book took a rather long time under trying circumstances which were absolutely beyond my control. This book has come out at long last due to the untiring efforts of my friends on the staff of the Viśva-Bharati University Press.

The present dissertation is now ready for the learned readers after some seventeen years of sustained efforts for exploring further possibilities in Aśvaghoṣa-studies and building up a consolidated account of Aśvaghoṣa's contributions to the history of the Classical Sanskrit literature and Buddhism. The planned researches have been carried through this lengthy period at different places in India and West Germany despite my highly exacting engagements, and as such I cannot eschew here the sentimental touch of the personal reminiscences coupled with the composition of this work. I submit this modest treatise to the best experts in Aśvaghoṣa-Forschungen because their constructive suggestions would shed fresh light on the sombre catacomb of my limitations and dubiety, and severe animadversions would rectify my imperfections. After all, "balavad api śikṣitānām

ātmany apratyayaṁ cetaḥ". Their kind attention to this modest attempt would be amply rewarding because "kleśaḥ phalena hi punar navatāṁ vidhatte".

Santiniketan,
Dist. Birbhum,
West Bengal,
Dated the 5. 2. 76

iti viduṣām anucaraḥ
Biswanath Bhattacharya

DETAILED CONTENTS

An Alphabetical List of the Abbreviations used in the Present Treatise

1.	ABORI.	— Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
2.	Act. Or.	— Acta Orientalia.
3.	AKGWG.	— Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
4.	ALS.	— Adyar Library Series.
5.	An. Ox.	— Anecdota Oxoniensia.
6.	Ar. Ser.	— Aryan Series.
7.	ASAWL.	— Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.
8.	Aufl.	— Auflage.
9.	AUSt.	— Allahabad University Studies.
10.	AVIOKM.	— Akten Des Vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München.
11.	B.	— Buddha-carita.
12.	BBK.	— Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyu.
13.	Bd.	— Band.
14.	Bde.	— Bände.
15.	BenSS.	— Benares Sanskrit Series.
16.	BhV.	— Bharatiya[-]Vidya.
17.	BhVS.	— Bharatiya[-]Vidya Series.
18.	Bibl. Buddh.	— Bibliotheca Buddhica.
19.	Bibl. Ind.	— Bibliotheca Indica.
20.	BJP.	— Bhāratīya Jñāna-pīṭha.
21.	[B]JPMDJGM.	— [Bhāratīya-]Jñāna-pīṭha Mūrtidevī Jaina-grantha-mālā.
22.	Bk.	— Book.
23.	Bolls.	— Bollingen Series.
24.	BomSPS.	— Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series.
25.	BomSS.	— Bombay Sanskrit Series.
26.	BORI.	— Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
27.	BRS.	— Bihar Research Society.
28.	BSL.	— Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique.
29.	BST.	— Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.
30.	CGVSt.	— Shri Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan Studies.
31.	Chow.	— Chowkhamba.
32.	ChowSS.	— Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

33. col. — column.
34. cols. — columns.
35. Concld. — Concluded.
36. Contd. — Continued.
37. COS. — Calcutta Oriental Series.
38. CUP. — Columbia University Press.
39. DCDS. — Deccan College Dissertation Series.
40. Ed./ed. — Edited/edited [by].
41. edn. — edition.
42. Ep. Ind. — Epigraphia Indica.
43. Fg. — Fachgruppe.
44. f.-n. — foot-note.
45. frg. — fragment.
46. frgs. — fragments.
47. GIAPA. — Grundriß der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde.
48. GMN. — Gandhi Memorial Number.
49. GOS. — Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
50. HCIP. — History and Culture of the Indian People.
51. HIS. — Heritage of India Series.
52. HOS. — Harvard Oriental Series.
53. hrsg. — herausgegeben [von].
54. HSGM. — Haridāsa-Saṁskṛta-Grantha-mālā.
55. IA. — Indian Antiquary.
56. IAIC. — International Academy of Indian Culture.
57. IHQ. — Indian Historical Quarterly.
58. IIC. — Indian Institute of Culture.
59. IIR. — Indo-Iranian Reprints.
60. IS. — Indological Studies.
61. IsMEO. — Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente.
62. IWS. — Internationale Wochenschrift.
63. JA. — Journal Asiatique.
64. JAOS. — Journal of the American Oriental Society.
65. JASB. — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
66. JBORS. — Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
67. JBRS. — Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
68. JDS. — Journal of the Department of Sanskrit.

69. JGIS. — Journal of the Greater India Society.
70. JKU. — Journal of the Karnatak University.
71. JOR. — Journal of Oriental Research.
72. JPASB. — Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
73. JPTS. — Journal of the Pali Text Society.
74. JRAS. — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
75. JVkUniv. — Journal of Vikram University.
76. KM. — Kāvya-mālā.
77. KPJRI. — Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.
78. KPTE. — Königlich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen.
79. KSN. — Kālidāsa Special Number.
80. KSS. — Kashi Sanskrit Series.
81. KST. — Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte.
82. l. — line.
83. LDII. — Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology.
84. LDS. — Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series.
85. MASB. — Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
86. MIOFDAWB. — Mitteilungen Des Instituts Für Orient-forschung Der Deutschen Academie Der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin.
87. MVP. — Mithilā-Vidyā-pīṭha.
88. MVPGM. — Mithilā-Vidyā-pīṭha-Grantha-mālā.
89. NF. — Neue Folge.
90. NGWG. — Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
91. No./no. — Number/number.
92. Nos./nos. — Numbers/numbers.
93. Nr. — Nummer.
94. Nro. — Numero.
95. NS. — New Series.
96. NSP. — Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press.
97. ORT. — Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina.
98. OTF. — Oriental Translation Fund.
99. P./p. — Page/page.
100. PENIL. — The P. E. N. Books, The Indian Literatures.
101. Phil. Ind. — Philologica Indica.
102. Philolog.-Hist./°-hist. Kl. — Philologisch-Historische/°-historische Klasse.

103. Philoso.-Hist./ °-hist. Cl./Kl. — Philosophisch-Historische/°-historische Classe/Klasse.
104. PhST. — Philosophische Studientexte.
105. PoonOS. — Poona Oriental Series.
106. POS. — Punjab Oriental Series.
107. pp. — pages.
108. PPF. — Prize Publication Fund.
109. PrT[S]S. — Prakrit Text [Society] Series.
110. Pt. — Part.
111. PTAIOC. — Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
112. PTS. — Pali Text Society.
113. Pts. — Parts.
114. PUOP. — Panjab University Oriental Publications.
115. R. — Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka.
116. RAI. — Die Religion Des Alten Indien.
117. RASBMS. — Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series.
118. RASGBI. — Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
119. RSV. — Religiöse Stimmen Der Völker.
120. RUB. — Reclams Universal-Bibliothek.
121. Ś. — Śāriputra-prakaraṇa.
122. ŚDLJS. — Śreṣṭhi-Devacandra-Lālabhāī-Jaina-pustakoddhāra Series.
123. S. — Saundara-Nanda.
124. SB(K)PAWB. — Sitzungsberichte Der (Königlich) Preussischen Akademie Der Wissenschaften Zu Berlin.
125. SBSt. — Sarasvatī-Bhavana Studies.
126. Ser. — Series.
127. SG. — Saṁskṛta-grantha.
128. SICSI. — The Sino-Indian Cultural Society in India.
129. SIJ. — The Sino-Indian Journal.
130. SOR. — Serie Orientale Roma.
131. SPGM. — [Vaṅgīya-]Sāhitya-Pariṣad-Grantha-mālā.
132. SŚSRSCGM. — Snehirāma-Śāstri-smāraka-Rājasthān Sanskrit College Grantha-mālā.

k) "Identification of an Untraced Citation from Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha[-]carita in Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya's Ṭīkā [-]sarva[-]sva and Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri [-]kāṇḍa[-]cintā[-]maṇi on the Amara[-]kośa" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, IA., Third Series, Bombay, Vol. V, Nos. 3-4 [July - Oct., 1971].

2. S. —

a) Ed. H. Shastri (Re-Issue with additions by C. Chakravarti), Bibl. Ind., Work No. 192, NS., Issue No. 1524, Calcutta, 1939.

b) Ed. E. H. Johnston, PUOP., (No. ?), London, 1928; PUOP., No. 14 [English Translation,], London, 1932.

c) Ed. F. Weller — „Ein zentralasiatisches Fragment des Saundara[-]Nanda[-]kāvya", MIOFDAWB., Bd. 1, Heft 3, Berlin, 1953.

d) Ed. S. Caudharī with Hindī Translation, 2nd edn., Kaṭhautiyā (Bihar), 1959.

e) "Saundara[-]Nanda Kāvya", translated into Bengali by B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1922.

f) "Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara-Nanda, VI, 18" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, Jñāna[-]muktāvalī (Commemoration Volume in Honour of Johannes Nobel) ...., SVS., No. 38, IAIC., New Delhi, 1959.

3. Ś. —

a) Ed. H. Lüders — „Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen", KPTE., KST., Heft 1, Berlin, 1911.

b) Ed. H. Lüders — „Das Śāriputra[-]prakaraṇa, ein Drama des Aśvaghoṣa", SBKPAWB., Philoso.-hist. Cl., Nr. 17, Berlin, 1911.

c) „Philologica Indica" von H. Lüders, Göttingen, 1940.

d) J. Bloch — Review of the „Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen" ed. H. Lüders, JA., Ser. 10, Vol. 18, Paris, 1911.

e) A. Meillet — Review of the „Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen" ed. H. Lüders, BSL., Vol. 17, Paris, 1911-1913.

f) "Palm-leaf MSS. from Chinese Turkestan" by Mrs. T. Chatterji, JBRS., Vol. 31, Pts. 1 & 2, Patna, 1945.

g) „Buddhistische Dramen aus vorklassischer Zeit" von H. Lüders, IWS., 5, 1911.

h) "The Co-Ordination Among the Fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's Śāriputra-prakaraṇa and two other Buddhist Dramas" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, AVIOKM. (1957) Sektion 10 : Indologie, Wiesbaden, 1959.

4. R. —

a) "Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS. in Tibet" by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, JBORS., Vol. 21, Pts. 1 & 4, Patna, 1935.

b) "A Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere" ed. C. D. Dalāl and L. B. Gāndhi, GOS., Vol. 21, Baroda, 1923.

c) "Cakradhara's Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga [on Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa's Nyāya-mañjarī]" ed. Nagin J. Shah, LDS., No. 35, LDII., Ahmedabad - 9, 1st edn., March, 1972.

d) "Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅkadeva's Nyāya-viniścaya with the Nyāya-viniścaya-vivaraṇa of Vādirāja-sūri" ed. M. K. Jain, [B]JPMDJGM., SG., No. 12, BJP., Kāśī, Vol. 2, September, 1954.

e) "Piṇḍa-niryukti" compiled by Bhadrabāhusvāmin with Malayagiri's Vivṛti, ŚDLJS., No. 44, Bombay, 1918.

f) "Encore Aśvaghoṣa" by S. Lévi, JA., Tome 213, Paris, 1928.

g) "A New Drama of Aśvaghoṣa" by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, JGIS., Vol. 5, No. 1, Calcutta, 1938.

h) "The Rāṣṭrapāla[-]nāṭaka of Aśvaghoṣa" by E. H. Johnston, JGIS., Vol. 5, No. 2, Calcutta, 1938.

i) "The Rāṣṭrapāla[-]Nāṭaka of Aśvaghoṣa" by P. C. Bagchi [G. S.] Sardesai Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1938.

j) "A New Play By Aśvaghoṣa ?" by K. Krishnamoorthy, JOR., Baroda, June, 1962 [and later on reprinted in the "Essays in Sanskrit Criticism", Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1964].

k) "Vādirāja's Yaśodhara[-]carita with Lakṣmaṇa's Commentary" ed. ... K. Krishnamoorthy, ..., Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1963.

5. "The Vajra-sūcī" —

a) "The Vajra[-]sūcī of Aśvaghoṣa" ed. S. Mukhopadhyaya, VBRP., 2nd edn., Santiniketan, 1960.

b) "A Note on the Literary Style and Spirit of the

Vajra[-]sūcī" by Śānti Bhikṣu, PTAIOC., 15th Session, Bombay, 1949.

c) "The Vajra[-]sūcī : An Apocryphal Work of Aśvaghoṣa' by Biswanath Bhattacharya, VIJ., Vol. 4, Pt. 1, Hoshiarpur (Panjab), 1966.

6. "The Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā" —
   a) Ed. Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, Bibl. Buddh., Vol. 15, St. Petersburg, 1913.
   b) "A New Poem of Aśvaghoṣa" by F. W. Thomas, JRAS., London, 1914.
   c) Ed. E. H. Johnston ....., IA., Vol. 62, Bombay, 1933.
   d) "A Critical Appraisal of the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, Professor Suryya Kumar Bhuyan Commemoration Volume, Gauhati, 1966.

7. "The Nairātmya-paripṛcchā" —
   a) Ed. S. Lévi, "Encore Aśvaghoṣa", JA., Tome 213, Paris, 1928.
   b) Ed. S. Mukhopadhyaya, VBSt., No. 4, Calcutta, 1931 [= VBQ., Vol. 8, Pts. 1 & 2, 1930].
   c) "A Critical Appraisal of the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, WZKSOA., Bd. 10, Vienna, 1966.

8. "The Tri-daṇḍa-mālā" —
   a) "Search for Sanskrit MSS. in Tibet" by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, JBORS., Vol. 24, Pt. 4, Patna, 1938.
   b) "The Tri[-]daṇḍa[-]mālā of Aśvaghoṣa" by E. H. Johnston, JBORS., Vol. 25, Pt. 1, Patna, 1939.

9. "The Śata-pañcāśatka of Mātṛceṭa" ..... ed. D. R. S. Bailey ....., Cambridge, 1951.

10. "A Critical Appraisal of the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, ZDMG., Bd. 118, Heft 2 (= NF., Bd. 43), Wiesbaden, 1969.

11. "The Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra" —
   a) "Aśvaghoṣa : The Awakening of Faith", translated (from Chinese into English) by T. Richard ....., London, 1961.

b) "The Awakening Of Faith attributed to Aśvaghosha" translated, with commentary by Y. S. Hakeda, CUP., New York & London, 1967.

c) "Açvaghoṣa's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahā[-]yāna" ..... by T. Suzuki, Chicago, 1900.

d) "The Oldest Commentary of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra" by W. Liebenthal, BBK., Kyoto, 1957.

e) "A History of Indian Philosophy" by S. Dasgupta, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1951.

f) "Buddhadev[a]" by Rabindranath Tagore, VB., 1363 [Bengali San].

g) „Kumārajīva" von J. Nobel, SB(K)PAWB., Philoso.-hist. Kl., Nr. XX, 1927.

h) "The Esoteric Doctrine of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, an Aśvaghoṣa Apocrypha" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, VBJPh., Santiniketan, Vol. 8, No. 2, February, 1972.

12. "The Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti of Kumāralāta" —

a) „Bruchstücke der Kalpanā[-]maṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta" hrsg. H. Lüders, KST., Heft 2, Leipzig, 1926.

b) "Açvaghoṣa : Sūtrālaṁkāra (translated into French from the Chinese Version of Kumārajīva) by E'd. Huber, Paris, 1908.

13. "The Catuḥ[-]śatikā by Ārya Deva [with Candrakīrti's Commentary]" ed. H. Śhāstrī, MASB., Vol. 3, No. 8, Calcutta, 1914.

14. "A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tri[-]piṭaka" compiled ... by B. Nanjio, Oxford, 1883.

15. "Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine les Traducteurs et les Traductions" by P. C. Bagchi, Pt. 1, Paris, 1927.

16. "Hōbōgirin", Fascicule Annexe, Tōkyō, 1931.

17. "Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale" by P. Cordier, Pts. 2 & 3 (= Index du Bstan-Ḥgyur), Paris, 1909 & 1915.

18. "A Complete Catalogue (& A Catalogue-Index) of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur & Bstan-ḥgyur)" ed. H. Ui ....., Sendai, Japan, 1934.

19. "The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki" with the Rāmāyaṇa-tilaka of Rāma ed. P. Tarka-ratna, Vaṅgavāsī edn., Calcutta, [date ?].

20. "Aśvaghoṣa and the Rāmāyaṇa" by C. W. Gurner, JASB., NS. Vol. 22, Calcutta, 1927.
21. "The Mahā-Bhārata of Vedavyāsa" with the Bhārata-bhāva-dīpa of Nīlakaṇṭha ed. P. Tarka-ratna, Vaṅgavāsī edn., Pts. 1 & 2 Calcutta, 1908.
22. "The Hari-vaṁśa [= The Mahā-Bhārata, 19th Parvan (= Pt. 7 of the set)] of Vedavyāsa" with the Bhārata-bhāva-dīpa of Nīlakaṇṭha ed. R. Kinjawadekar, Chitrashala edn., Poona, 1936.
23. "Mahā[-]Bhārater Samāj[a]" by Sukhamaya Bhaṭṭācārya, 2nd edn., Santiniketan, 1366 [Bengali San].
24. "Mahā[-]Bhārater Caritāvalī" by Sukhamaya Bhaṭṭācārya Calcutta, 1373 [Bengali San].
25. "The Viṣṇu-purāṇa of Vedavyāsa" with the Ātma-prakāśa-vivṛti of Śrīdharasvāmin ed. J. Vidyā-sāgara, Calcutta, 1882.
26. "The Garuḍa-purāṇa of Vedavyāsa" ed. ...... P. Tarka-ratna, Vaṅgavāsī edn., Calcutta, 1314 [Bengali San].
27. "The Mīmāṁsā-sūtras of Jaimini" with the Bhāṣya of Śavarasvāmin ed. M. Nyāya-ratna, Bibl. Ind. edn., Vol. I. [= Adhyāyas I-VI], Calcutta, 1873.
28. „Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara[-]Nanda" by E. Hultzsch, ZDMG Bde. 72-74, Leipzig, 1918-20.
29. "The Vyākaraṇa-mahā-bhāṣya of Patañjali" with the Pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and Uddyota of Nāgeśa ed. G. Śāstrin, SŚSRSCGM., No. 30, Benares, 1938-39.
30. "The Siddhānta-kaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji-Dīkṣita" with the Bāla-mano-ramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and Tattva-bodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī ed. G. Śarman Caturveda and P. Śarman, Pts. 1 to 4, Varanasi, 1951, 1958 & 1960.
31. "The Durghaṭa-vṛtti of Śaraṇadeva" ......, TSS., No. 6, Trivandrum, 1909.
32. "The Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti of Ujjvaladatta" —
    a) Ed. Th. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1859.
    b) Ed. J. Vidyā-sāgara, Calcutta, 1873.
33. „Kātantra und Kaumāralāta" von H. Lüders, Phil. Ind., Göttingen, 1940.
34. „Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen" von R. Pischel, GIAPA., Bd 1, Heft 8, Straßburg, 1900.
35. „Die Entwickelungsstufe des Prākrits in Bhāsa's Dramen und das Zeitalter Bhāsa's" von V. Lesný, ZDMG., Bd. 72, Leipzig, 1918.

36. „Bhāsa's Prākrit' von W. Printz, Frankfurt/Main, 1921.
37. "Bhāsa : His Age and Māgadhī", "Dramatic Māgadhī" and "The Jogīmārā Cave Inscription" by A. P. Banerji-Śāstrī, JBORS., Vol. 9, Pts. 1 to 4. Patna, 1923.
38. "Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits" by M. A. Mehendale, DCDS., Code No. D 5, Poona, 1948.
39. "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar" by F. Edgerton, Yale, 1953.
40. "Sanskrit Grammar" by W. D. Whitney, 7th edn., Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1950.
41. „Jacob Wackernagel : Altindische Grammatik" von A. Debrunner, Bd. II, 2 (Die Nominalsuffixe), Göttingen, 1954.
42. „Zu Aśvaghoṣa's Buddha[-]carita" von E. Hultzsch, ZDMG., Bd. 72, Leipzig, 1918.
43. "On the Buddha[-]carita of Aśvaghoṣa" by S. Sen, IHQ., Vol. 2, Calcutta, 1926.
44. "The Language of Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara[-]Nanda-Kāvya" by S. Sen, JPASB., NS., Vol. 26, Calcutta, 1930.
45. "Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit" by S. Sen, Calcutta, 1928.
46. "Aśvaghoṣādi-kāvye liṭ-prayoga-vivekaḥ" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, VS., Vol. 1, Pt. 4, Hoshiarpur (Panjab), 1964.
47. „Indische Palaeographie ......" von G. Bühler, ... GIAPA., Bd. 1, Heft 11, Straßburg, 1896.
48. "The Nāṭya-śāstra [of Bharata]" with the Abhinava-Bhāratī of Abhinavagupta ed. M. R. Kavi, Vol. 2, GOS., No. 68, Baroda, 1934.
49. "The Rāma-carita (= Bhaṭṭi-kāvya) of Bhaṭṭi" with the Jayamaṅgalā of Jayamaṅgala ed. Śivadatta, VSP. edn., Bombay, 1928.
50. "The Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha" with the Udyāna-vṛtti of D. T. Tatacharya, TUPHŚS., No. 3, Tiruvadi, 1934.
51. "The Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin" with the commentary of Taruṇa-Vācas-pati and the anonymous Hṛdayaṅgama ed. M. Rangacharya, Madras, 1910.
52. "The Kāvya-lakṣaṇa (= Kāvyādarśa) of Daṇḍin" with the Ratnaśrī of Ratnaśrījñāna ed. A. Thakur and U. Jha, MVPGM., No. 1, 4, Darbhanga, 1957.
53. "The Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra with the svopajña-vṛtti of Vāmana" with the Kāvyālaṅkāra-kāma-dhenu of King [= Bhū-pāla] Gopendra Tripurahara, BenSS., Nos. 134 & 140, 2 fascicules, Benares, 1907 & 1908.

54. "The Dhvany-āloka of Ānandavardhana" with the Locana of Abhinavagupta ......, KSS. (HSGM.), No. 135 (= Alaṅkāra Section, No. 5), Benares, 1940.
55. "The Vakrokti-jīvita with the svopajña-vṛtti of Kuntaka" ed. S. K. De, 3rd edn., Calcutta, 1961.
56. "The Kāvya-mīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara" ed. C. D. Dalāl and R. A. Sastry, GOS., No. 1, Baroda, 1924.
57. "The Aucitya-vicāra-carcā of Kṣemendra" ......, KM., Pt. [= Gucchaka] 1, ... 2nd edn., NSP., Bombay, 1893.
58. "The Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa of Kṣemendra" ......, KM., Pt. [= Gucchaka] 4, 2nd revised edn., NSP., Bombay, 1899.
59. "The Kāvya-prakāśa of Mammaṭa" with the Bāla-bodhinī of V. R. Jhalakikar ......, 6th edn., BORI., Poona, 1950.
60. "The Alaṁkāra-saṁgraha of Amṛtānanda-yogin ......, ALS., No. 70, Adyar, Madras, 1949.
61. "The Sāhitya-darpaṇa of Viśvanātha" with the Vivṛti of Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa ......, 6th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1936.
62. "The Kuvalayānanda of Appayya Dīkṣita" with the Alaṅkāra-candrikā of Vaidyanātha Tatsat ......, 4th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1917.
63. "The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara of Jagannātha" with the Guru-marma-prakāśa of Nāgeśa ......, KM., No. 12, 6th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1947.
64. "The Kāvya-darpaṇa with the svopajña-vṛtti of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita" ......, Vol. 1, VVŚS., No. 15, Srirangam, [date ?].
65. "The Foundations of Indian Poetry and their Historical Development (General Outlines)" by J. Nobel, COS., No. 16. E. 9, Calcutta, 1925.
66. "Les fleurs de rhétorique dans l' Inde" by H. R. Diwekar, Paris 1930.
67. "The Psychological Simile in Aśvaghoṣa" by C. W. Gurner, JASB., NS., Vol. 26, Calcutta, 1930.
68. "The Daśa-rūpa[ka] of Dhanaṁjaya" ......, G. C. O. Haas, Delhi, etc., 1962.
69. "The Nāṭya-darpaṇa with the svopajña-vṛtti of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra" ......, Vol. 1, GOS., No. 48, Baroda, 1929.
70. "The Bhāva-prakāśana of Śāradātanaya" ......, GOS., No. 45 Baroda, 1930.
71. "The Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa of Sāgaranandin" ed. M. Dillon, Vol. 1 [= Text], London, 1937.

72. "The Rasārṇava-sudhākara of King [= Bhū-pāla] Śiṅga [< Siṁha]" ......, TSS., No. 50, Trivandrum, 1916.
73. "The Rasa-ratna-hāra with the svopajña Lakṣmī-vihāra of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin"....., KM., Pt. 6, NSP., Bombay, 1890.
74. "History of Sanskrit Poetics" by S. K. De, Volumes 1 & 2, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1960.
75. "History of Sanskrit Poetics" by P. V. Kane, Delhi, etc., 3rd edn., 1961.
76. "The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development, Theory & Practice" by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1924.
77. „Das indische Drama" von S. Konow, GIAPA., Bd. 2, Heft 2(d), Berlin, 1920.
78. "The Indian Theatre (Its Origin and Development up to the Present Day)" by C. B. Gupta ......, Banaras, 1954.
79. "Sanskrit Drama : Its Origin And Decline" by I. Shekhar, ORT., Vol. 7, Leiden, 1960.
80. "The Indian Stage" by H. N. Das Gupta, Vol. 1, Calcutta, 1934 (?).
81. "The Social Play in Sanskrit" by V. Raghavan, IIC., Transaction No. 11, Bangalore, 1952.
82. "The Number of Rasas" by V. Raghavan, Adyar, Madras, 1940.
83. "Sanskrit Comic Characters" by J. T. Parikh, Surat, 1952.
84. "The Vidūṣaka : Theory And Practice" by J. T. Parikh, CGVSt., No. 2, Surat, 1953.
85. „Über das Verhältnis zwischen Cārudatta und Mṛc[-]chakaṭikā" von G. Morgenstierne, Leipzig, 1921.
86. "Nāndī in Theory" by U. Dave, IHQ., Vol. 17, Calcutta, 1941.
87. "A Note on the Bharata-vākya" and "A Further Note on [the] Bharata[-]vākya" by C. Chakravarti, IHQ., Vols. 5 & 7, Calcutta, 1929 & 1931.
88. "The Chandaḥ-sūtra of Piṅgala" with the Mṛta-sañjīvanī of Halāyudha-Bhaṭṭa...., Bibl. Ind., NS., Nos. 230, 258 & 307, Calcutta, 1874.
89. "The Chandaḥ-sāra-saṁgraha ......," by C. M. Ghosha, Calcutta, 1893.
90. "Notes on the Çvetāçvatara, the Buddha-carita, etc." by E. W. Hopkins, JAOS., Vol. 22, 2nd Half, New Haven, 1901.
91. „Geschichte Der Indischen Philosophie" von W. Ruben, Berlin, 1954.
92. "Early Sāṁkhya ...." by E. H. Johnston, PPF., Vol. 15, RASGBI., London, 1937.

128. "The Padya-cūḍā-maṇi of Buddhaghoṣa" ed. M. Ranga Acharya and S. K. Sastri ....., Madras, 1921.
129. "Fragment D'Un Buddha[-]carita" ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin JRAS., London, 1911.
130. "The Paüma-cariyaṁ of Vimala-sūri" ..... ed. H. Jacobi, 2nd edn. PrT[S]S., No. 6, Pt. 1, Varanasi, 1962.
131. "The Kumārapāla-carita (= Prākṛta-Dvy-āśraya-kāvya) of Hemacandra" ..... with the Vṛtti of Pūrṇakalaśa-gaṇi ....., BomSPS., No. 60, 2nd edn., Poona, 1936.
132. "The Megha-dūta of Kālidāsa" with the Sañjīvinī of Mallinātha Cāritravardhinī of Cāritravardhana ....., KSS. (HSGM.), No. 88 (= Kāvya Section, No. 14), Benares, 1931.
133. "The Śataka-traya of Bhartṛhari" ....., BhVS., No. 9, Bombay, 1946.
134. "The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra" ed. I. C. Sastri, Calcutta, 1921.
135. "The Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya" ..... ed. F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind., NS., No. 1309, Calcutta, 1912.
136. "The Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa compiled by Vidyākara" ....., HOS. No. 42, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1957.
137. "The Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa" ....., POS., No. 15 Lahore, 1933.
138. "The Śārṅgadhara-paddhati of Śārṅgadhara" ed. P. Peterson Vol. 1, BomSS., No. 37, Bombay, 1888.
139. "The Subhāṣitāvali compiled by Vallabhadeva" ed. P. Peterson Bombay, 1886.
140. "The Sūkti-muktāvalī of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa" ....., GOS., No. 82, Baroda, 1938.
141. "The Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra ....." ....., 8th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1952.
142. "Indische Sprüche" hrsg. O. von Böhtlingk, 2. Aufl., 3 Bde., St. Petersburg, 1870, 1872 & 1873.
143. "Saundara[-]Nanda Kāvya, viii, 35" by F. W. Thomas, JRAS., London, 1911.
144. "Balākā" by R. Tagore, VB., 1367 [Bengali San].
145. "The Vāsavadattā of Subandhu" with the Darpaṇa of Śivarāma Tripāṭhin ed. F. Hall, Bibl. Ind. edn., Calcutta, 1859.
146. "The Kādambarī of Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa ....." with the commentaries of Bhānucandra-gaṇi and Siddhacandra-gaṇi ......, 4th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1912.

147. "The Daśa-kumāra-carita of Daṇḍin" with the Pada-dīpikā (anonymous), Pada-candrikā (of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī), Bhūṣaṇā (of Śivarāma) and Laghu-dīpikā (anonymous) ..... ed. N. R. Acharya, 15th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1951.
148. "The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa" with the Amalā of J. Vidyāsāgara, ... 4th edn., Calcutta, 1939.
149. „Tantrākhyāyikā" ..... hrsg. J. Hertel, AKGWG., Philolog.-Hist. Kl., NF., Bd. 12, Nro. 2, Berlin, 1910.
150. "The Pañca-tantra(ka) of Viṣṇu-Śarman" ....., NSP., Bombay, 1914.
151. "The ... Pañcākhyāna of ... Pūrṇabhadra" ....., HOS., Vol. 11, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1908.
152. "The Bhoja-prabandha of Ballāla", NSP., Bombay, 1908.
153. "The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa ....." ....., 12th edn., NSP., Bombay, 1929.
154. "The Lalita-vistara" hrsg. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902.
155. "Le Mahā[-]vastu ....." ed. E'. Senart, Vol. 3, Paris, 1897.
156. "The Divyāvadāna" —
   a) Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886 ;
   b) Ed. P. L. Vaidya, BST., No. 20, MVP., Darbhanga, 1959.
157. "The Jātaka-mālā of Ārya-Śūra" ....., HOS., Vol. 1, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1891.
158. "The Majjhima-nikāya" ed. R. Chalmers, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, PTS., London, 1896.
159. "The Aṅguttara-nikāya" ed. R. Morris, Pt. II [= Catukka-nipāta], PTS., London, 1888.
160. "The Dīgha-nikāya" ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, Vol. 1, PTS., London, 1949.
161. "The Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīgha-nikāya" ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, Pt. 1, PTS., London, 1886.
162. "The Avadāna-çataka ..." ed. J. S. Speyer, IIR., ... Vol. 3, The Hague, 1958 [= Bibl. Buddh., Vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1902-1909].
163. "Volga theke Gaṅgā of R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana" (in Bengali Translation) by A. Sen and S. Das, 4th edn., Calcutta, 1366 [Bengali San].
164. "Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra ......" ed. C. R. Devadhar, PoonOS., No. 54, 2nd edn., Poona, 1951.

165. "The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa" ed. ... R. D. Karmarkar, 4th edn., Poona, 1950.
166. "The Abhijñāna-Śakuntala of Kālidāsa ......" ed. ...... R. M. Bose, Feni, 1931.
167. „Übereinstimmungen in Gedanken, Vergleichen und Wendungen bei den indischen Kunstdichtern von Vālmīki bis auf Māgha usw." von O. Walter, Leipzig, 1904 [= „Indica" hrsg. E. Leumann, Heft 3].
168. "Aśvaghoṣer mahā-kāvya-dvay[a]" by S. Sen, Haraprasād[a]-saṁvarddhan[a]-lekha-mālā, Pt. 1, SPGM., No. 80, Calcutta, 1931.
169. „Kālidāsa, Ein Versuch zu seiner literarischen Würdigung" von A. Hillebrandt, Breslau, 1921.
170. "The Date of Kālidāsa" by K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, AUSt., Vol. 2, Allahabad, 1926.
171. "Aśvaghoṣa-Kālidāsa-saṁvādaḥ" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, JVkUniv., KSN., Vol. 7, Ujjain, 1964.
172. "Kālidāsasyopamā-prakāra-vaicitrya-vicāraḥ" by Biswanath Bhattacharya, JKU., Humanities, Dharwar, Vol. XV, 1971.
173. „Um Aśvaghoṣa" von J. Nobel, NGWG., Philolog.-Hist. Kl., Fg. 3, Nr. 3, Berlin, 1931 [Sonderdruck].
174. "Buddhist Legends" by E. W. Burlingame, HOS., Vol. 28, Pt. 1, Bk. 1, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1921.
175. "The Legend of Raṭṭhapāla in the Pāli Apadāna and Buddhaghoṣa's commentary" by M. Bode, Mélanges Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1911.
176. "Buddhist Secular Literature" by N. A. Sastri, SIJ., GMN., Vol. 1, Pt. 2, SICSI., Santiniketan, 1948.
177. "Vyoṣa" by K. Chatterjee, IHQ., Vol. 4, Calcutta, 1931.
178. "Naiṣadha-carita And Śrīharṣa" by N. Bhattacharya, SBSt., Vol. 3, Benares, 1924.
179. "Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhat[-]kathā" by F. Lacôte, Paris, 1908.
180. "Note Préliminaire Sur Les Documents En Tokharien De La Mission Pelliot" by S. Lévi, JA., Ser. 10, Vol. 17, Paris, 1911.
181. "Central Asian Studies" by S. Lévi, JRAS., London, 1914.
182. "Some Aspects of 'Tocharian' Drama : Form and Techniques" by W. Winter, JAOS., Vol. 75, No. 1, New Haven, 1955.

183. "The Kāma-sūtra of Vātsyāyana" with the Jayamaṅgalā of Yaśodhara, Benares, 1912.
184. "Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan ...... of A. von Le Coq" (in English Translation) by A. Barwell, London, 1928.
185. „Gandhara Kutscha Turfan" ...... von E. Waldschmidt ......, Leipzig, 1925.
186. "The Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa" ....., Pt. 3, TSS., No. 84, Trivandrum, 1925 ; and "An Imperial History of India ....." by K. P. Jayaswal and R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Lahore, 1934.
187. "Epigraphical Discoveries at Sārnāth" by J. Ph. Vogel, Ep. Ind., Vol. 8, Calcutta, 1905-1906.
188. "Si-Yu-Ki [= Buddhist Records of the Western World ..... of Hiuen Tsiang .....] (in English Translation) by S. Beal ....., 2 Vols., London, 1906.
189. "On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India ..." by T. Watters ..., Vols. 1 and 2 [= OTF., NS., Vols. 14 and 15], London, 1904 and 1905 ; reprinted in Peking China, 1941.
190. "The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui-Li ..." (in English Translation) by S. Beal, London, 1914.
191. "A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago ... by I-tsing" (in English Translation) by J. Takakusu, ... Oxford, 1896.
192. "L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra ...." by A. Foucher, Pt. 1 ...., Paris, 1905.
193. "The Woman and Tree or Śāla[-]bhañjikā in Indian Literature and Art" by J. Ph. Vogel, Act. Or., Vol. 7, Leiden, 1929.
194. "Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology", Vol. 5, Leiden, 1932.
195. "Aśvaghoṣa" by B. C. Law, RASBMS., Calcutta, 1946.
196. "Encyclopaedia of Buddhism (Volume of Specimen Articles)" ed. G. P. Malalasekera, Ceylon, 1957.
197. "Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman ..." ed. F. Kielhorn Ep. Ind., Vol. 8, Calcutta, 1905-1906 ; and "Select Inscriptions ...." ed. D. C. Sircar, Vol. 1, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1965.
198. "Jaina-dharma" by A. Sen, VVS., No. 93, VB., 1358 [Bengali San].
199. "The Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana (Amara-koṣa) of Amarasiṁha" with the Amara-koṣodghāṭana of Kṣīrasvāmin ed. .... by K. G. Oka, Poona, 1913.

200. „Zur Handschriftenkunde (Kommentare zum Amara-kośa)" von Th. Aufrecht, ZDMG., Bd. 28, Leipzig, 1874.

201. "The Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṁha" with the Amara-kośodghāṭana of Kṣīrasvāmin and Pada-candrikā of Bṛhaspati, and extracts from several other commentaries ed. A. Borooah, Pts. 1 and 2, London, 1887.

202. "The Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṁha" with the Ṭīkā-sarva-sva of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda (Pt. 1), Amara-kośodghāṭana of Kṣīrasvāmin and Ṭīkā-sarva-sva ..... (Pt. 2), Amara-kośodghāṭana ..... and Ṭīkā-sarva-sva ..... (Pt. 3), and Ṭīkā-sarva-sva ..... (Pt. 4), ... TSS., Nos. 38, 43, 51 and 52, Trivandrum, 1914, 1915 and 1917.

203. "The Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana of Amarasiṁha" with the Rāmāśramī or Vyākhyā-sudhā of Bhānuji Dīkṣita ed. S. Sarma, NSP., Bombay, 1944.

204. "The Amara-kośa of Amarasiṁha" with the Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi of Raghunātha Cakravartin and extracts from the commentaries of Bṛhaspati, Bharata and Nayanānanda, etc. ed. C. M. Tarka-ratna, Calcutta, 1886.

205. "The Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa" ed. G. Oppert, Madras, 1893.

206. "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary" by F. Edgerton, New Haven, 1953.

207. "Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names" by G. P. Malalasekera, Vol. 2, London, 1938.

208. "A Tibetan-English Dictionary ....." by H. A. Jäschke, London, 1958.

209. "The Abhidhāna-Rājendra of Vijayarājendra Sūri", Vol. 6, Ratlam (Malwa), [date ?].

210. "The Catuḥ-śatikā of Āryadeva" ed. H. Sastri, MASB., Vol. 3, No. 8, Calcutta, 1914.

211. "The Abhidharma-dīpa with the svopajñā Vibhāṣā-prabhā-vṛtti (of Vimalamitra ?)" ed. P. S. Jaini, TSWS., Vol. 4, KPJRI., Patna, 1959.

212. "The Çikṣā-samuccaya ..... compiled by Çāntideva ....." ed. C. Bendall, IIR., No. 1, The Hague, 1957 [= Bibl. Buddh., Vol. 1, St.-Petersburg, (1897-)1902].

213. "The Pañca-gati-dīpana" ed. L. Feer, JPTS., London, 1884.

214. "The Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra" with the Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā of Guṇaratna ed. L. Suali, Calcutta, 1905.

215. "The Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra" with the Laghu-vṛtti of Maṇibhadra ed. D. L. Goswami, ChowSS., No. 95, Benares, 1905.
216. "Bibliographie Bouddhique" ed. J. Przyluski, M. Lalou, etc., Vols. 1 ..... (1928- .....), Paris, 1930- .....
217. "Shinsho Hanayama Bibliography on Buddhism" ...., Tokyo, 1961.

A SYNOPTIC ANALYSIS OF THE CHAPTERS

The present treatise, as the title indicates, purports to place on record the varied findings of the comparative and historical enquiries of a prolonged period into the authentic kāvyas, both śravya and dṛśya, of Aśvaghoṣa, and the several apocryphal works ascribed to him in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan, with special reference to the salient linguistic and stylistic traits, and the religio-philosophical data as borne out by his kāvyas.

A perusal of the diverse details of the contents would reveal the scope of the subject and the nature of the topicwise treatment.

Nevertheless a general scheme showing the underlying links of the different aspects of this work may not be uncalled-for here.

Aśvaghoṣa is the earliest known poet and dramatist of the Classical Sanskrit literature. His kāvyas betray the wide range of the influence of the two Great National Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata, in respect of the language, style and didactic materials.

Besides this Epic legacy there is the inferable impact of the śravya-kāvya and dṛśya-kāvya patterns of the post-Epic formative period of the ornate Sanskrit literature on his kāvyas.

Again, his kāvyas show the same stylistic tendency as we find in the inscriptions of the early Christian era.

Further, his classical kāvyas are the products of his bhāvayitrī pratibhā which must have assimilated the geistige Strömungen of the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna about the beginning of the Christian era which found an egreeable expression in the religious forms of Art. This background of accepted flexibility in the propagation of the Buddha's teachings has also given an impassioned impetus to the Buddhist missionaries to ompose popular nirvāṇa-kāvyas for simple preaching and propaganda.

This zeal of his liberal milieu has been illustrated at its best in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas.

The same Zeitgeist has also been imbibed by his successors like Mātṛceṭa, Kumāralāta and Ārya-Śūra.

In these kāvyas the actual amount of historicity of the life of the Buddha has been smothered in many sectarian legends and the contributions of the historical imagination of the kavis who took their materials from the real social surroundings about them. It is difficult to extricate the proportion of the fact from that of the fiction, and as such these kāvyas must be taken for their own worth.

Anyway, we might now bypass these preparatory Beobachtungen

here and proceed with the data about the life, date and works of Aśvaghoṣa. Thus, the different facets of his life have been focussed on mainly with the help of his authentic kāvyas. He has been assigned tentatively to circa 100 A. D. on the basis of palaeographic, linguistic and other dependable evidences. Then the various externalities of his kāvyas, viz., the Buddha-carita, Saundara-Nanda, Śāriputra-prakaraṇa and Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka, have been dealt with. The first two are classical epics [mahā-kāvyas (coming under the śravya-kāvyas)] while the last two are dramas [rūpakas (coming under the dṛśya-kāvyas)]. Thereafter a working chronology of these four kāvyas has been attempted. Then a detailed account of the numerous apocryphal works has been given and their claim to genuineness has been examined and cancelled in each case.

Next comes a concise conspectus of the linguistic Eigentümlichkeiten and irregularities of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. Thus, his Sanskrit is on the whole classical. It is simple and mostly normal. It shows some reminiscences of Epic flexibility. There are a few cases of loose Sprachgebrauch like Hybrid Sanskrit. There are also some instances of dialectal trespass on Sanskrit. In any case, what strikes us most is the fact that Sanskrit appears as the accepted medium of preaching and propaganda of the Buddha's basic teachings. It is evident that Sanskrit must have been sanctioned freely for popularizing the Buddha's life and doctrines through classical kāvyas, both śravya and dṛśya, by some pro-Mahā-yāna Mahā-sāṅghika sect which Aśvaghoṣa seems to have belonged to.

Then follows a succinct account of the linguistic peculiarities of three pristine Prākṛta-types as traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's Śāriputra-prakaraṇa. These primitive Mundarten are akin to Pāli in respect of their phonetic standard. They represent the early stages of the grammatical Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī of the later classical dramas.

Next comes an aperçu of the stylistic particulars of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts judged from the viewpoints of the applicable topics of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy. The racy narrative style of these kāvyas bears the stamp of the Epic heritage. This popular Erzählungsart is moderately ornate and is mostly commensurate with the later canons of style. This critical appraisal has been followed by copious parallel passages from the kāvya-texts of Aśvaghoṣa and some later poets and dramatists to show his influence

on the posterity. The relevant point of plagiarism has also been examined.

Now follows a critical evaluation of the religio-philosophical materials as available in Aśvaghoṣa's four authentic kāvyas. He does not appear to have any original philosophy to offer to the readers. He only explains the Buddha's basic doctrine of nairātmya as an improvement upon the Sāṅkhya-Yoga metaphysics. His transitional stand between Hīna-yāna ethics and Mahā-yāna altruism makes him popular with both the yānas. He appears to us more as a kavi than as a philosopher.

From the above two-pronged approach to Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas we come to the conclusion that these are important to us from the perspectives of palaeography, philology, poetics, dramaturgy, sociology and history of Buddhism. To specify, the śānta-rasa synthesis in his nirvāṇa-kāvyas is based on the Mahā-Bhārata. Again, the Buddha of his kāvyas is indubitably the human and mortal Buddha of Indian history — and not any ideated Buddha of full-fledged Mahā-yāna of later date.

Lastly, the results of our systematic investigations have been couched in this work in the go-puccha-nyāya. Our principle has been — "nā 'mūlaṁ likhyate kiñcin nā 'napekṣitam ucyate".

During the prolonged period of printing at the Viśva-Bharati University Press some additions and corrections have been found necessary. The learned readers are therefore requested to consult kindly the *ADDENDA et CORRIGENDA* before reading the text.

ADDENDA et CORRIGENDA

A. Addenda

P. 2, f. -n. 1 :—

The Hīna-yāna Dīgha-nikāya also deprecates kabba-karaṇa as a profession.

P. 92, 1. 7 :—

Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa's (ca. 900 A. D.) Āgama-ḍambara and Narasiṁha's (or Nṛsiṁha's) Anumiti-pariṇaya are two other allegorical dramas.

P. 104, 1. 10 (from the bottom) :—

Cakradhara's Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga on Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa's Nyāya-mañjarī has been published in the LDS. in 1972, and the relevant excerpt in a fuller form might now be cited below :

[*Dharma*] *kīrtinā* 'py a[nu]moditam / sa hy āha — "kaścid āha [—] nāsty ātmeti vayaṁ *Bauddhā* brūmaḥ / ke Bauddhāḥ ? ye Buddhasya bhagavataḥ śāsanam abhyupetāḥ / ko *Buddho* bhagavān ? yasya śāsane bhadantaḥ Aśvaghoṣaḥ pravrajitaḥ / kaḥ punar bhadantaḥ *Aśvaghoṣaḥ* ? yasya *Rāṣṭrapālaṁ nāma nāṭakam* / kīdṛśaṁ ca Rāṣṭrapālaṁ nāma nāṭakam ? iti prasaṅgaṁ kṛtvā nāndy-ante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāra ity-ādikaṁ paṭhen, nṛtyec ca /"

[12th Āhnika, pp. 244-245]

It is evident that Cakradhara mentions the name of [*Dharma*]-*kīrti* and quotes from the latter's *Vāda-nyāya*.

iv) There is also a fourth reference to the R. in Vādirāja-sūri's (11th century A. D.) Nyāya-viniścaya-vivaraṇa [or Vivaraṇālaṅkāra or Vyākhyāna-ratna-mālā] on Bhaṭṭa Akalaṅka's (8th century A. D.) Nyāya-viniścaya. Vādirāja (II), a disciple of Matisāgara of the Digambara Jaina sect, was patronised by the Western Cālukya king Jayasiṁha II alias Jagadekamalla I (1018-1042 A. D.). However, the appropriate extract is quoted below :

param apy atra vyākhyānam — "saṁśayādi-rahitatvena pratipattavyaṁ sādhanam [—] karmasthe bhāve pratyaya-vidhānāt, tad aṅgaṁ sva-rūpaṁ yasya tat sādhanāṅgaṁ vivādāpannaṁ sādhyam eva, tasmād anyad asādhanāṅgaṁ, tasya vacanam / tad yathā —

'ātmani vivāde nāsty ātmeti vayaṁ Bauddhāḥ /'

'ke Bauddhāḥ ?'
'ye Buddha-śāsanam upagatāḥ /'
'ko Buddhaḥ ?'
'yasya śāsane *bhadantā*[']*śvaghoṣaḥ* pravrajitaḥ / '
'kaḥ punar *bhadantā*[']*śvaghoṣaḥ* ?'
'yasya *Rāṣṭrapālaṁ nāma nāṭakam* /'
'kīdṛśaṁ ca tan nāṭakam ?'
iti prasaṅgam āracayya 'nāndy-ante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāra' ity ārabhya nāṭaka-granthaṁ paṭhati, nṛtyati, gāyati ca, aparasya vyāmoham, anuvāde śakti-vyāghātaṁ ca kartum iti, tad api vādino nigraha-sthānam aprastutābhidhānāt" iti ; tad api na prekṣāvatāṁ pramodam āpādayati ; tādṛśāt prasaṅga-paramparā-karaṇāt kathā-vicchedasyaivopapatteḥ [—] na parājayasya, tasya prativādi-vijaya-savyapekṣasya tad-abhāve 'nupapatteḥ / ......
[Vivaraṇa on 2/209, p. 239]

P. 118, f.-n. 1 :—
The hemistich "gaṇa-dāsasya te darpaḥ ṣaḍ-bhāgena bhṛtasya kaḥ /" occurs in Āryadeva's Catuḥ-śatikā. The fragments of the Catuḥ-śatikā with Candrakīrti's commentary have been published in the MASB. in 1914.

P. 186, f.-n. 4 (1. 7 from the bottom) :—
Add "Īśvaradatta" after "Vaṭeśvaradatta".

P. 377 :—
The question of plagiarism has also been dealt with by Rājaśekhara in the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā and Kṣemendra in the Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa.

B. Corrigenda

Despite the sincerest efforts to present a fairly correct and dependable text as far as practicable some minor misprints like i) the presence of a few superfluous dots, commas and inverted commas ; ii) the absence of some commas, full stops, hyphens and dots broken uncontrollably in course of printing, and iii) the unwarranted occurrence of some commas printed wrongly in place of full stops have been noticed. Besides, some dots are found to have been tagged on to some words skipping the intervening space. But these immaterial misprints have been ignored and left out of the following list of the errata. The intelligent readers can correct these errors themselves.

Their kind attention is however enlisted to some major misprints **as** noted underneath :—

P. xvii, l. 9, *read* xlvi-xlviii *for* xlvii-xlix.
P. xvii, l. 10, *read* xlix-li *for* li-liii.
P. xvii, l. 11, *read* lii *for* lv.
P. xix, l. 13 (from the bottom), *read* 146 *for* 166.
P. xlviii, l. 1, *read* xlvii *for* xlviii.
P. xlix, l. 1, *read* xlviii *for* xlix.
P. 97, l. 7 (from the bottom), *read* varṇṇā° *for* vaṛṇṇā°.
P. 106, l. 2, *read* v) *for* iv).
P. 130, f.-n. 1, *read* p. xxxii *for* p. xvi.
P. 132, f.-n. 2, *read* p. xxxii *for* p. xvi.
P. 137, f.-n. 1, *read* p. xxxii *for* p. xvi.
P. 149, f.-n. 1, *read* p. xxxii *for* p. xvii.
P. 152, f.-n. 1, *read* 11h ....., p. xxxiii *for* 11g ....., p. xvii.
P. 172, f.-n. 1, *read* * °jīv[*] *for* * °jīv[*].
P. 206, 1. 5 (from the bottom), *read* ...../1 (= Varga) .....
for ...../1 < (= Varga) .....
P. 369, l. 2, *read* Dīpaka *for* īpaka.
P. 371, 1. 7 (from the bottom), *read* Virodhābhāsa *for* Virodbhāhāsa.
P. 380, 1. 22, *read* Aśvaghoṣa *for* śvaghoṣa.
P. 380, 1. 2 (from the bottom), *read* dhūma *for* dhuma.
P. 382, 1. 2 (from the bottom), *read* Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa
for °-prakaraṇ.

Owing to typographical handicaps some allowances and adjustments had also to be made.

The indulgence of the readers is besought for such inconveniences.

AŚVAGHOṢA-PRAŚASTIḤ

lalitā kāvya-kalā kadā ca kalitā śṛṅgāra-saṁmarditā
grathitā dārśanikī kuto 'pi jaṭilā dīprā-'rka-tīvra-dyutiḥ .
ubhayaṁ yena dhiyā 'samāna-sudhiyā śāntātmanodbhāvitaṁ
jayatād Aśva-kaviḥ pravīṇa-rasiko yaś cauciti-mārmikaḥ ..

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The rudiments of the Classical Sanskrit literature and its ornate technique may be traced in the vast store of the Vedic literature and its accessory sciences. But the prabhu-sammita Vedic lore is a rather remote cause and as such an anyathā-siddha—and not a kāraṇa proper—in relation to the kāntā-sammita Bhāṣā literature and its stylistic criticism.

So the real kāraṇa of the ornate literature as well as its criticism should properly be said to be the great bulk of the sakhi-sammita Epic literature which is closer to the classical one in form, manner and spirit. To be elaborate, the two Great National Epics, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata, exercise considerable influences on the entire range of the classical literature in respect of the language, style and didactic materials. These various influences are palpable particularly in the early stages of the ornate literature when we find simplicity, raciness, and sometimes flexibility also, of the wordings, spontaneity and freshness of the ideas, scenes, characterizations and stylistic twists, and the moralising materials couched in the narratives.

We leave aside in the present context the definite but stray traces of the Bhāṣā literature and its technique in their formative stages as recorded in the grammatical works of Pāṇini and his early followers who show that the classical literature and its criticism run almost pari passu.

Thus we come directly to Aśvaghoṣa, the earliest known poet and dramatist of the classical literature. He has to his credit four nirvāṇa-kāvyas of which two are śravya mahā-kāvyas (Kunstepen), viz., the *B.* and the *S.*, the third is a dṛśya prakaraṇa (a Kunstdrama dealing with the bourgeois life), viz., the Ś., and the fourth is a dṛśya nāṭaka (a Kunstdrama on the royal or aristocratic life), viz., the R.

These authentic kāvyas betray more or less the different aspects of the afore-said Epic legacy.

Further, these kāvyas are modelled undoubtedly on the regular śravya-kāvya and dṛśya-kāvya patterns practised and popularized in the post-Epic formative period of the classical literature.

Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas reflect the same ornate kāvya-like style of the several inscriptions of India and Greater India which are composed in prose and poetry in Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākṛta, and

which belong to the centuries about the beginning of the Christian era.

Beside the far-reaching Epic influences woven into the usual tri-varga-niṣṭha kāvya-patterns of the said formative period, and the inscriptional records in fanciful style constituting Aśvaghoṣa's milieu, there are also other factors which go to the making of his ornate kāvyas. Thus his kāvyas exhibit the geistige Strömungen of the early Mahā-yāna school of Buddhism which appears to support the religious forms of art and as such contradicts the puritanic interdiction of the Hīna-yāna Aṅguttara-nikāya on dance, music, drama, etc.[1]) This revised attitude of Art for Religion's sake characterising the Mahā-yāna in the making may be illustrated by the sculptural remains of Gandhāra. This new trend goes to such an extent in the Lalita-vistara (circa 2nd century A. D.) that the Buddha's versatility is said to encompass even dramaturgy. Besides, the Avadāna-śataka (composed indubitably before the 3rd century A. D. when it is known to have been translated into Chinese) tells us about the enacting of a Buddhistic drama by some South Indian actor before the king of Śobhāvatī. Again, the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur narrates how a South Indian actor enacts the life of the Buddha up to the attainment of the bodhi before King Bimbisāra. Further, some fragments of two Buddhistic dramas in Tokharian translation from the Sanskrit originals have been discovered in Central Asia. Moreover, the Divyāvadāna (ca. 2nd century A. D.) story of Māra's assuming the role of the Buddha in the presence of Upagupta is also of dramatic significance. Besides these references to the Buddhistic dṛśya-kāvyas there are the śravya-kāvyas in poetry and prose in Classical Sanskrit like Mātṛceṭa's (ca. 2nd century A. D.) Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra, Kumāralāta's (ca. 2nd century A. D.) Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti and Ārya-Śūra's (ca. 3rd century A. D.) Jātaka-mālā. Furthermore, the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra (ca. 2nd century A. D.) and the Touen-houang leaf of some mahā-kāvya (of unknown date) on the life of the Buddha are in Sanskrit śravya-kāvya style. Moreover, the Mahā-vastu (ca. 2nd century A. D.) in hybrid Sanskrit also shows some premature experiments with the classical style.

---

1) There are similar strictures on art on the grounds of social ethics in the Hinduistic texts of Manu, Gautama and Kauṭilya.

All these Buddhistic missionary kāvyas[1]) deal with the whole or some aspects of the life of the Buddha. But it is not possible now to extricate the exact amount of historicity from the multiple sectarian legends which cluster round the original facts.

Anyway, it is important that these more or less ornate kāvyas are couched in Classical Sanskrit with or without the varying amount of the dialectal influences. This adoption of the Sanskrit medium—be it relatively purer or mixed with the dialectal characteristics—in the Buddhistic kāvyas of the early Christian era betrays the influence of the rising Mahā-yāna.

Further, the common aim of these missionary kāvyas is the popularization of the Buddha's life and basic doctrines. These teachings are worded in a simple and concise way, and are guided by the altruistic spirit of the growing Mahā-yāna.

The same Zeitgeist must have also influenced Aśvaghoṣa whose missionary kāvyas appear to have been the ornate media of popular preaching and propaganda of the Buddha's basic teachings.

Besides this pro-Mahā-yāna tendency of Aśvaghoṣa's milieu working in his missionary kāvyas there is also the realistic social background of the early centuries of the Christian era which is reflected in Vātsyāyana's (ca. 2nd century A. D.) Kāma-sūtra. Aśvaghoṣa's awareness of his social surroundings must have stirred up his historical imagination in the portrayal of the realistic roles of the secular settings of India of the Buddha's time.

Lastly, it has to be said that Aśvaghoṣa's ornate kāvyas bear unquestionable and important testimonies to the unbroken continuity of the classical kāvya tradition about the beginning of the Christian era, and thus explode more than ever Max Müller's Renaissance theory based on Fergusson's Korur theory.

After these preliminary observations on Aśvaghoṣa's milieu we now propose to direct our attention to his kāvyas and record in the following chapters the results of our critical investigations into the

1) In this context we might also refer to the interesting parallel trend of the Jinistic missionary kāvyas. Thus the Jinistic sources tell us of the dramatic representation of the life of the Mahā-vīra by some troupe of young actors and actresses. Again, Vimala-sūri's (ca. 2nd century A. D.) Paüma-cariya is in the śravya-kāvya style.

historicity of his life, probable date, externalities and tentative chronology of his authentic kāvyas, apocryphal works ascribed to him, linguistic peculiarities of the genuine kāvya-texts, their stylistic particulars, influence on the posterity, and religio-philosophical matter, and draw the pertinent conclusions concerning the noteworthy contributions of Aśvaghoṣa both as an ornate kavi and as a Buddhist missionary. It has to be noted at the outset that the results of our critical enquiries into the classical features and religio-philosophical theories of Aśvaghoṣa's works are based as far as practicable on the dependable data at our disposal supplied by the texts available in print.

CHAPTER II

AŚVAGHOṢA'S LIFE, DATE AND WORKS

I: *Aśvaghoṣa's Life*

1. *Legendary Accounts of Aśvaghoṣa's Life*—Kumārajīva is said to have translated a legendary biography of Aśvaghoṣa into Chinese between 401 and 409 A. D. There are also other traditional stories prevalent in Chinese and Tibetan. But all these do not agree in their details and are no better than myths of doubtful accuracy. No consistent account can thus be obtained from them. We therefore turn to the authentic works of Aśvaghoṣa himself and other dependable evidences to build up a coherent biography of the kavi out of them.

2. *Parentage*—The extant colophons of the authentic works of Aśvaghoṣa uniformly show that the kavi is styled as "Suvarṇākṣī-putra" (also written "Suvarṇṇākṣi-"). This metronymic is found at the end of the texts of the S. and the Ś., and occurs also in the colophon appended to the 28th canto of the Tibetan translation of the B. But the concluding portions of the apocryphal texts like the Vajra-sūcī and the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā do not contain this metronymic. However, the relevant portions of the requisite colophons are cited below for the facilitation of the subsequent discussion :—

i) ārya-Suvarṇākṣī-putrasya ...... bhadant-Āśvaghoṣasya...... — S., Text, p. 142 ;

ii) āryya-Suvarṇṇākṣi-putrasy-āryy-Āśvaghoṣasya ...... — Ś., C 4, reverse side, 1. 4, p. 392 ; also in Phil. Ind., p. 195 ;

iii) "...... Aśvaghoṣa......, the son of Suvarṇākṣī, ..." — B., Act. Or., p. 286.

Whether these colophons were composed by Aśvaghoṣa himself or by some scribes is a side-issue which of course cannot be categorically answered at this date. But the general uniformity of the said colophons lands our conjecture on a more or less surer basis and as such we can deduce from them that Aśvaghoṣa's mother's name was Suvarṇākṣī. The afore-cited *Ś.* fragment spells the name with slight differences. The doubling in "rṇṇā" is grammatically correct (cf. Pāṇini, 8/4/46 : "aco ra-hābhyāṁ dve") and is an orthographical peculiarity noticed also in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh rock inscription (cf......svara-gati-varṇṇa-sāra............). The shortening in "kṣi", again, is optionally obtained by Pāṇini's "ṅy-āpoḥ saṁjñā-cchandasor

bahulam" (6/3/63), and may be similarly instanced by words like Revati-putra (also Revatī-°), Rohiṇi-putra (also Rohiṇī-°), Śāri-putra (also Śārī-°) and Vātsi-putra (also Vātsī-°). However, the proper name "Suvarṇākṣī" is transformed by some into "Svarṇākṣī" ; but it is not warranted by the above colophons. This name has also been translated by some as "Golden-eyed" ; but it goes against the dictum "vākyena saṁjñā'navagamād avigraho nitya-samāsaḥ".

Anyway, we learn this much only about Aśvaghoṣa's parentage.

3. *Name and Identity*—The name of the kavi too appears differently in various works. In his Memoirs Hsüan-Tsang (who stayed in India from October, 630 A. D. to July, 644 A. D.) gives the Chinese form of the name as "A-ssŭ-fo-ku-sha" (=Aśvaghoṣa) besides "Ma-ming" ("Horse-voice"). I-tsing, who visited India during the period 673-687 A. D. and composed his Record in 691-692 A. D, also mentions with reverence the name of Aśvaghoṣa along with those of Nāgārjuna and Ārya-deva (=Ārya-Śūra). In Tibetan the name "Aśvaghoṣa" is translated as "rta-dbyáṅs" ("rta" = horse and "dbyáṅs" = melody). In the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa (53/940) Aśvaghoṣa has probably been envisaged as the "Akārākhyo yatiḥ" (Akāra being obviously the initial letter of the name "Aśvaghoṣa"). The word "Ghoṣa" [evidently a mistake for "Vyoṣa"(-kāvya) or Rāvaṇārjunīya or Arjuna-Rāvaṇīya of Bhaumaka] appearing against four citations in Śaraṇadeva's Durghaṭa-vṛtti has been erroneously taken to be an abbreviation of Aśvaghoṣa. Strictly speaking, only one of the six quotations printed (and shown also in the Index) in the Durghaṭa-vṛtti is from Aśvaghoṣa (B., 8/13 under 6/1/131 at pp. 96-97) while four are from the Vyoṣa (=Rāvaṇārjunīya) and one from Māgha (though the citation is wrongly introduced as "iti Ghoṣaḥ").

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's renown spread so far and wide already in the beginning of the 5th century A. D. that he became a legendary figure whose historicity came to be smothered in oblivion. Fanciful anecdotes were spun to explain the name of the kavi. In the legendary biography of Aśvaghoṣa Kumārajīva offers a speculative interpretation by relating a story of starving horses who declined to partake of their fodder as they were moved by the melancholy sermon of the kavi in Magadha. Some even suppose that at his birth horses neighed. Some, again, call the kavi by the name of

"Giu-lo-wei-ni" (=Ghora-vin) as he held the horses (ghora) spell-bound by his lute (vīṇā). The Tibetan "rta-dbyáṅs" (=Horse-melody = Aśvaghoṣa) has apparently some connection with the Chinese "Ghora-vin".

Anyway, a proper name, as we have seen above, is a case of avigraha-nitya-samāsa and any attempt at showing its connotation will reduce it to an appellation which has actually happened in the present case. The word "Aśvaghoṣa" is thus taken by some for an appellation of an otherwise anonymous kavi.

The kavi Aśvaghoṣa has also been wrongly identified with one Aśvaghoṣa-rāja mentioned in an inscription of the time of Kaniṣka. But this confusion is evidently due to the accidental similarity of the two names. In none of the colophons of the kavi's authentic works he is shown as a king.

Again, according to some Chinese texts, there are several Aśvaghoṣas belonging to different periods of time. If this be granted to be a fact then one may perhaps find some explanation for the ascription of diverse texts in Chinese and Tibetan to the kavi Aśvaghoṣa.

Moreover, the kavi gradually became so enveloped in a wild mist of legendary popularity in the few centuries after him that his name came to be conjured with by his successors as a hall-mark of poetry, scholarship and piety. As a result, the names of his junior contemporaries like Mātṛceṭa and Kumāralāta, and of his successors like Ārya-deva (=Ārya-Śūra) began to cluster round the colossal personality of Aśvaghoṣa and they seemed to form an Aśvaghoṣa school on account of the similarity in the employment of a more or less ornate diction in order to glorify the Buddha in some kāvya-form—a novel technique adopted by these classical kavis against the express interdiction of the Aṅguttara-nikāya. Thus, Aśvaghoṣa is often found associated and eventually confused with the personalities like Mātṛceṭa, Kumāralāta and Ārya-Śūra. Consequently some works of his associates have passed for Aśvaghoṣa in the Chinese and Tibetan lists.

4. *Place*—This confusion may also account for the change of Aśvaghoṣa's habitation. He has been associated with all the zones of India. The existing traditional accounts are at variance with one another in this matter. The kavi is said to have been an inhabitant of Eastern, Northern, North-Western, Western and

Central India. He is also said to have been an extensive traveller who visited Kāmarūpa, Gauḍa, Oḍivisa, etc. It was perhaps due to his wide popularity and to the wrong identification with his illustrious contemporaries that Aśvaghoṣa came to be coupled with the different regions of India. But in the colophons of the S. (Text, p. 142) and the B. (Act. Or., p. 286) we find a decisive record of Aśvaghoṣa's association with Sāketa or Ayodhyā. These data show the kavi as a "Sāketaka". Of course, the colophon of the Ś. (p. 392) makes no mention of the word "Sāketaka". Now, this word may be derived as :—i) Sākete jātaḥ and ii) Sākete bhavaḥ. The secondary (Tad-dhita) suffix vuñ is attached to the primary base "Sāketa" which belongs to the dhūmādi class (cf. dhūm-ādibhyaś ca—Pāṇini, 4/2/127). The vu in vuñ stands for aka (cf. yu-vor anākau—Pāṇini, 7/1/1) and the function of the eliding nasal ñ is to indicate the double increment (vṛddhi) of the initial vowel ("ā") of the primary base (Sāketa) which is already a vṛddhi vowel there. Now, "Sākete jātaḥ (=utpannaḥ)" means "born in Sāketa" while "Sākete bhavaḥ (=vidyamānaḥ)" means "living in Sāketa". The word "Sāketaka" may mean both in the case of Aśvaghoṣa. He was possibly born in Sāketa and lived there also for a certain period in his early career as the "Akārākhyo yatiḥ" in the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, 53/940[c] was a "Sāketa-pura-vāstavyaḥ". In his youth he seems to have travelled extensively as a controversialist and preacher of Buddhistic dogmas until he won fame as a scholar-kavi in Eastern India as Hsüan-Tsang tells us. We cannot ascertain from the conflicting traditional accounts whether he had been a court-kavi of some king in Pāṭaliputra though the scenes of the Ś. (and the R. ?) were laid in that town. Again, if the Chinese legend about Aśvaghoṣa's association with Kaniṣka has any historical value then we must suppose that the former left Sāketa, or Pāṭaliputra according to some legend, and went to the latter's court in Puruṣapura (Peshawar). Under Kaniṣka's patronage Aśvaghoṣa might have composed his kāvyas in that city of North-Western India for Buddhistic propaganda in kāvya-forms and for preaching before the populace. The *Ś.* was perhaps composed and staged in Puruṣapura or Gandhāra whence the text of this once popular drama was taken to the Ming-öi at Kysyl in Central Asia. Admittedly all this is conjecture and should be taken as such. Nevertheless we are on a confirmed footing

about one thing that Aśvaghoṣa was an Easterner—and, to be precise, a denizen of Sāketa. The afore-mentioned colophons and Hsüan-Tsang's testimony amply corroborate this hypothesis.

In this context it is of course avowed that Aśvaghoṣa has made a specific mention of the name of Vālmīki as the creator of " padya ", and was immensely influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa. But this cannot be treated as a decisive criterion for Aśvaghoṣa's being an Easterner because Vālmīki exercised his marvellous and abiding influence on the kavis of all parts of India through the ages. Nor it is cogent to say that Aśvaghoṣa's Epic archaisms and occasional deviations from the Pāṇīnian system might have been due to his adherence to some Prācya school of grammar. It is as questionable as the argument that the follower of the Vaidarbhī rīti must be an inhabitant of Vidarbha. But this much sounds reasonable that Aśvaghoṣa seems to have contributed to the faith of some Mahā-sāṅghika sect which had one of its strongholds in Ayodhyā.

5. *Youth and Renunciation*—The Sāketaka Aśvaghoṣa is depicted by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana as a Brāhmaṇa youth and the hero of a tragic love episode with a Greek lady. The lovelorn kavi eventually became a recluse in despondence. This is no doubt an interesting romantic story—a figment of imagination of a novelist - but no historical conclusion can be deduced from this account. Whether Aśvaghoṣa was a lover cannot be determined now and none of the legends in vogue about him gives any data to that effect. Nevertheless we cannot gainsay this much that the delicate delineations of love dalliance and the succinct statements of philosophical dogmas as exhibited in the religious kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa point out unmistakably to some psychological conflict as we find in Bhartṛhari's kāvyas.

However, it must be admitted on all hands that Aśvaghoṣa became a recluse as the colophons of the S. (Text, p. 142) and the B. (Act. Or., p. 286) uniformly call him a bhikṣu and the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, 53/940[b] mentions him as pravrajita.

6. *Caste and Creed*– Prior to his renunciation Aśvaghoṣa is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa by birth and a Śaiva by creed. Besides this legendary statement the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, 53/940[b] calls the kavi a "dvija". This is further supported by the internal evidence of his having received a thorough Brāhmaṇic education in the various branches of religious as well as secular lore. His copious references to Epic and mythological personages as revealed in his different works

go in favour of the tradition. As regards his being a Śaiva there is no positive proof to assess the tradition except of course a few references to Śiva in the similes.

But occasionally his specific and schematic mention of the moral turpitude of the notable gods of the Hindu pantheon and the remarkable monks and royal sages of the Hindu National Epics and the Purāṇas was palpably intended for propaganda and refutation. Such cases are found in a pre-planned order both in the B. and the S. Far from being sporadic they appear in a large number in these kāvyas when the varṇāśrama theory of the tri-varga-sevā is meant for refutation. These passages of the pūrva-pakṣa have a cumulative force of the samuccaya alaṅkāra based on the khale-kapotikā-nyāya. It is therefore not justifiable to state that everywhere great respect has been shown by Aśvaghoṣa to Brāhmaṇical ideas and institutions. Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa cannot be said to have exhibited a Brāhmaṇic bias in his authentic works.

7. *Conversion and Later Career*— a) *Conversion*— Now, this propaganda and the thorough knowledge of the Hindu lore might have been due to his being a scholar teacher, a missionary preaching Buddhistic dogmas among the non-believers and rebutting the pūrva-pakṣas, and perhaps a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa. The colophons of the S. (Text, p. 142) and the B. (Act. Or., p. 286) call him a venerable mendicant (Bhadanta), a teacher (ācārya) and an eloquent controversialist (mahā-vādin). The Chinese account of the R. shows Aśvaghoṣa as a preacher putting on the dress of a layman, playing on some musical instruments and converting the heretics to Buddhism. Hsüan-Tsang refers to him as a "P'usa" (=Bodhi-sattva) who reached the highest stage of spiritual perfection, and narrates how he once outwitted in a public discussion in Pāṭaliputra a "Demon-eloquent" Brāhmaṇa who was dependent on evil spirits for the fluency of his speech. Hsüan-Tsang mentions certain legends about Aśvaghoṣa's conversion from original Brāhmaṇic faith to Buddhism by the Patriarch Pārśva or his pupil Pūrṇa (or Pūrṇāśa ?) or Puṇyayaśas (Fu-na-shê) of the Sarvāsti-vāda school. Though the legendary accounts given by the diverse Chinese traditions are at variance with one another as regards the name and other details of the Buddhist teacher who converted Aśvaghoṣa still all stories agree as to Aśvaghoṣa's conversion. This point is also corroborated by the kavi's fascination for his favourite theme of conversion. Some such psychological

background might have spurred the kavi on to choose for his plots the conversion of the Kṣatriya prince Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha, in the S., that of the two rich Brāhmaṇas, viz., Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, in the Ś., and that of the rich householder Rāṣṭrapāla in the R.

b) *Formation of the New Faith*.—After this conversion Aśvaghoṣa turned out to be a devout Buddhist whose knowledge, as Hsüan-Tsang says, embraced all things, and whose spiritual attainments extended over the "Three Vehicles" (=the Tri-yānas), viz., i) the Śrāvaka-yāna, ii) the Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna and iii) the Bodhi-sattva-yāna (or the Mahā-yāna).

Through his zealous practice of the spiritual course and strict observance of the ethical discipline as a monk Aśvaghoṣa attained to great eminence and thus in the estimate of the posterity he rose to the rank of a "P'usa" or Bodhi-sattva as we have noted above. The emphasis on the yaugika exercises prescribed for and observed by Nanda in the S., which embodies Aśvaghoṣa's view of the bodhi-mārga, may not unlikely contain some autobiographical touches.

The detailed representation of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics as put in the mouth of Arāḍa Kalāma and that of Rāmaputra Udraka, and its criticism which the Buddha is made to do, betray also the influence of the early Sāṁkhya-Yoga tenets in the formation of Aśvaghoṣa's new faith.

With a warm emotion for this newly embraced faith Aśvaghoṣa studied the earlier Buddhistic dogmas, assimilated them with his penetrating comprehension and finally couched them in concise and clear expressions in his kāvyas which evoked the fervent appreciation of I-tsing.

c) *Supernatural Powers*—The ardent believer Aśvaghoṣa grew to be a great saint and gained, as some Chinese tradition relates, many miraculous magical powers through his penance. There are of course several references to the supernatural powers (=ṛddhis or prātīhāryas) of the Buddha and others in the B., S. and Ś. Maudgalyāyana is greeted by the Buddha as the "ṛddhi-vikalpeśvara" in the Ś. But this cannot be regarded as a positive proof of Aśvaghoṣa's possession of such occult powers.

d) *The Qualities of a True Kavi*—However, the marvellous personality of the Buddha so fired the historical imagination of Aśvaghoṣa that he employed the qualities of his head and heart for the propagation of

his new creed. The scholastic capabilities and the artistic susceptibilities of the kavi were combined for the vindication of his cult. His „Weltanschauung" so permeated by the personal devotion to the superman Buddha found a simple and telling expression in his „Kunstwerke". Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas thus rightly earned for him the honorific of a "mahā-kavi" as we learn from the colophons of the S. (Text, p, 142) and the B. (Act. Or., p. 286). Like a true poet he was an embodiment of the harmonious trio of the kāvyāṅgas (or kāvyopādānas), viz,, i) pratibhā (= inborn intuition), ii) vyutpatti (= knowledge of the requisite arts and sciences) and iii) abhyāsa (= practice), which the later ālaṅkārikas prescribed for the making of a poet.

e) *Role as a Musician*—Besides being a poet and a dramatist Aśvaghoṣa, according to the Chinese tradition, was a great musician who used to preach with a choir in the marts by singing effective melancholy ditties disparaging the vanity of the ever-evanescent worldly life. The Chinese account of the R. records that in the city of Pāṭaliputra Aśvaghoṣa got into the assembly of some artists and himself played on the cymbals and the drum and with enthusiasm took upon himself the lute and the guitar. The tune of this dramatic piece was pure and elegant, and beauty and sadness were perfectly harmonised in it. Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of the Saṅgīta-śāstra is also exhibited in the B. and the S. His sensitiveness about musical sound-effects is further displayed in his choice of the proper vocabulary.

f) *Role as a Preacher of Buddha-bhakti*—Thus in Aśvaghoṣa art became a handmaid to religion and, as a preacher-kavi, he resorted to tbe charming secular technique of ornate kāvyas for popularizing the Buddha's teachings as prevalent in the 1st century A. D. In fact, Aśvaghoṣa belonged to that transitional period in the history of Buddhistic philosophy and art when the original ascetic way of jñāna of the Hīna-yāna was gradually being supplemented by the popular way of bhakti of the rising Mahā-yāna. This attitude of bhakti evinced a profound change at least in the style of the teaching of the doctrine. Already long before Aśvaghoṣa the gradual transformation of Buddhistic religiosity occurred during the period between the death of the Buddha and the conversion of King Aśoka. This dissident tendency of Buddha-bhakti was already latent in the royal edicts of Aśoka's reign and the popular art thereafter, and received later on the mature support of the Buddhist philosophers under the patronage

of the Kuṣāṇa warrior kings. During this transitional period the Buddha came to be reverenced as a divine being and a World Redeemer. The portals of Buddhahood were open to all beings.

g) Philosophical Standpoint between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna--- As a poet of this religious tendency Aśvaghoṣa has preached a popular Buddha-Bhāgavatism like Mātṛceṭa and Kumāralāta — all belonging to the same milieu — and has portrayed the Buddha as an exalted superman (=agra-pudgala). In the Ś. the Buddha is regarded as religion incarnate (puruṣa-vigraho dharmaḥ), and the B. makes him a puruṣottama. In the B. we find references to numerous Buddhas bent upon securing the welfare of all beings. The S. depicts the character of the Buddha as a compassionate and benevolent Saviour of the World. With a great respect for the moral standpoint of the Hīna-yāna scriptures on the one hand and an absolute surrender (śaraṇāgati) and intense veneration (śraddhā) for the superhuman Messiah on the other Aśvaghoṣa thus belongs to the later phase of the Hīna-yāna though the rudiments of the Mahā-yāna may be traceable in the spirit of devotional emotion and altruism in the B., S. and Ś. But the metaphysical subtleties like the concept of the catuṣ-koṭi-vinirmukta and hence indescribable and absolute śūnya of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika theory, the doctrine of the absolute state of ālaya-vijñāna (store-consciousness) of Asaṅga-Vasubandhu's Yogācāra theory, the Mahā-yāna doctrines of the tri-kāya and the pāramitās are not to be found in the extant B., S. and Ś. Moreover, the Aśvaghoṣa credited, according to the Mahā-yāna tradition in Japan, with the association of the 'Pure Land' doctrine, the 'Avataṁsaka -sūtra' (Gaṇḍa-vyūha) sect and the 'Contemplatist School' must be regarded as a different person from the Aśvaghoṣa credited with the authorship of the B., S., Ś. and R. Again, the Chinese tradition about Aśvaghoṣa's composition of the Sarvāstivādins' Vibhāṣā commentary on the Abhidharma is open to doubt as Aśvaghoṣa does not appear to have known the great commentary. But the legend concerning his association with Kaniṣka, the great champion of the Mahā-sāṅghikas, seems to contain some truth in it and cannot be brushed aside forthwith.

However, we may cautiously avoid any categorical statement like the poet Aśvaghoṣa's being a Bahu-śrutika or perhaps a Kaukulika, and, therefore, conclude by saying that Aśvaghoṣa must have belonged to some such Hīna-yāna school which was gradually melting into the Mahā-yāna—say, the Mahā-sāṅghika school.

Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa's standing on the frontier of the Hīna-yāna ethics and the Mahā-yāna Buddha-bhakti vouchsafed him a remarkable position and his fadless great scholarship, poetry and piety made him very famous in both the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna. It is quite in the fitness of things that he is said to be 'of universal renown' in the colophon of the B. (Act. Or., p. 286) and that he is so highly eulogized by Hsüan-Tsang and I-tsing in their memoirs.

8. *Death*—Lastly, Aśvaghoṣa is said to have lived up to 80 years as the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, 53/940[d] informs us. This legend must be taken for its own worth in the absence of any proof.

II. *Aśvaghoṣa's Date*

So far we have tried to reconstruct the biography of Aśvaghoṣa in its varied aspects on the basis of the materials culled from the poet's authentic works and the different legends prevalent about him. Now' we propose to determine the date of Aśvaghoṣa from the data available to us.

The traditions embodied in the Chinese and Tibetan sources agree in asserting that Aśvaghoṣa was a contemporary of King Kaniṣka (circa 78-150 A. D). Hsüan-Tsang relates that Aśvaghoṣa was given to Ka-ni-t'a (Kaniṣka perhaps), king of the Yue-ti country, as part of a war indemnity. The Chinese Saṁyukta-ratna-piṭaka-sūtra (No. 1329, vol. 6, dated 472 A. D) and the Record of the Twenty-three Patriarchs, Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yuen-king (No. 1340, vol. 5, p. 13[a], dated 472 A. D.), make the Bodhi-sattva Aśvaghoṣa, the physician Caraka and the famous minister Māṭhara contemporaneous with Can-dana-kaniṭa (=Kaniṣka). Aśvaghoṣa is also said to have been the spiritual counsellor to Kaniṣka. Of course, no mention of his Kuṣāṇa patron is to be found in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works—though Kumāralāta refers to Kaniṣka as an already dead person. Nevertheless Aśvaghoṣa's contemporaneity at least—if not his association—with that Kuṣāṇa emperor may be countenanced by the following evidences : –

1. Firstly, a close palaeographic study of the fragments of the manuscripts of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. reveals the fact that these extant remains were originally written in India in early Kuṣāṇa era—probably during the reign of Kaniṣka or Huviṣka—and were later on carried to Central Asia. These fragments bear the characteristics of a palimpsest inasmuch as they appear to have been revised and

corrected, and the delenda restored and rewritten by a later hand in Central Asian Brāhmī characters towards the end of the Kuṣāṇa period. The dilapidated condition of the Talipat palm-leaves written in deep black ink with a reed-pen also supports the above contention.

2. Secondly, the three types of Prākṛta used in the existing torso of the Ś. represent the older phases of the Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī and Śaurasenī dialects which are known to us only in their modified forms from the later Prākṛta grammars. As regards phonology and morphology Aśvaghoṣa's Prākṛta archaisms are akin to Pāli and bear much resemblance to the Prākṛtas of the ancient inscriptions of the post-Epical and pre-classical period. Some reminiscences of these archaic peculiarities have survived in Bhāsa but these cannot be traced still later in Kālidāsa. Further, Aśvaghoṣa's Prākṛtas are clearly earlier than the dramatic Prākṛtas recognised in Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, which, again, is on a par with Bhāsa in this respect. Moreover, Ardha-Māgadhī, which is found in Aśvaghoṣa, Bharata and Bhāsa, cannot be detected in the post-Bhāsa classical dramas. Another notable feature in Aśvaghoṣa, Bharata and Bhāsa is the absence of Māhārāṣṭrī which is regarded as a later stage of Śaurasenī.

Thus, Aśvaghoṣa employing Old Māgadhī, Old Ardha-Māgadhī and Old Śaurasenī and leaving no traces of the later Māhārāṣṭrī must have been a forerunner to Bharata, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa.

3. Thirdly, the Erscheinungsformen of Sanskrit in Aśvaghoṣa's B., S. and Ś. combine the racy verve of the Erzählungen, as in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata, with a tendency towards the fine filigree of full-fledged classical Sanskrit as we find in the works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha. Barring certain cases of solecism and peculiarities of syntax Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit is on the whole classical in form and structure. Except a very few stock words and phrases it has little affinities with the typical looseness of the Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit as found in the *Lalita-vistara* and the *Mahā-vastu.* Though mainly classical Aśvaghoṣa's vocabulary has an archaic aroma of the two National Epics around it.

Thus, Aśvaghoṣa seems to have belonged to that early period of the Classical Sanskrit literature when certain linguistic features of the two Great Epics still survived and when some conscious experiments with ornate twists („Wendungen") were already in advance.

4. Fourthly, an evaluation of Aśvaghoṣa's style also places him in the early period of the Classical Sanskrit literature. His manner

of presentation is considerably influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. In the B., 1/43[ab] he refers to Vālmīki as the creator of "padya" and both in the B. and the S. he mentions many characters and incidents of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. The two Great National Epics have also left an indelible stamp on the characterizations, descriptions, dialogues and some alaṅkāras in Aśvaghoṣa. Again, the technique adopted by the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa in his didactic kāvyas is simple yet direct and forceful. The enchanting ornate elements introduced by him are not so pronounced as those in Bhāravi and Māgha, and rather remind the readers of a similar simplicity of Mātṛceṭa's Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra, Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā, the Divyāvadāna and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra.

Aśvaghoṣa, therefore, belonged to the early phase of the Classical Sanskrit literature when the variety of the conjugated verbal forms befitting a narrative diction still reigned supreme and the florid epithet-mongering did not gain much ground.

5. Fifthly, the consummate character of Aśvaghoṣa's court-epics and the perfect technique of his dramas naturally presuppose his acquaintance with some earlier theories of poetics and dramaturgy. But we do not possess as yet any texts on Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy which can be placed safely before the beginning of the Christian era and which may be supposed to have been known to Aśvaghoṣa. We must, therefore, refer to the earliest available texts like Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra (circa 2nd century A. D.), Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa (ca. 7th century A. D.), etc. for assessing in the light of their doctrines the kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa. Thus, both the B. and the S. satisfy properly the particulars of a mahā-kāvya as defined a posteriori by Daṇḍin in a later date. Again, the simple and unrefined state of the alaṅkāras with some problematic cases as exhibited in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas must be understood mainly in terms of the Nāṭya-śāstra. Further, the Ś. conforms rightly with the traditional features of a prakaraṇa as recorded in the Nāṭya-śāstra. Now this Nāṭya-śāstra, which was known in some form or other to both Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, may be placed with some amount of certainty in the 2nd century A. D. Thus, if the Prākṛtas in the Ś. are earlier than those dealt with in the Nāṭya-Śāstra, as has been already shown in a previous paragraph, then Aśvaghoṣa must be a precursor to Bharata and as such must have flourished before the 2nd century A. D.

6. Sixthly, the archaic and complex metres used by Aśvaghoṣa in the S. and the Ś. find their definitions and parallels in Piṅgala's Chandaḥ-sūtra (ca. 2nd century B. C.) and Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra. Thus, the S., 12/43 and 13/56 correspond with Bharata's (15/91-92 II, p. 268) Śarabhā (=an ancestor of Śrīdharā called Mandākrāntā later on ; =ma-bha-na-ta-ga-ga=14 syllables), S., 7/52 has its counterpart in Bharata's (15/117-118, II, p. 273) Citra-lekhā [=ma-ta-na-ya-ya-ya=18 syllables ; corresponding to Piṅgala's (7/20, pp 211-212) Kusumita-latā-vellitā], and S., 2/64-65 tally with Piṅgala's (5/28, p. 129) Vardhamāna (=a sub-variety of the viṣama-vṛtta Udgatā and a variety of Upasthita-pracupita ; Vardhamāna= ma-sa-ja-bha-ga-ga / sa-na-ja-ra-ga / na-na-sa-na-na-sa / na-na-na-ja-ya=14+13+18 +15 syllables). Further, the extremely complicated viṣama-vṛtta metre named Udgatā [defined by Piṅgala (5/24 pp. 125-126) and Bharata (15/188-189, II, p. 286) ; =sa-ja-sa-la / na-sa-ja-ga / bha-na-ja-la-ga / sa-ja-sa-ja-ga=10+10+11+13 syllables] in the S., 3/1–41 (=41 verses) is also found in Bhāravi (Kirātārjunīya, 12/1-53=53 verses) and Māgha (Śiśupāla-vadha 15/1-94=94 verses). Moreover, the long metre Suvadanā (=ma-ra-bha-na-ya-bha-la-ga=20 syllables) found twice in the S. (11/62 & 18/64) and five times in the Ś. (fragment nos. 1, 10, 33, 34 & 62) has survived in Bhāsa (e. g, Pratimā-nāṭaka, 3/7 & 11) ; but it cannot be found later in Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna-Śakuntala. Of course, Hariṇī occurring once in the Ś. (fragment no. 34) and Srag-dharā used twice in the Ś. (fragment nos. 27 & 79) can be found in Bhāsa [e. g., Pratimā—°, 1/18 ; 3/17 & 4/8 (Hariṇī) and 4/17 (Srag-dharā)] and Kālidāsa [e, g., Raghu-vaṁśa, 3/70 (Hariṇī) ; Abhijñāna-°, 3/11, 4/18 & 7/24 (Hariṇī) and 1/1 & 1/7 (Srag-dharā)]. There is also a single dubious case of Āryā in the Ś. (fragment no. 8); but this "jāti" type of metre became highly popular in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa.

Thus, the antiquity and rarity of some metres in Aśvaghoṣa conjointly prove his adherence to Piṅgala (ca. 2nd century B. C.) and his priority to Bharata, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, etc.

7. Seventhly, the pre-Buddhistic principles of Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics in the B. which have been put as the pūrva-pakṣa in the mouth of Arāḍa Kālāma, and referred to in connection with the guṇa-traya-vāda and also hinted at in the context of the yaugika dhyānas as recorded to have been discussed by Arāḍa Kālāma and Rāmaputra

Udraka—all reportedly rebutted and improved upon by the Buddha—indubitably betray a theistic (seśvara) character. This Ātmavādin Anschauung of Sāṁkhya in Aśvaghoṣa is a blend of jñāna with bhakti to be attained through yaugika sādhana-karman. This monistic stand-point of Sāṁkhya-Yoga evidently worked out on the lines of the Upaniṣads inculcates the gradual process of absorption of the 23 vyakta-tattvas in the 24th tattva, viz., the avyakta which here stands for the sattva or the kṣara-puruṣa (= the aparā prakṛti of the absolute Para-Brahman), i. e., the jīva-caitanya as erroneously identified with the kevalā prakṛti (= guṇa-traya) due to the superimposition of the latter on the avidyā-"cchanna former. This sattva, which, though virtually nirguṇa, thus turns out to be tri-guṇa, becomes akṣara-puruṣa or kṣetrajña or kevala (=sva-tantra) puruṣa when the ajña (insentient) pradhāna, or prakṛti proper, the cause of the saṁsāra or the vyakta evolutes, is absorbed in the kṣetrajña due to avidyā-nāśa. This nirguṇa kṣetrajña is looked upon as the 25th tattva which is above the kṣetra or the causal level of the avyakta and the vyaktas. Finally, this kṣetrajña culminates in the 26th tattva, viz., the absolute Para-Brahman, owing to the sva-rūpa-jñāna of the kṣetrajña[1].

Aśvaghoṣa also mentions Jaigīṣavya, Janaka and Vṛddha-Parāśara as the reputed teachers of Sāṁkhya-Yoga who became jīvan-muktas long before the Buddha's enlightenment. Śāriputra, prior to his conversion to Buddhism by Aśvajit, appears to have been a follower of this Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics. Further, Aśvaghoṣa refers to one Āsuri and one Pañcaśikha who were converted by the Buddha in his post-bodhi career. This Pañcaśikha must have thus been contemporaneous with the Buddha, and as such must be regarded as different from and later than Vṛddha-Parāśara identified in the Mahā-Bhārata with the great sage Pañcaśikha, the teacher of Dharmadhvaja Janaka.

Now, the Sāṁkhya metaphysics as recorded in the B. and the names of some famous pre-Buddhist teachers of this system of philosophy mentioned therein must have been adopted by Aśvaghoṣa from some such earlier source as the Mahā-Bhārata which, as we have already seen, influenced the poet in so many ways. The reminiscences of this epical Sāṁkhya may be traced in more or less the same form

1) A detailed examination of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga tenets in Aśvaghoṣa will be taken up in Chapter IV infra.

in Aśvaghoṣa, Caraka, Manu, Yājñavalkya and the quotations from Pañcaśikha in the Yoga-bhāṣya of Vyāsa. This monotheistic Sāṁkhya is different in some fundamental points from the atheistic classical Sāṁkhya as found in Īśvarakṛṣṇa's Sāṁkhya-kārikā.

Thus, the early Sāṁkhya in Aśvaghoṣa points out to his date which must be anterior to the classical Sāṁkhya in Īśvarakṛṣṇa (circa 300 A. D.).

8. Eighthly, an assessment of the Buddhistic tenets in Aśvaghoṣa also reveals that he belonged, as we have seen earlier, to the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna. He cannot be claimed to have been credited with the knowledge of the later Mādhyamika śūnya-vāda and the Yogācāra vijñāna-vāda Apparently he does not betray any acquaintance with the pāramitā doctrines and the tri-kāya theory. Further, a close study of his authentic works shows that he was not aware of the Sukhāvatī doctrine. He took his stand on some such Hīna-yāna school—say, some Mahā-sāṅghika sect—which was gradually melting into the Mahā-yāna. He was naturally well-versed in the earlier Hīna-yāna scriptures which supplied the requisite materials for his kāvyas and nourished his historical imagination which was pulsating with the fervent throbs of Buddha-bhakti and selfless philanthropy of a growing Mahā-yāna. This decided tendency of altruism and the harmonious communion of Hīna-yāna ethics and jñāna with Mahā-yāna bhakti and selfless karman point out to the rise of a Bodhi-sattva-yāna or the Mahā-yāna besides the earlier Śrāvaka-yāna and the Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna constituting the Hīna-yāna. This moulding of the Hīna-yāna and the growth of a bhakti tendency as exhibited in Aśvaghoṣa must have been earlier than Nāgārjuna (ca. 150 A. D.), the codifier of śūnya-vāda, and also than Kumāralāta (ca. 2nd century A. D.) and Āryadeva (ca. 3rd century A. D.) who illustrated the pāramitās through parables.

Thus, the doctrinal position of Aśvaghoṣa places him about 100 A. D.

9. Ninthly, the ornate technique as evinced by Aśvaghoṣa in his didactic court-epics and dramas replete with secular charms decidedly indicates the dissident trend of the Mahā-sāṅghika preacher-kavi who thus belonged to that phase of Buddhism when the original censor of the Aṅguttara-nikāya against all forms of art must have relaxed. The S. depicts in details the delicate and domestic love-

scene of Nanda and Sundarī while the B. describes the covert coquetries of the choice damsels of the harem and the personified daughters of Māra. The stage representation of the Ś. with a hetaera, her house, a Vidūṣaka, a villain (Duṣṭa), amorous scenes and similar things—all befitting a social play, must have been revolting enough on the part of a Buddhist monk if this drama had ever been staged at all. As a talented poet and dramatist Aśvaghoṣa professedly adopted the secular technique and introduced the alluring śṛṅgāra elements in his kāvyas only to repudiate śṛṅgāra and finally establish śānta. This artistic technique of preaching must have met with some sectarian approval about the beginning of the Christian era when the earlier orthodoxy was gradually yielding to a popular trend of bhakti which was teaching the original doctrines through some form of art. Aśvaghoṣa as a kavi of this transitional period of doctrinal metamorphosis must have therefore flourished in the early years of the Christian era.

10. Lastly, Aśvaghoṣa's influence as discernible in the sculpture and architecture of the early Chtistian era also determines his date. Thus, a series of bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā, some Greco-Buddhistic Gandhāra reliefs and a jamb from Amarāvatī seem to illustrate the S. Now, if these works of art are placed in the 2nd century A. D. then Aśvaghoṣa must be earlier than this period. In this way we can ascertain the lower limit of Aśvaghoṣa's date as the 2nd century A. D.

Similarly, the upper limit of the poet's date can be fixed at the 2nd century B. C. inasmuch as he seems to have been acquainted with the śāla-bhañjikā motif of the architraves at Sāñcī (circa 2nd century B. C.).

11. *Conclusion* —In consideration of the cumulative force of the foregoing data we are therefore in a position to place Aśvaghoṣa about 100 A. D. which corresponds safely with the accepted date of Kaniṣka (ca. 78-150 A. D.).

III. *Aśvaghoṣa's Works*

This section of the chapter may be divided into two sub-sections for the facilitation of the discussion. In the first sub-section we propose to give an account of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas while in the second an examination of the apocryphal works will be taken up.

A. i) *Aśvaghoṣa's Four Authentic Kāvyas*

Aśvaghoṣa is unanimously credited with the authorship of two ornate mahā-kāvyas and two ornate dramas. These are as follows :—

1. *Buddha-carita*— a) *Five Textual Traditions*—We know up till now the following five independent textual traditions of the B. :—

i) The first is represented by the two fragments of a paper manuscript unearthed in course of the Royal Prussian Turfan Expeditions carried out within the area of Šorčuq near Quarašar and Kurla in Central Asia. The reports of the finds of the excavations are not available at present. The afore-mentioned fragments had been handled and transcribed by Frau Prof. Else Lüders, and are now preserved by the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin.

The width of both the fragments is 8 centimetres. But the maximum length of the written lines in the first fragment is 18 cm. while that in the second is 14 cm. The first fragment is the right smaller half of the original sheet and the second apparently forms the middle portion of its original. The length of the entire sheet was presumably about 43 cm.

The colour of the first sheet is yellowish brown. But the reverse side of the second fragment is a little cleaner while its obverse side is clean and bluish green.

There are six lines on each side and the string-hole is found above the third and the fourth lines.

These two fragments are written carefully with a reed-pen by the same person in Central Asian Brāhmī with a mixture of slanting and rounder forms. Fortunately these fragments appear to belong to the early phase of this type of the Brāhmī characters.

The first fragment contains a total number of 2,973 syllables while the second has only 560.

These two fragments may be said to have been written in the 6th-7th centuries A. D.

Now let us turn to the content of these two fragments. Thus, the obverse side of the first fragment contains the B., $3/16^{bcd}$, 17^{bcd}, 18^{bcd}, 19^{bc}, 20^{bcd}, [3/21 missing] & 22^{bcd}, and the reverse side of this fragment has $3/23^{cd}$, 24^{cd}, 25^{cd}, 26^{cd}, 27^{cd}, 28^{acd} & 29^{a}. The obverse side of the second fragment affords us with the B., $16/20^{d}$, 21^{ab}, 22^{bc}, 23^{cd}, 24^{a}, 25^{ab}, 26^{bcd}, 27^{d} & 28^{a} while the reverse side of this fragment has $16/29^{bc}$, 30^{d}, 31^{a}, 32^{ab}, 33^{bcd}, 34^{d}, 35^{ab} & 36^{bcd}.

ii) The second textual tradition is represented by the manus-

cript of the Sanskrit text preserved in the Library of the Nepal Durbar at Kathmandu. Johnston's chief authority for his edition of the text is the rotographed reproduction of the said manuscript (designated "A" by Johnston) belonging to the Trustees of the Max Müller Fund and described in Mr. Gambier Parry's catalogue of the collection. This MS. is written in an early form of the Bengali script of circa 1300 A. D. It is the codex archetypus of and much older than the three modern MSS. used by Cowell and the one utilised by T. Byōdō which were all copied from the same transcript of the original made by Amṛtānanda, the Residency pandit in Hodgson's days, with the additions the pandit made. Further, Johnston's "A" covers only the same portion of the text acquired early in this century by the Nepal Durbar and described by H. Śāstrin in JASB., 1909, p. 47.

iii) The third textual tradition is surmised from the Chinese translation (Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king) by an Indian monk named Dharmakṣema (called Dharmarakṣa and Dharmākṣara by some) between 414 and 421 A. D. It is to be found in the Taishō Issaikyō edition of the Chinese Tri-piṭaka.

This Chinese translation is not a literal rendering but an elaborate paraphrase of a pious Buddhist who abridged or omitted altogether when the kāvya flavour (including descriptive matter) was in question, and elaborated, and sometimes even added details to the text, when some moral or legend was the matter-at-hand. This paraphrase furnishes us with only a general sense evading textual niceties.

iv) The fourth textual tradition is presupposed from the "Fo pen hsing chi ching", another biography of the Buddha in Chinese (belonging probably to the Dharmaguptas) composed after Aśvaghoṣa. It consists of prose interspersed with gāthās and is written in a verbose style. It deals with all the legends in full detail and quotes liberally from other works. It borrows largely from the B. for details, especially from cantos 4 to 9 and canto 11, and quotes as gāthās over 90 verses. It follows the B. more closely than Dharmakṣema's translation noted above and is therefore of much help in the determination of some textual readings[1].

---

1) There is also another metrical life of the Buddha, only extant in Chinese, the "Fo pen hsing ching", which certainly shows at times a definite connection with the B. The general scheme of the work is also obviously affected by the B.

v) Lastly, the fifth textual tradition is presumed from the Tibetan translation made by Kṣitīndrabhadra (or Mahīndrabhadra) and Matirāja in the 7th-8th centuries A. D. It chiefly corresponds with Johnston's "A".

b) *Existing Portions of the Sanskrit Text and their Readings*—The standard text of the B. as edited by Johnston is a torso and runs up to 14/31 only. It gives us a fairly reasonable text though his choice of the readings in several verses and his English renderings in certain cases are arbitrary and erroneous. Nevertheless we will refer to Johnston's Sanskrit text in the subsequent discussions.

Besides this we have also Weller's edition of the B., 3/16-29 and 16/20-36 based on two Central Asian fragments which can be profitably collated with the 3rd canto in Johnston's text and the 16th canto in the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The restitution of the Sanskrit original and the rectification of the scribal lacunae require the help of the Tibetan and Chinese translations and in this context Johnston's remark is quite illuminating—"No Buddhist text in Sanskrit can be satisfactorily edited without detailed comparison with such Chinese and Tibetan versions as exist."

In some cases we have also to refer to the S. and the Ś. for ascertaining the plausible readings by judging the poet's idiosyncrasies.

Further, some ideas of the lost portions of the text of the B. may be gathered from the brief summary of the plot of the B. given in the first three cantos of the S.

Moreover, the identified quotations and adaptations from the B. in the different commentaries on the Amara-kośa and in many other works render an immense help in the determination of the possible readings[1].

c) *Extent of the Extant Text and the Tibetan and Chinese Translations*—We have seen above that Johnston's incomplete text ends abruptly in the beginnning of the 14th canto while Weller's mutilated fragments preserve only some verses from the 3rd and the 16th cantos.

---

1) Aśvaghoṣa's phraseology and style were also greatly influenced by the rich storehouse of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. We propose to deal with this aspect in Chapter III infra.

Cowell's text, of course, runs up to the 17th canto. But the portions missing from Johnston's MS. and found in Cowell's text have been professedly supplied by Amṛtānanda, the Nepalese copyist of the first half of the 19th century attached to Hodgson. The pandit himself admits in the concluding verse of the 17th canto that he had to compose the extra cantos as any complete MS. of the B. could not be procured despite a vigorous search for such. He also seems to have written the first few verses of the first canto which cannot be found in Johnston's text. He, however, names the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th cantos as "Abhisaṁbodhana-saṁstavana", "Dharma-cakra-pravartanādhyeṣaṇa", "Dharma-cakra-pravartana" and "Lumbinī-yātrika" respectively. But all these have nothing to do with Aśvaghoṣa inasmuch as these do not tally with the corresponding portions in the Tibetan and Chinese translations. The running numbers of the spurious verses, the total numbers of the verses of the additional cantos and even the conjectural subject-matter of some questionable verses differ widely from those of the said translations. Moreover, the topics dealt with in the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th cantos in the two afore-mentioned translations are styled differently as "Buddhatva-prāpti", "Dharma-cakra-pravartana", "Aneka-śiṣya" and "Mahā-śiṣya-pravrajyā" respectively.

Anyway, the existing MSS. of the text of the B. are incomplete. But Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation and Kṣitīndrabhadra-(or Mahīndrabhadra-)Matirāja's Tibetan translation are complete and uniformly run up to the 28th canto.

In the following table we give the title, the total number of the verses, and the lost portions in each of the 28 cantos :—

A. Serial nos. of the cantos	B. Titles of the cantos	C. Total nos. of the verses	D. Lost portions
1st Canto	Bhagavat-prasūti	89	1/1-7, 18[a], 24[d], 25-39, 40[abc]
2nd "	Antaḥ-pura-vihāra	56	
3rd "	Saṁvegotpatti	65	3/55[d]
4th "	Strī-vighātana	103	
5th "	Abhiniṣkramaṇa	87	
6th "	Chandaka-nivartana	68	
7th "	Tapo-vana-praveśa	58	
8th "	Antaḥ-pura-vilāpa	87	

A. Serial nos. of the cantos	B. Titles of the cantos	C. Total nos. of the verses	D. Lost portions
9th Canto	Kumārānveṣaṇa	82	9/20[a]
10th ,,	Śreṇyābhigamana	41	
11th ,,	Kāma-vigarhaṇa	73	
12th ,,	Arāḍa-darśana	121	12/91[ac]
13th ,,	Māra-vijaya	72	
14th ,,	*Buddhatva-prāpti	14/1-31 [+14/32-108 in the Tibetan and Chinese translations]	
[*Existing in the Tibetan and Chinese translations*]			
15th ,,	*Dharma-cakra-pravartana	58	
16th ,,	*Aneka-śiṣya	95	
17th ,,	*Mahā-śiṣya-pravrajyā	41	
18th ,,	*Anāthapiṇḍada-dīkṣā	87	
19th ,,	*Pitā-putra-samāgama	56	
20th ,,	*Jeta-vana-svīkāra	58	
21st ,,	*Pravrajyā-srotas	65	
22nd ,,	*Amrapālī-kuñja-gamana	55	
23rd ,,	*Śarīrāyuḥ-saṁskārādhiṣṭhāna	75	
24th ,,	*Licchavi-karuṇā	64	
25th ,,	*Nirvāṇa-yātrā	81	
26th ,,	*Mahā-parinirvāṇa	106	
27th ,,	*Nirvāṇa-praśaṁsā	84	
28th ,,	*Dhātu-vibhājana	74	
TOTAL		2,109	

*The titles of the cantos 14-28 are the Sanskrit renderings of Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations.

[The verses 1/81, 9/47A, 13/72A and 14/20A are suspected interpolations. The mutilated portions and problematic interpolations, which are found only in the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the B., 14/32-108 and cantos 15 to 28, have not been taken into account here as their validity cannot be examined so long as the relevant portions of the text are not discovered.]

Thus, the grand total of the verses existing in the entire B. (ignoring the missing portions and the interpolations) comes roughly to 2,109 of which a little less than half can be found to-day while the rest is not yet available to us. The maximum number of verses in a canto is 121 (12th canto), the minimum number is 41 (10th and 17th cantos), and the average number per canto is 75 (approximately).

d) *Source and Authenticity*—The titles of the 28 cantos already shown in the previous chart give a rough idea about the story of the B. But Aśvaghoṣa cannot claim entire originality for his plot. He was, as we have already seen, thoroughly acquainted with the reliable autobiographical references of the Buddha scattered in the earlier Tri-piṭaka literature, and gave us a standard popular biography of the Buddha.

The B. has perfectly synthesized historicity with imaginary elements, and shown much restraint in the handling of the supernatural phenomena. His sense of proportion and awareness of the ornate technique account for his logical arrangement of the plot and the dialogues, and explain the avoidance of exaggeration. On the whole, the B. is an exquisite work of art and is far better and more authentic than the Lalita-vistara (of the Sarvāstivādins) and the Mahā-vastu (of the Lokottaravādins) which differ from the B. in some sectarian details and are marred by insipid repetitions, loose elaborations and many marvels.

e) *The Buddha-carita and Other Ornate Biographies of the Buddha* — Besides the afore-said Lalita-vistara and the Mahā-vastu there are also certain Central Asian fragments of "kāvyas" on the life of the Buddha. A passing mention of these may be profitably made in this context.

i) Among the Sanskrit documents discovered in the cave library of Touen-houang in Central Asia and belonging to the second collection of A. Stein there is only one leaf of a paper manuscript of an anonymous mahā-kāvya dealing with the life of the Buddha. Poussin

has edited this single leaf which contains the last portion of the 9th canto entitled the "Tapo-vana-praveśa" which corresponds in theme with the 7th canto of the same name in Aśvaghoṣa's B. The partially preserved colophon in the leaf in question does not give the name of the lost mahā-kāvya. The fragment, however, shows 7 lines on each side and is written in upright Gupta script. The obverse side has 8 verses (9/68-75) and the reverse one 6 verses (9/81-86) only. The verses 68, 69, 75 and 80 are hopelessly mutilated. The damaged lower portion of the leaf containing the verses 76-79 is irretrievably lost to us. Nevertheless we are certain about one thing that the 9th canto of this anonymous work ran up to the 86th verse which is followed by the said colophon.

Anyway, the preserved portion of this 9th canto deals presumably with the Buddha's visit to the forest anchorites of different sects and his subsequent repudiation of their views about true religion.

Further, the verse 81[a] and the last word of the reverse side give the name "Arāḍa" which appears to indicate that the 10th canto had for its subject-matter the meeting of the Buddha with the sage Arāḍa and their dialogue on the Sāṁkhya-Yoga dialectics. This topic corresponds with that of the 12th canto named "Arāḍa-darśana" in Aśvaghoṣa's B.

Moreover, the mention of the name "Arāḍa" in the end of the 9th canto in the above fragment corresponds with a similar mention in the B., 7/54.

Besides the said parallelism in the subject-matter between the anonymous classical epic and the B. we can also detect strange similarities in ideas, expressions and similes between the anonymous fragment and Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works. These affinities are noted underneath :—

1. a) sthirāśayaḥ sakkhyam ivānvayāgatam . .

—Anonymous fragment, 9/70[d] ;

b) kulodgatāṁ prītim ivārya-vṛttaḥ . . [S., 10/11[d]]

2. a) surendra-lokādhigamāya [kevalam

- -⏑yu]ṣmākam ayaṁ pariśramaḥ.

mama prayatnas tu bhava-ppraśāṁ[taye

- -⏑- -⏑⏑-⏑-⏑- . . 8]2 ;

—Anon. fr., 9/82 ;

b) svargāya yuṣmākam ayaṁ tu dharmo
mamābhilāṣas tv apunar-bhavāya.
asmin vane yena na me vivatsā
bhinnaḥ pravṛttyā hi nivṛtti-dharmah. .[B., 7/48]

3. a) bha]veṣu sarveṣu na khalv ahaṁ rame
davāgni-dīpteṣu taruṣv ivāṇḍajaḥ . . 83
—Anon. fr., 9/83[cd] ;

b) ......(davāgni-parigatam iva)(nīḷa-)dru(maṅ gagana-tala-)
vipp(rasthitasya) śakuner ādīptaṁ trai(lo)ky(a)m ......
[Ś., C 2, obverse side, 1. 2 and K I, reverse side, 1. 4] ;

c) labhe na śāntiṁ na dhṛtiṁ kuto ratiṁ
niśāmayan dīptam ivāgninā jagat . . [B., 4/98[cd]] ;

d) "Seeing the three spheres of existence to be thus impermanent, suffering and without self, and to be ever on fire, there is no place of refuge for men to enter, as for birds whose roosting-tree is ablaze." [B., 20/47 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

4. a) tapasvi-vargo yam ajihlad-⏑-.
—Anon. fr., 9/81[b] ;

b) vṛttenājihladat prajāḥ .. [S., 2/30[d]]

5. a) lakṣmy-āḍhye nara-vṛṣa[bhe gate vanāntāt
- - -⏑⏑⏑] pi tāpasair vanaṁ [tat].
[-]māna-dyuti na babhau yathāntarikṣaṁ
nakṣatrair iva (vigate niśākare 'stam ?). .
—Anon. fr., 9/85 ;

b) striyo na rejur mṛjayā vinākṛtā
divīva tārā rajanī-kṣayāruṇāḥ . . [B., 8/21[cd]]

However strange though the above similarities may appear we can still neither accept categorically nor reject forthwith the question of the identity of authorship on the data furnished by a single folio only. Nevertheless we are tempted to regard the said folio as a part of a manuscript of either some other recension of Aśvaghoṣa's B. or some other ornate biography by an anonymous poet who imitated or was imitated by Aśvaghoṣa. It is but a conjecture which must be taken for its own worth in the absence of any more solid proof.

ii) Sylvain Lévi informs us of the finding of some fragments of two dramas in Tokharian on the life of the Buddha. These fragments appear to contain the Tokharian translations from the Sanskrit originals. But so long as the details of these fragments are not brought to light we cannot institute any comparison with Aśvaghoṣa's B.

There are also references in the Avadāna-śataka to dramas depicting the biography of the Buddha. One such drama is said to have been performed in honour of a pair of Nāga kings by the order of Bimbisāra. Another such drama was staged by the bidding of Krakucchanda, a Bodhi-sattva, by a troupe of actors in the city of Śobhāvatī. The same band of actors enacted another drama at Rājagṛha under the Buddha himself. We also find the mention of an actress named Kuvalayā who became famous for her exquisite acting. Upatiṣya (alias Śāriputra) and Maudgalyāyana are said to have superbly executed the roles they assumed in the play named the Saugandhikā-haraṇa which was staged at Rājagṛha during the time of the Buddha.

But these and similar sporadic references to the ornate biographies of the Buddha are not enough in themselves to enable us to draw any conclusion therefrom as neither the text of any pre-Aśvaghoṣa Buddhistic "kāvya" nor any authentic account of its plot is available to us for comparison with Aśvaghoṣa's B. Nevertheless it might not sound unwarranted if we would adduce that Aśvaghoṣa was not the first classical kavi to have created the artistic fashion of writing down the biography of the Buddha. He only pursued this ornate tradition with his own inborn talent. He might have been aware of such works of his precursors. But we are not in a position now to assert which particular work or works served as his model(s).

f) *Citations and Adaptations from the Buddha-carita in Other Works*—Some verses and verse-portions of Aśvaghoṣa's B. are found in other works either as quotations with some variants or as anonymous adaptations. In certain cases Aśvaghoṣa is cited as an outstanding authority on topics relating to grammar and lexicon while in others he gives some superb apophthegms. Some of his wordings have also been adapted to allied ideas.

The quotations from the B. show unmistakably the extent of popularity which this work enjoyed in later times. But we cannot claim with certainty that all these citations were based on a first-hand knowledge of the B. Some of these are so stereotyped in character

that they at least seem to have been traditionally handed down to the posterity.

Further, some of the anonymous adaptations are so universal in nature that we cannot unscrupulously call them borrowings from the B. They may be said to refer as well to a floating national tradition which served as the common older source for the B. and these adaptations. Mere agreement of these cannot be regarded as an infallible criterion in every case[1].

However, with these preliminary observations we pass on to the following passages in question :—

1. a) idaṁ puraṁ tena vivarjitaṁ vanaṁ
vanaṁ ca tat tena samanvitaṁ puram.
na śobhate tena hi no vinā puraṁ
Marutvatā Vṛtra-vadhe yathā divam .. [B., 8/13]

b) "...anye ka-pratyayāntena diva-śabdenākārāntena sādhayanti. yathāyaṁ prayogaḥ.
.. ca yat tena...tena vinādya no (!) puraṁ
...iti"
—Ujjvaladatta's Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti, 1/156.

c) "...akārānto 'pi diva-śabdo 'sti,
'...tena visarjitaṁ...praśobhate tena..."
ity Aśvaghoṣa-prayogāt."
—Śaraṇadeva's Durghaṭa-vṛtti. 6/1/131.

d) "akārānto 'pi diva-śabdo 'sti...tathā hi
Buddha-carite—
'na śobhate...' iti"
—Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya's Ṭikā-sarva-sva on Amarasiṁha's Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana, 1/1/7[d].

e) "...diva-śabdo 'd-anto 'py asti···tathā ca Buddha-carite
'na śobhate tena vinā hi naḥ puraṁ...' iti."
—Bṛhaspati's Pada-candrikā on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/7.
[Bṛhaspati, son of Govinda, hailed from Rāḍhā in Bengal and had many appellations (mahīṁ-tāpanīya-kavi-cakra-varti-rāja-paṇḍita-śrī-rāya-mukuṭa-maṇi...). He composed

1) The parallelisms of Aśvaghoṣa and other kavis like Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, etc. and the question of plagiarism will be taken up in Chapter III infra.

the Pada-candrikā in 1431 A. D. after consulting 16 earlier commentaries.]

f) "ad-anta-diva-śabda-prayogo Buddha-carite. 'vanan tu yat tena samanvita(ṁ) puraṁ, purañ ca yat tena vivarjitaṁ vanam. na śobhate...' iti."

—Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/2[d].

g) The B., 8/13 is also said to have been quoted in the Liṅga-bhaṭṭīyā ṭīkā on the Amara-kośa.

2. a) "...saṁkṣepe kṣudre . tathā ca Buddha caritaṁ—
'nibodha kiñcit tu pulākamātraṁ
vākyaṁ muner vākyavidāṁ varasya' iti."

—Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya's Ṭīkā-sarva-sva on Amarasiṁha's Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana, 3/3/5[cd].

b) "saṁkṣepe yathā
'nibodha kiṁcit tu pulākamātraṁ (kiṁ citra-pu° --sic. ?)
vākyaṁ muner vākyavidāṁ varasya (°dāmva° —sic.).' "

—Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi on the Amara-kośa, 3/3/5[cd].

[This portion of a verse cannot be traced back in the extant text of the B. Nevertheless this citation seems to be the second hemistich of the original verse of which the Tibetan translation (in its English retranslation by Johnston ; =Beal's English translation of the Chinese << Fo shu hing tsan >>, 1391=Schulze's German retranslation of Beal, 1391) runs as follows :—

"...... Hear (nibodha ?) however a small portion of the words of the Great Sage, Who is the Best of those who know how to speak." (=B., 17/7[cd] in Act. Or., p. 46)]

3. a) sūkṣmatvāc caiva doṣāṇām avyāpārāc ca cetasaḥ.
dīrghatvād āyuṣaś caiva mokṣas tu parikalpyate . . [B., 12/75]

b) This verse recurs verbatim in the Ś., C 4, obverse side, 1. 2.

4. a) hata-tviṣo 'nyāḥ śithilāṁsa-bāhavaḥ
striyo viṣādena vicetanā iva.
na cukruśur nāśru jahur na śaśvasur
na celur āsur likhitā iva sthitāḥ . . [B., 8/25]

b) ......°ṣo 'ndhāḥ..............
śriyo............
.. ... °śur no rurudur na sasvanur
.... iva kṣaṇam . .
—Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, 5/10.

[This verse is perhaps the only identified quotation from the B. in the Alaṅkāra-śāstra.]

5. a) jarāṁ vyādhiṁ ca mṛtyuṁ ca ko hi jānan sacetanaḥ.
svasthas tiṣṭhen niṣīded vā śayed vā kiṁ punar haset..[B., 4/59]

b) jarāṁ mṛtyuṁ bhayaṁ vyādhiṁ yo jānāti sa paṇḍitaḥ.
svasthas tiṣṭhen niṣīded vā svaped vā kenacid dhaset . .
—Ballāla's Bhoja-prabandha, v. 36.

6. a) kaḥ kaṇṭakasya prakaroti taikṣṇyaṁ vicitra-bhāvaṁ mṛga-pakṣiṇāṁ vā.
sva-bhāvataḥ sarvam idaṁ pravṛttaṁ na kāma-kāro 'sti kutaḥ prayatnaḥ . . [B., 9/62]

b) kaḥ kaṇṭakānāṁ...... ... . ca.
.................°cāro.........
—Guṇaratna's Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā on Haribhadra's Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya.

c) kaḥ kaṇṭakānāṁ.........°ṇāñ ca.
mādhuryam ikṣau kaṭutā ca nimbe sva°.........
idaṁ hi siddham . .
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 8/136.

7. a) jarā vyādhiś ca mṛtyuś ca yadi na syād idaṁ trayam.
... ...
... ...
doṣavatsv api kāmeṣu kāmaṁ rajyeta me manaḥ . .
[B., 4/86[ab] & 87[cd]]

b) jarā ... ... trayam.
tadā saṁsāra-bhoge 'smin kāmaṁ rājatu......
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/81.

8. a) jāyate jīryate caiva bādhyate mriyate ca yat.
[B., 12/22[ab]]

b) na jāyate na mriyate bādhyate no na jīryate.
—Uttara-tantra, 1/80[ab].

9. a) vāsa-vṛkṣe samāgamya vigacchanti yathāṇḍajāḥ.
niyataṁ viprayogāntas tathā bhūta-samāgamaḥ . .
[B., 6/46]

b) vihagānāṁ yathā sāyaṁ tatra tatra samāgamaḥ.
jātau jātau tathāśleṣo janasya sva-janasya ca . .
[S., 15/33]

c) eka-vṛkṣe yathā rātrau nānā-pakṣi-samāgamaḥ .
prātar daśa diśo yānti tadvad bhūta-samāgamaḥ . .
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/66.

10. a) viyujyamāne hi tarau puṣpair api phalair api.
patati cchidyamāne vā tarur anyo na śocate . .
[B., 4/61]

b) aśocyamānāni yathā puṣpāṇi ca phalāni ca.
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/90[ab].

11. a) akālo nāsti dharmasya jīvite cañcale sati . .
[B., 6/21[cd]]

b) bāla evācared dharmam anityaṁ khalu jīvitam.
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/52[ab].

12. a) mṛtyu-vyādhi-jarā-dharmā mṛtyu-vyādhi-jarātmabhiḥ.
ramamāṇo 'py asaṁvignaḥ (°ṇo hy asaṁ°—sic)
samāno mṛga-pakṣibhiḥ . . [B., 4/89]

b) yauvanaṁ jarayāgrastam ārogyaṁ vyādhi-pīḍitam.
mṛtyur grasati bhūtāni kiṁ dhīra iva bhāṣase . .
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/57.

13. a) .... garbheṇa vaṁśa-śriyam udvahantī.
[B., 1/5[b] (restoration by Johnston)]

b) garbheṇa rāja-śriyam udvahantī
—Uttara-tantra, 1/121[c].

14. a) pṛthag vratibhyo vibhave 'pi garhye
na prārthayanti sma narāḥ parebhyaḥ. [B., 2/10[ab]]

b) kṛśo 'pi nārthināṁ kṣeptā.
—Asaṅga's Abhisamayālaṅkāra, 1/58.

g) *The Buddha-carita and Art*—Some Greco-Buddhistic sculptural representations of Gandhāra seem to illustrate the B. Thus, the B,, 5/4 ff. correspond with Foucher, I, figs. 175 (p. 342), 176 (p. 345) & 177 (p. 347). Similarly, the B., 5/81=figs. 182 (p. 357) & 184a

(p. 361) ; the B., 6/53 = figs. 184b (p.361) & 185 (p. 362) ; the B., 12th canto = figs. 189 (p. 375), 190 (p. 376) & 191 (p. 377) ; and the B., 13/17 ff. = figs. 201 (p. 401) & 202-204 (p. 405).

2. *Saundara-Nanda*— a) *Name of the Mahā-kāvya* — The name "Saundara-Nanda" promptly indicates that this ornate epic narrates the story of the conversion of the Buddha's half-brother Sundara-Nanda by the Buddha himself. Aśvaghoṣa clearly tells us in the S., 2/57[cd] & 58[d] that 'Nanda' is the proper name and 'Sundara' is a title[1]. This accounts for the title of the mahā-kāvya itself. Sundara-Nandam adhikṛtya kṛtaṁ kāvyam iti Saundara-Nandam.

This title, however, appears differently in several works. Sarvānanda, Bṛhaspati and Raghunātha in their respective commentaries on the Amara-kośa uniformly mention the name of the epic as "Sundarānanda-carita". Again, the colophons to some of the cantos in the 18th-century paper MS. of the S. (to be noted below) invariably give the title of the work as "Saundar-Ānanda". Some modern writers also refer to this mahā-kāvya as "Saundar-Ānanda". But all this is obviously wrong inasmuch as the plot is chiefly concerned with the conversion of Nanda—and not of Ānanda—though of course Ānanda, the Vaideha-muni, plays some minor role in the story.

b) *Three Textual Traditions* —The textual condition of the S. is fortunately far better than that of the B. and the Ś. The text of the S., the second mahā-kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa, has been preserved in three hitherto known MSS. traditions. They are stated as follows :—

i) The first is represented by the single fragment of a Central Asian paper MS. which is now stored up in the cell of the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin. Like the two B. fragments discussed above it was also discovered in course of the Royal Prussian Turfan Expeditions within the area of Šorčuq near Quarašar and Kurla in Chinese Turkestan. The inventory number given to this find by Frau Prof. Else Lüders also supports this. But any further particulars of the actual place of finding of this fragment cannot be determined as the diaries of the excavations are not available at present.

This fragment, however, was handled and transcribed by Frau Lüders. It is 45 x 7, 2 cm. and is smaller than the two Šorčuq fragments of the B. noted above.

The left border of the reverse side of the S. fragment bears

1) Nanda's beautiful wife is called 'Sundarī'. Cf. the S., 4/3.

obviously the leaf number 15. The two sides of this fragment embody 14½ verses of which about 5 quarters have been interlinearly entered by a later hand. There is also the closing line of the 4th canto. Thus the original writing including this colophon covers a little more than 13 verses.

Again, the leaf no. 15 shows that the portion of the text covered by the first 15 sheets of the MS. corresponds with the similar matter spread over 27 pages in the editio princeps of H. Śāstrin and 29 pages of Johnston's edition. We may also calculate from this that the complete MS. had approximately 70-74 sheets in all. The former number, i. e., 70, seems to be more probable in so far as the MS. has little blank spaces unlike the printed texts. But all this is approximation only on the basis of a single fragment.

The script is Brāhmī which bears close resemblance to the mode of writing of the old Turkish MSS. edited by v. Gabain and that of the Central Asian block-prints deciphered by Pischel.

The fragment in question is a carelessly written palimpsest. The orthographical features present several scribal errors. Some characteristics may also be treated as scribal peculiarities of Central Asian Brāhmī. Thus, the dentals "t" and "n" are indistinguishable in this fragment as in the two afore-cited fragments of the B. The palatals "ch" and "y" are also written alike. The semivowel "y" has also a closed top. The short and long vowels are very often wrongly exchanged. The visarga is omitted and the rule for the cerebralisation of the dental "n" is ignored. The conjunct "sth" has been written as "st". Both the para-savarṇa nasal and the anusvāra are found in external sandhi within a quarter. In 4/45[cd] the inter-quarter sandhi has been neglected. In 5/5[bc] the dental nasal ("n") at the end of the second quarter has been changed into an anusvāra ("ṁ") before the dental nasal ("n") at the outset of the third quarter. Besides these omissions and commissions there is also a metrical error in 4/44[b & d]. The strokes of some letters are found damaged and faded.

Moreover, the reading of 5/5[b] differs from that in the editions of Śāstrin and Johnston. The verse 4/45 in the fragment cannot be found in the two Nepalese MSS. edited by these scholars. This verse composed in the puṣpitāgrā metre has been interlinearly entered into the original text by a later hand. Both the form and the content disprove the authenticity of this stanza. That this is a later interpola-

tion is further corroborated by the indeclinable "iti" tagged to 4/44 (=Johnston's 4/46).

Again, the serial number of the last stanza of the 4th canto in the fragment is 44 (excluding the said spurious verse) while that in the two Nepalese MSS. utilised by Śāstrin and Johnston is 46. That is to say, there are two extra verses in the Nepalese MSS. But the single sheet of the Šorčuq MS. containing the S., 4/37-44 (4/45 being a later interpolation) & 5/1-6[abc] only does not allow any thorough collation with the text afforded by the two Nepalese MSS. so as to enable us to determine whether there are two spurious verses in the Nepalese texts. Weller only suspects Johnston's 4/7 & 10 to be somewhat different from their context as regards the form and the matter but he does not confirm his conjecture.

However, the serial numbers of the verses in the fragment differ from those in the editions of Śāstrin and Johnston and these corresponding numbers are shown below :—

1. *Šorčuq fragment*		2. *Śāstrin's edition*		3. *Johnston's edition*
4/37	=	4/39	=	4/39
4/38	=	4/40	=	4/40
4/39	=	4/41	=	4/41
4/40	=	4/42	=	4/42
4/41	=	4/43	=	4/43
4/42	=	4/44	=	4/44
4/43	=	4/45	=	4/45
4/44	=	4/46	=	4/46

The numbering of the verses 5/1-6 is the same in the three MSS.

Anyway, the Šorčuq fragment represents the earliest known textual tradition of the S. It cannot be earlier than the 6th century A. D. and is rather later than that date. It is perhaps parallel to the original Nepalese MS. from which the 18th-century paper MS. of Śāstrin and Johnston has been traditionally transcribed in course of time.

However, the Šorčuq fragment of the S. offers certain genuine readings though it has some corrupt readings as well. It also gives us some unusual readings for which we have easily intelligible wordings in the two Nepalese MSS.

ii) Next we turn to the palm-leaf MS. of the S. handled by both Śāstrin and Johnston. It is designated 'P. L. M.' by Śāstrin

while Johnston calls it 'L.'. It belongs to the Durbar Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal.

In 1898 Śāstrin happened to examine this MS. and later mentioned it at p. 74 of his Nepal Catalogue in 1905. In 1907 he carefully handled it for the second time and utilised it as his chief authority for his edition of the S. published in 1910. This selfsame MS. was handled later by Johnston for his edition of the text published in 1928

Śāstrin describes this MS. as 'greatly dilapidated'. Johnston observes that this MS. has been so badly eaten into by white ants that in the middle of each leaf usually some three lines of writing, occasionally as many as five, are missing, though the damage at the ends is less and sometimes nil. Leaf 34 has one end missing, holding about one-sixth of the text, and leaf 35 is a mere fragment. The last four leaves were turned round the opposite way to the first 31 at the time the MS. was attacked, with the consequence that in the first 31 leaves the bottom of the recto side and the top of the verso have been destroyed and vice versa in the last 4. There are also a few separate small holes occurring in some leaves.

The MS. consists of 35 long palm-leaves with 6 lines of writing on each side divided into 3 sections.

The handwriting is clear and good. In some cases the superscript letters are missing while in others the subscript letters are lost. There are also places in this ruined MS. where the tops and bottoms of letters baffle all attempts at decipherment.

The MS. is written in the 12th-century Newari character. The writing agrees with that of Bendall's No. 1693, dated 1165 A D. This MS. also is a palimpsest inasmuch as it has been a good deal altered, apparently by different hands at different times, and not always for the better. Some of these corrections seem to have been made by the original copyist. Some letters have been erased and rewritten. There are some orthographical peculiarities like the similarity of "ḍa" and "nda", "kha" and "kṣa", "gu" and "bha", "gna" and "tna", "ru" and "rū", "dha" and "va" (both as subscripts), "sa" and "śa" (in some cases), and "n" and "t" (as superscripts of conjuncts). To write "ī" for "ai" in a good many cases is also a scribal peculiarity.

Anyway, Śāstrin's 'P. L. M.' (=Johnston's 'L') is undoubtedly a very good MS. and has an excellent text,

iii) The third textual tradition is represented by another Nepal Durbar Library MS. which was first brought to the notice of Śāstrin in 1907. It was utilised by Śāstrin for his editio princeps of the S. and later consulted also by Johnston for his edition of the text.

It is a paper MS. consisting of 73 leaves. It has been designated by Śāstrin as 'P. M.' while Johnston refers to it as 'P.'.

There are numerous orthographical peculiarities in this MS. Thus, the final "t" is in most cases dropped. The three hard sibilants, viz., "ś", "ṣ" and "s", cannot be carefully distinguished. The dental "n" and the cerebral "ṇ" are wrongly interchanged. Similarly the conjuncts "st" and "ṣṭ" are erroneously exchanged. Again, the consonantal compounds "hya" and "jya" and "kta" and "kṣa" are extremely confusing. Further, as subscripts, the letters "pa", "ya" and "ma" can hardly be differentiated from one another. There is also a similarity of form between the letters "v" and "dha", and between "sa" and "ta" as second members of conjuncts.

This paper MS. also, like the palm-leaf MS. noted above, bears the character of a palimpsest. It is slovenly and carelessly written and bristles with many mistakes. It has been a good deal corrected and its omissions have been supplied several times in entirely different hands. Some of the corrections are not merely conjectures. These seem to have been incorporated from another MS.

This paper MS. is written in the 18th-century Newari script and is thus relatively modern.

It is complete and sometimes gives a better and original reading and sometimes supplies omissions in the said palm-leaf MS.

Śāstrin thinks that the 'P. M.' is not a transcript of the 'P. L. M.' and the original of the 'P. M.' was different from the 'P. L. M.' Weller seems to be inclined to this view. Johnston, on the contrary, opines that the 'P.' (=Śāstrin's 'P. M.') almost always repeats the errors of the 'L.' (=Śāstrin's 'P. L. M.'), and thus the former is directly descended from the latter though of course in certain cases the alterations in the latter were subsequent to the period at which the ancestor of the former was copied from the latter.

However, unlike the B., the S. has no translation in Chinese or Tibetan to render any textual aid.

c) *Extent of the Text and Other Features*—The text of the S.

is complete in 18 cantos. In the following chart we give the title and the total number of the verses in each of the 18 cantos :—

A. Serial nos. of the cantos	B. Titles of the cantos	C. Total nos. of the verses
1st canto	Kapilavāstu-varṇana	62
2nd ,,	Rāja-varṇana	65
3rd ,,	Tathāgata-varṇana	42
4th ,,	Bhāryā-yācitaka	46
5th ,,	Nanda-pravrājana	53
6th ,,	Bhāryā-vilāpa	49
7th ,,	Nanda-vilāpa	52
8th ,,	Strī-vighāta	62
9th ,,	Madāpavāda	51
10th ,,	Svarga-nidarśana	64
11th ,,	Svargāpavāda	62*
12th ,,	Pratyavamarśa	43
13th ,,	Śīlendriya-jaya	56*
14th ,,	Ādi-prasthāna	52
15th ,,	Vitarka-prahāṇa	69
16th ,,	Ārya-satya-vyākhyāna	98*
17th ,,	Amṛtādhigama	73
18th ,,	Ājñā-vyākaraṇa	64
	TOTAL —	1,060 [1,063-3 supposed interpolations]

[*The three verses, viz., 11/56-57 and 13/55, are suspected by Johnston[1] to be spurious. These three have been deducted from the actual grand total. The last quarter of the verse 16/53[d] is partly mutilated. The three missing syllables in the last mentioned case may of

1) Johnston observes that the text of the S. has been less tampered with than that of the B. the former being possibly the less popular epic. He also doubts the authenticity of the verses 16/69 and 10/33 (= 10/37 in Śāstrin's edition). Again, the order of the arguments in 16/34-36 necessitates the transposition of 16/32 and 33. Moreover, 16/10 looks like two verses telescoped into one.

course be supplied from the context. However, the maximum number of verses in a canto is 98 (16th canto), the minimum number is 42 (3rd canto), and the average number per canto is 59 (approximately).]

d) *Source and Innovations*—The titles of the 18 cantos already shown in the foregoing table give a brief outline of the story of the S. It is really amazing how Aśvaghoṣa has built up such an ornate epic out of the flimsy materials scattered sporadically in the earlier Buddhistic literature with his highly sensitive historical imagination.

In the B., 19/39 (= Beal's English translation of the Chinese "Fo shu hing tsan", 1583-1586 = Schulze's German retranslation of Beal, 1583-1586) there is of course only a cursory reference to the conversion of Nanda along with Ānanda and others. But for the details of the story about Nanda[1] we have to refer to the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahā-vagga, 1/54 ; the Udāna, 3/2 : 21[18]-24[13] ; the commentary on the Aṅguttara-nikāya, Etad-agga-vagga, 1/25 ; the Thera-gāthā, vv. 157-158 and the commentary on v. 139 ; the Dhamma-pada, vv. 13-14 and the commentary on 1/9 ; the Nidāna-kathā, Jātaka, 1/85[24]-92[14], the Jātaka No. 182 : 2/92-94, and the Bhadra-kalpāvadāna, No. 35.

Nevertheless it cannot be claimed with certainty that Aśvaghoṣa was well aware of all these sources because some of these are decidedly later than the poet's accepted date. This much, however, sounds cogent that Aśvaghoṣa must have known the Nanda legend from the earlier Tri-piṭaka literature.

Anyway, the story as given by Aśvaghoṣa is essentially the same as found in the earlier literature. There are only a few notable variations. Thus, according to the sources, the meeting between the Buddha and Nanda took place on the day on which Nanda's coronation and nuptial ceremony with Sundarī were being held in the royal palace while Aśvaghoṣa makes the two half-brothers meet some time after the marriage was already solemnized (and presumably after the installation also) and when the wedded couple was deeply engrossed

---

1) The plot of the S. does not deal with the conversion of Nanda's wife Sundarī as well. Śāstrin, however, makes mention of the tale of her conversion and quotes from the Dhamma-pada, v. 150 with the commentary thereon, and the Therī-gāthā, vv. 82-86 with the commentary on these. The Apadānas also contain substantially the same stories in verse.

in conjugal bliss. Again, according to the sources, Nanda was anxious to return the alms-bowl, now at the head of the staircase, now at the foot of it, now in the courtyard, and so on, and thus followed the Buddha unwillingly whereas in the S. Nanda was eager to return home even with the bowl in his hand though he was restrained by the Buddha with supernatural powers. In the Pāli version Sundarī rushed to Nanda carrying the bowl in his hand and requested him to return quickly while in the S. Nanda at first promised to her to come back soon and then with her permission he went out to meet the Buddha. In Pāli it is not stated who converted Nanda but in the S. he was converted by Vaideha-muni (= Ānanda). In Pāli Nanda practised penance against his own will whereas in the S. he also made several attempts to return home. In Pāli the she-monkey is described as seated on a burnt stump in a certain burnt field and having singed nose, ears and tail but Aśvaghoṣa makes her simply one-eyed. In the Pāli version Nanda while practising austerities for the sake of the Apsarases became the butt of ridicule of all the bhikṣus but in the S. Ānanda only upbraided him. Lastly, in Pāli the story ends with Nanda's becoming an Arhat only while in the S. the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa strikes a new note of Mahā-yānistic philanthropy to which ideal Nanda is finally yoked at the bidding of the Buddha.

Besides these salient points of distinction the minor details like the mention of the five hundred Apsarases and other features have been ignored by Aśvaghoṣa. The main innovation of the poet lies in the superb pieces of description and dialogue[1]), and his principal contribution rests in the synthetic exposition of Buddhism of the transitional period of the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā yāna to which period the poet belonged.

e) *Citations and Adaptations from the Saundara-Nanda in Other Works* — The quotations and adaptations from the S., like those from the B. discussed above, are scattered in a large number of texts. While quoting some later works mention the name of Aśvaghoṣa without naming the S., some give the name of the S. alone, and some again furnish us with the citation without any reference to the poet

1) A critical appreciation of Aśvaghoṣa's style will be taken up in details in Chapter III infra.

or the epic. Some quotations are attributed to other poets. In certain cases Aśvaghoṣa has been quoted for grammatical peculiarities.

Moreover, the nature of the citations in some works, particularly in the commentaries on the Amara-kośa, seems to show that the verses and the portions thereof are borrowed from some earlier glosses and are thus no better than traditional quotations. It is dubious whether the later writers had any direct knowledge of the text of the S. inasmuch as even the name of the epic has been erroneously represented in their works. Thus, the second-hand quotations do not necessarily prove the survival of the text of the S. and its study at a later date.

Nevertheless the variants supplied by the quotations in question render some help in assessing and confirming certain readings of the original.

In this connection we need not recapitulate any more some similar remarks already preluded to the quotations from the B.

With these prolegomena we proceed to the relevant passages :—

1. (a) teṣāṁ munir upādhyāyo Gautamaḥ Kapilo 'bhavat.
guru-gotrād ataḥ Kautsās te bhavanti sma Gautamāḥ ..
[S., 1/22]

(b) "... ..Gotamasya Kapila-vaṁś[y]asya muneḥ śiṣyaḥ iti tasyedam ity aṇ (ṣṇo vā). uktañ ca Sundar-Ānanda-carite, 'guru-gotrād......Gautamā' iti."
—Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/10.

2. (a) śāka-vṛkṣa-praticchannaṁ vāsaṁ yasmāc ca cakrire.
tasmād Ikṣvāku-vaṁśyās te bhuvi Śākyā iti smṛtāḥ ..
[S., 1/24]

(b) śāka-vanavāsitvāt Śākyaḥ. dig-āditvād yat. tathā ca Sundar-Ānanda-carite—
"śāka-°......cakrire.
tasmād......śrutāḥ .."
—Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya's Ṭīkā-sarva-sva on Amarasiṁha's Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana, 1/1/14[d] & 15[a].

(c) "Ikṣvāku-rāja-putrāḥ ke 'pi pitrā vana-vāsāya dattājñā Gotama-vaṁśyasya Kapilasyāśrame śāka-(c)channe vasatiṁ kṛtavantaḥ Śākyā ity āgamaḥ. śāka-vanavāsitvāt Śākyāḥ dig-āditvād yat. tathā ca Sundar-Ānanda-carite (——)

śāka-° .... cakrire .
tasmād ...... te Śākyā iti bhuvi śrutāḥ .. "
—Bṛhaspati's Pada-candrikā on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/14[d].

(d) "...... yad vā 'śāka-°...... Śākyā iti bhuvi smṛtāḥ . .' ity āgamāt śāke bhavāḥ Śākyāḥ. dig-āditvād yat pratyayaḥ."
—Bhānuji-Dīkṣita's Rāmāśramī on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/14[d] & 15[a].

(e) śākeṣu bhavo vidyamāno vā dig-āditvād yaḥ (yat ṣṇyo vā) Śākyaś cāsau muniś ceti samāsaḥ. Ikṣvāku-kula-sambhavāḥ kecana rāja-putrāḥ pitrā vane vāsāyopadiṣṭās te vane Kapila-muner āśrame śāka-nāma-vṛkṣeṣu kṛta-vasatayo Gautama-śiṣyāḥ (Gautamas tu Gotama-vaṁśotpannaḥ Kapila eva) babhūvuḥ. uktañ ca Sundaı-Ānanda-carite, "śāka-°...... yasmāt pracakrire.
tasmād ... .. bhuvi Śākyā iti śrutāḥ .. "
—Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi on the Amara-kośa, 1/1/10.

3. (a) tvaca-veṣṭitam asthi-pañjaraṁ yadi kāyaṁ samavaiṣi yoṣitām.
[S., 8/53[ab]]

(b) "tvaca-°......... yoṣitām" ity ad-anto 'py Aśvaghoṣeṇoktaḥ.
— Sarvānanda Vandyaghaṭīya's Ṭīkā-sarva-sva on Amarasiṁha's Nāma-liṅgānuśāsana, 2/6/62[d].

(c) "......... 'tvaca''-śabdo 'kārānto 'py asti. 'tvaca-° .... yadi kāmaṁ samupaiṣitam' iti prayogaḥ."
—Ujjvaladatta's Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti, 2/63.

(d) "pac-ādy-ac tvacam astīti Sāñjyaḥ. 'tvaca-° ...... °-pañjaram' iti prayogaḥ."
—Raghunātha Cakravartin's Tri-kāṇḍa-cintā-maṇi on the Amara-kośa, 2/4/12[c].

4. (a) vacanena haranti valgunā niśitena praharanti cetasā.
madhu tiṣṭhati vāci yoṣitāṁ hṛdaye hālahalaṁ mahad viṣam..
[S., 8/35]

(b) sumukhena vadanti valgunā praharanty eva śitena cetasā.
madhu tiṣṭhati vāci yoṣitāṁ hṛdaye hālahalaṁ mahad viṣam . .
— Pañca-tantra, I., 1/188, p. 34 (F. Kielhorn's edition, BomSS., No. 4, 6th impression, Bombay, 1896 ; = NSP. edn., Bombay, 1914, 1 (= Mitra-bheda)/199, p. 35 ; = Kosegarten's edition, Bonn, 1848, I, 202-3.

c) sumukhena .... viṣam . .
—Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra ed. Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya, NSP., 8th edn., Bombay, 1952, 6 (=Prakaraṇa) /Strī-sva-bhāva-nindā/60, p. 349[b].

d) madhu .... yoṣitāṁ hṛdaye .... viṣam.
— Pūrṇabhadra's Pañcākhyāna, 1/IV[c]/145[ab].

e) madhu .... yoṣitāṁ hṛdaye .... mahā-viṣam.
— Kṣīrasvāmin's Amara-kośodghāṭana ed. K. G. Oka, p. 39 (Sanskrit Text).

f) madhu .... yoṣitāṁ hṛdi hālāhalam eva kevalam.
— Bhartṛhari's Śṛṅgāra-śataka, v. 51[ab].

g) Aufrecht (ZDMG., 28. Band, Leipzig, 1874, S. 109) informs us that Bṛhaspati in his Pada-candrikā on the Amara-kośa, 1/2/1/10 quotes "madhu tiṣṭhati vāci, etc." from Bhartṛhari.

h) madhu .... yoṣitāṁ hṛdi hālāhalam eva kevalam.
—Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, v. 3380[ab] (attributed jointly to Kālidāsa and Māgha), p. 553.

i) hālāhalo naiva viṣaṁ viṣaṁ ramā.
—Appayya-Dīkṣita's Kuvalayānanda-kārika, v. 28[a].
(=an illustration of paryastāpahnuti).

[The complete verse is to be found at p. 27 of the NSP. edn., Bombay, 1917. It appears as 1/26 at p. 30 in the German translation of Schmidt.

Peterson in his Notes (p. 101) on v. 3380 of the Subhāṣitāvali (p. 553) writes that Bhartṛhari's "madhu tiṣṭhati, etc." has been quoted as amṛtaṁ vadaneṣu yoṣitām, etc." in the Kuvalayānanda. Thomas (in JRAS., 1911, p. 1125) also holds the same view though he does not give any specific reference to the place of occurrence in the Kuvalayānanda. But the parallel verse as found in the NSP. edn. of the Kuvalayānanda-kārikā begins with "hālāhalo naiva, etc." and not "amṛtaṁ vadaneṣu yoṣitām, etc.".]

j) madhu tiṣṭhati jihvāgre hṛdi hālāhalaṁ viṣam . .
—Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, NSP., Bombay, 1929, 12th edn., 1 (=Mitra-lābha) /82[cd], p. 21.

k) dhatte 'mṛtaṁ sa jihvāgre hṛdi hālāhalaṁ viṣam . .
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 3/31[cd].

l) This verse occurs also in the Subhāṣita-muktāvalī, 16/2;

Subhāṣitārṇava, 17a ; Śṛṅgāra-bindu and Indische Sprüche, 4677 (2C97).

5. a) nilīna iva hi vyāghraḥ kālo viśvasta-ghātakaḥ . .[S., 15/53[cd]]
b) vyāghrīva tiṣṭhati jarā parikartayantī
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 4/41[a].
c) vyāghrīva ...... paritarjayantī
—Bhartṛhari's Vairāgya-śataka, v. 38[a].
d) vyāghrīva ...... api tarjayantī
—Garuḍa-purāṇa, Pūrva-khaṇḍa, 111/10[a], p 260[a].
e) vyāghrīva ... .. paritarjayantī
—Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, v. 4093[a] [= Śānta-rasa-nirdeśa (No. 147) —Vairāgya, v. 5[a]], p. 626.
f) vyāghrīva ..... paritarjayantī
—Subhāṣita-ratnākara, Jarā-prakaraṇa, v. 4[a] at p. 114.
g) vyāghrīva ...... paritarjayantī
—Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, 6/Śānta-rasa-nirdeśa—Vairāgya/v. 32[a], pp. 367[b]-368[a].

6. a) na vetsi dehaṁ jala-phena-durbalam
[S., 9/6[c]]
niyaccha tac chaila-nadī-rayopamaṁ drutaṁ hi gacchaty anivarti yauvanam..[S., 9/27[cd]]
b) ...... giri-nadī-vegopamaṁ yauvanaṁ
mānuṣyaṁ jala-lola-bindu-capalaṁ phenopamaṁ jīvanam.
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 6/4[ab].
c) ...... giri-nadī-vegopamaṁ yauvanam ......
—Pañca-tantra, I., BomSS. edn., 1 (= Mitra-bheda), p. 28, ll. 9-10 ; = NSP. edn., 1 (= Mitra-bheda), p. 29, l. 14.

7. a) pradhānam adhyātma-sukhaṁ sukhebhyo vidyā-ratir duḥkhatamā ratibhyaḥ . . [S., 5/24[cd]]
b) vidyāturāṇāṁ na sukhaṁ na nidrā
—Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra, 8/64[c].

8. a) pāṁsubhyaḥ kāñcanaṁ jātaṁ viśuddhaṁ nirmalaṁ śuci .
sthitaṁ pāṁsuṣv api yathā pāṁsu-doṣair na lipyate . .
padma-parṇaṁ yathā caiva jale jātaṁ jale sthitam .
upariṣṭād adhastād vā na jalenopalipyate . .
tadval loke munir jāto lokasyānugrahaṁ caran .
kṛtitvān nirmalatvāc ca loka-dharmair na lipyate . .
[S., 13/4-6]

b) yathaiva nāmbhasā padmaṁ lipyate jātam ambhasi.
tathā loke 'pi jāto 'sau loka-dharmair na lipyate..
—Uttara-tantra, 1/72.

9. a) yasmāc ca paśyāmy udayaṁ vyayaṁ ca sarvāsv avasthāsv aham indriyāṇām. [S, 18/16[ab]]

b) yathā sarvatra lokānām ākāśa udaya-vyayaḥ.
tathaivāsaṁskṛte dhātāv indriyāṇāṁ vyayodayaḥ..
—Uttara-tantra, 1/53.

10. Hari-Varman's Satya-siddhi (of the Bahu-śrutika section of the Mahā-sāṅghika sect) is also said to paraphrase, or reflect in certain cases, the S., 16/14, 15[cd]; 17/18[cd] & 20[abc]. The S., 13/44[abc] is quoted by Nāgārjuna and the S., 18/26 is perhaps the source of Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī, v. 26. Vasu in his commentary on Āryadeva's Śata-śāstra has cited the S., 11/25 & 30. Candrakīrtti also paraphrases the S., 11/25 in his gloss on Āryadeva's Catuḥ-śataka. The S., 13/18 is quoted anonymously by Vasubandhu and Yaśomitra (Bhāṣya on the Kārikā 4/86). Yaśomitra also cites anonymously the S., 12/22[d]. The 12th canto of the S. (eulogy of śraddhā) has a remarkable parallel in an early Mādhyamika-sūtra quoted in the Śikṣā-samuccaya (ed. Bendall). Asaṅga's Bodhi-sattva-bhūmi, 145 is influenced by the 15th canto of the S.

f) *The Saundara-Nanda and Art* —— Some episodes of the S. have been graphically represented in art. Thus, the Greco-Buddhistic sculptural figures of Gandhāra in Foucher, I, figs. 234 (p. 465), 235 (p. 466), 236 (p. 467), 237 (p. 469) and 238 (p. 471, a series of bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunīkoṇḍā and a jamb from Amarāvatī depict the scenes of the S.

After giving an account of the textual condition and other facts relating to the two authentic ornate epics of Aśvaghoṣa we now turn to the remnants of his two authentic dramas. Firstly we propose to deal with the preserved fragments of his Ś.

1. *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*—a) *Name of the Drama*—The colophon to this drama contained in the fourth line on the reverse side of the folio designated C 4 mentions the name of the work as the "Śāriputra-prakaraṇa" and gives besides the alternate title of the text as the "Śāradvatīputra-°". Both the titles amount to the same thing though the latter name is rather fuller in form.

The above colophon indicates further the intended spelling of the title of the play. Here, as also in the body of the text preserved scatteredly in other fragments, the name "Śāriputra" is found spelt uniformly. This form of the name seems to occur in the third line on the obverse side of the fragment no. (K) 3 which apparently contains the prologue to the Ś. Apart from the said fragments (K) 3 and C 4 the name of the drama is not found in the fragments (K) 13b, 1. 3 and 45a, 1. 3 which mark respectively the end of Acts I and II. The same spelling of the name is also noticed in the stage direction in the fragment (K) 54a, 1. 2. This name appears to have been obviously abbreviated as "Śāri" before the remains of some speeches allotted to Śāriputra in the fragments (K) 58a, 1. 1, 65b, 1. 2, 14-15-32 (reconstructed and read together), reverse side, 1. 3, C 1, obverse side, 1. 3 and C 4, obverse side, 1. 2. Again, in the fragment (K) 10a, 1. 2 one of the characters named Dhānaṁ [an abbreviation from Dhānaṁjaya/Dhānañjaya (evidently a scribal error for Dhanaṁjaya/ Dhanañjaya)] seems to address Śāradvatī[putra ?], and here we meet with the fuller name of Śāriputra. The name "*Śāradvatī*-putra" is mentioned in the S., 16/91[a] as well as in the Tibetan translation of the B., 17/4[1]). The word "Upatiṣya", a surname of Śāriputra, is also found in (K) 64a, 1. 1, K I, reverse side, 1. 1 and C 1, obverse side, 11. 1 and 3, and reverse side, 1. 3. This name occurs also in the Tibetan translation[2]) of the B., 17/9 & 16 and 18/81 & 86. But this word has nothing to do with the exact title of the drama.

Now. the names "Śāriputra" and "Śāradvatīputra" are evidently

---

1) The Tibetan translation of this verse (B., 17/4) renders the name "Śāradvatīputra" as "Śa. ra. dva. tī. bu" [sic ; Śā. ra. dva. tī. bu ? bu (< *pu < putra) = a son]. But the corresponding Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema (No. 1386) gives the name as "Śāriputra".

2) The name "Upatiṣya" is translated into Tibetan as "ñe. rgyal". Weller's edition gives "ñe. rgyal" under the B., 17/16[a] and "ñer. rgyal" under the B., 17/9[b]. Dharmakṣema's Chinese translation, on the contrary, contains the name "Upatiṣya" under nos. 1393 (17th canto) and 1521 (18th canto), and the name "Śāriputra" appears under nos. 1399, 1400 (17th canto) and 1529 (18th canto).

metronymics and as such the former literally means the 'son of Śārī' while the latter is to be translated as the 'son of Śāradvatī'. Both 'Śārī' and 'Śāradvatī' refer to one and the same person, the mother of Śāriputra or Śāradvatīputra. The word 'Śārī' seems to be a short form—a nickname—of 'Śāradvatī'. The final long "ī" of the word 'Śārī' is shortened, as we have already noted in a previous section, in the word 'Śāriputra' in accordance with Pāṇini's rule "ṅy-āpoḥ saṁjñā-cchandasor bahulam".

However, the name 'Śārī' is also known otherwise as 'Śārikā', 'Sārī' and 'Śālī', and 'Śāriputra' is also called 'Sāriputta', 'Śāliputra', 'Śārisuta', 'Śāritanaya' and 'Tiṣya'. But it is on this account the title of the drama cannot be changed arbitrarily to "Sāriputta-prakaraṇa", "Śārīputra-°", and the like. Thus, this drama has to be entitled the "Śāradvatīputra-prakaraṇa" or, in an abbreviated way, the "Śāriputra-°", as the dramatist would have it, and cannot be allowed to be represented under any other name whatsoever as has been done by some.

b) *Two Textual Traditions*[1])—The Ś., like the B. discussed above, is a superb torso. This drama has been handed down to us in two hitherto-known textual traditions noted underneath :—

1) The first textual tradition has been preserved in the extant fragments of a munuscript written in the script of the Kuṣāṇa period and designated accordingly by Herr Geheimrat Lüders as "K".

These "K" fragments were fortunately unearthed along with many other MSS. remains by the third Royal Prussian Turfan Expedition Party in Chinese Turkestan. It was indeed a splendid discovery of the first decade of this century accomplished by the competent members of the Turfan party so named according to the destination of the first expedition. This expert party organised by the Berlin Ethnological Museum consisted of Prof. Albert Grünwedel, Dr. Albert von Le Coq, Barrister H. Pohrt and Technologist Theodor Bartus. These dexterous participants undertook their third expedition within the areas of Kučā,

1) A preliminary proclamation by the present writer on the co-ordination of these MSS. remains may be found in the "Akten des vierundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München 1957" hrsg. von H. Franke, Wiesbaden, 1959, S. 585-588.

Quaraśar, Turfan and Qomul in Eastern Turkestan during the period from December, 1905 to April, 1907 (the time covered by the journey to and from the field of operation has not been taken into account).

In course of this third expedition Le Coq chanced to discover an old library of early Indian manuscripts in great quantities in pothi form on palm-leaves, birch-bark and paper and writing on wooden tablets inside one of the cave-temples named the "red-domed temple" („Rotkuppeltempel", i. e., the temple with red cupola) of the Ming-öi at Qÿzil near Kučā. The word "Ming-öi" (literally, "a thousand rooms") is a customary appellation given throughout Chinese Turkestan to the Buddhist cave-temples and monasteries, modelled more on the Iranian than the Indian style of architecture, hewn perpendicularly out of the precipitous cliffs of high mountain ranges. The Ming-öi near Qÿzil is situated on the Muzart river, about nine and a half miles to the west of Qum-tura.

It is in the said "red-domed room" that the fragments of the "K" manuscript were discovered. These MS. remains later came to the hands of Prof. Heinrich Lüders who, with the help of Frau Prof. Else Lüders and Dr. Siegling, collected the fragments and adjusted them to one another as far as could be practicable. It was, to be sure, a lengthy and exacting job to reconstruct these fragments. But no complete leaf could still be restored.

In this way Lüders could reconstruct 143 fragments [1]) in all, some bigger and some smaller, of which 30 containing only a few letters or a word have not been published by him. The serial number of the printed fragments runs of course up to 118 but as the fragment no. 116 has been finally allotted to the "C" MS., and as the fragments numbered 31, 42 and 105 have been adjusted to the fragment no. 30, and the fragment no. 114 has been fitted with the fragment no. 62 we have thus virtually 113 (143-30=113; or 118-5=113) printed fragments available for our discussion. It is through the publication of

1) Originally 144 fragments were assigned to the "K" manuscript. But, of these, the fragment no. 116, which is written in early Central Asian Brāhmī, has been allotted on later scrutiny to the second MS. designated "C" to be discussed later on. Thus, the total number of the "K" fragments has been diminished by 1 (i. e., 144-1=143).

these 113 pieces that Lüders has held every Indologist — every student of Aśvaghoṣa in particular — in deep debt of gratitude,

All these fragments originally formed parts of several smooth Talipat palm-leaves comprising the "K' manuscript. The preserved pieces were written with a reed-pen and deep black ink. The fragment nos. 1 and 2, on the contrary, seem to have been written with a different ink.

The present condition of these MS. remains indicates unmistakably that this MS. had been much handled in old times. At several places the margin has been much worn out and the letters on both the edges of the lines have thus been mutilated or wholly destroyed. The script is also rubbed off in many other places. The fragment nos. 1 and 2 happen to be of dark colour due to moisture.

These fragments are of varying size. The biggest available fragment (no. 1), which has been reconstructed out of 8 or 9 smaller pieces, is 34. 5 cm. long. The smallest fragments are hardly 1 square cm. in size.

From the size of the fragments it is possible to determine the original size of the palm-leaves. Usually 1 cm. is required for 2 akṣaras (approx.) and 1 cm. is presumably necessary for the two marginal spaces on the right-hand and left-hand borders of a folio. Sometimes the length of one whole leaf can be calculated from the standard scheme of the known ornate metres followed in the stanzas as discernible through the surviving akṣaras and the missing ones required by the exigency of the metres concerned. In this way the average length per leaf may be estimated at 54-55 cm. (approx.).

Similarly the average width per folio can be ascertained as 4-5 cm. Sometimes the preserved ends of the original leaf are narrower than the middle portion. Thus, for example, the fragment no. 1 is 4-6 cm. wide in the middle but 4 cm. only at the right end.

This variation in the width of a folio affects of course the number of the lines per folio-side. Generally there are four lines per page though the fragment nos. 17 and 20 have five lines.

The obverse and reverse sides of the reconstructed folios designated K I and K IV and the fragment nos. 1, 3, 4, 8 and 14-15-32 (in the reconstructed form) can be safely established through a careful perusal of the content. But no such sure deduction is possible in other cases where Lüders has mostly shown the two sides as 'a' and 'b' for the sake of convenience,

While the fragment nos. 1 and 8 do not have any thread-hole at the right end the fragment nos. 4, 7, 9 and 26 show traces of the cord-hole. The cord-hole in the fragments numbered 4 and 7 is to be found about 6.5 cm. away from the left margin. This proves that the leaves were originally fastened together with only one thread passing through the left-hand cord-hole. From this fact it also follows with certainty that the older Indian method of fastening the folios has been preserved in Central Asia—a mode which is contrary to the practice of the hitherto-known later Indian MSS. having either only one hole in the middle or one hole on each side.

On the left margin of five fragments some pagination numbers can be detected. Thus, the fragment no. 5 bears the leaf no. '131', the fragment no. 4 has the numerical figures for '100', '30' and a broken sign for '1', the fragment no. 6 shows the ciphers for '100' and '10' and the broken traces of '1', and the fragment nos. 3 and 7 betray the traces of some page-mark which cannot be deciphered in its present state.

This mode of left-margin pagination evidently confirms the older Indian practice of front-page left-margin pagination which is noticed in another MS. of Indian origin of the Gupta period discovered in Turfan and in a few older copper-plates of South India but which was abandoned in the later North Indian MSS.

The other writings in the body of the fragments are characterised by the broad and heavy letter-forms which lack the elegance and symmetry of the later Gupta script. Despite the smaller deviations in the details of some letters the script of the "K" fragments is closely similar to that of the dated North Indian inscriptions of the time of the Northern Kṣatrapas and Kuṣāṇas as well as of the greater Mathurā inscriptions of the Cāndaka brothers. Certain characteristics of the letter-forms represent the condition of the script which existed in the first decades of the Kuṣāṇa era. Besides these archaic features of the alphabet of the original scribe belonging to the early Kuṣāṇa period there are also several letter-forms of the early Central Asian Brāhmī of the Turfan reviser who may be tentatively assigned to the end of the Kuṣāṇa era. Some letters of the later reviser are more or less similar to those of the usual Gupta script of the North Indian epigraphic records. Thus, the "K" fragments show the peculiarities of both the early and the late Kuṣāṇa scripts.

In these Kuṣāṇa-era fragments we meet with the orthographical

peculiarities like "rṇṇ[a]", " rtt[a] ", "rtth[a]" "ppr[a]", "rbb[a]", "rbbh[a]" , "rmm[a]", 'ryy[a] ", "rll[a] " and "rvv[a]". Such orthographical reduplications in the "K" text might have been due to some extent to the habit of accentuation and scribal practice obtaining within some zonal areas, as countenanced also by some inscriptions, though these peculiarities of compound consonants affected by the liquid "r" find their support, apparently on similar grounds, in Sanskrit phonetics and grammar. However, there are admittedly some cases of exception to these phonological features in the "K" fragments in which we have the normal unreduplicated forms as well.

Besides these characteristics pertaining to the conjuncts there are also the following notable signs and traits found in the "K" fragments :—

i) In the fragment no. 3 there is some 'maṅgala' sign after the word "siddham" represented by two perpendicular lines placed side by side and a horizontal line joined to the left. This sign is badly defaced.

ii) The 'candra-bindu' sign, which is found once in the fragment no. 8b, 1. 2 and twice in the fragment no. 10b, 11. 3 and 4, is shown by two small hooks touching together at the right end and thus simulating the letter "ai". This rare sign has not been noticed in the inscriptions.

iii) The upadhmānīya sign is marked once each in the fragment nos. 41a, 1. 1 and 51b, 1. 2.

iv) A horizontal stroke is regularly used in the "K" fragments, as also in the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period, as a punctuation-mark to indicate the conclusion of a person's speech. Barring some exceptions this sign is also usually seen at the end of the prose portion within a speech when prose and verse alternate.

v) A circular figure is used once each in the fragment nos. 13b, 1. 3 and 45a, 1. 3 to mark the end of a bigger paragraph.

vi) A small gap is used to separate a single word from a compound word. Such a gap appears also to be intended in the "K" fragments, as in some Aśokan and archaic Mathurā inscriptions, to indicate the end of a pāda, the first hemistich and a prose sentence.

These "K" fragments show, as already pointed out in a previous paragraph, the traits of both the early and the late Kuṣāṇa scripts. This disharmony of the "K" MS. is evidently due to its being a palimpsest. The MS., which was originally written in India, was

imported later on into Central Asia. That this MS. underwent a revision in Central Asia becomes quite palpable when the folio-remnants [as for example the fragment nos. (K) 1, 2 and 53] are held obliquely against light. The script of the Indian scribe is fading whereas the later writing of the Turfan reviser is still discernible. The hand of the reviser is noticeable in his attempt to complete the lost letters of the original text, in his effort to rewrite the indistinct letters and in his habit of writing the later forms of some badly effaced letters. He even modernised some well-preserved letters. His emendations, alterations and additions are interlinear insertions indicated by some punctuation-marks or even by two strokes. Nevertheless there are some scribal errors in the fragments (as for example in the fragment nos. 1 and 54) which have already been enlisted by Lüders. The addenda and corrigenda prove that the MS. had not been copied carefully from its original.

Thus, judging from the palaeographic peculiarities and other aforesaid data of this palimpsest Lüders is inclined to think that this MS. had been originally written during the reign of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka —rather than that of Vāsudeva—and later revised towards the end of the Kuṣāṇa era.

This Kuṣāṇa-era MS. is therefore of singular importance inasmuch as it is known up till now as the oldest Indian MS.

Another point of interest is that all the 143 fragments belong to one and the same MS.

Some of these fragments, on later scrutiny by Prof. and Frau Prof. Lüders, could be adjusted to one another so as to reconstruct some individual leaves. Thus, the fragment nos. (K) 26, 64, 68, 75 and 101 and two small unpublished fragments belong to one leaf designated 'K I'[1]). Similarly the fragment nos. (K) 23, 50, 89 and 112 and most probably a small fragment not yet published constitute the leaf termed 'K IV'[2]). As regards the content the fragment nos. (K) 54-56 should properly come before K I. These three fragments [(K) 54, 55 and 56] have the same external features and the common

---

1) This leaf (K I), as will be shown later on, corresponds with the folios termed C 1 and C 2.

2) This leaf (K IV), as will be discussed later on, finds its counterpart in C 4.

subject-matter and as such belong probably to one leaf. The fragment nos. (K) 1 and 2 belong to the same leaf which appears to have been later corrected and traced by the Turfan reviser. The fragment nos. (K) 46 (in its reconstructed form) and 47 are possibly parts of the same leaf. As regards their outer characteristics and the content the fragment nos. (K) 14, 15 and 32 constitute the same leaf measuring 44 cm. (approx.) in length.

The extant fragments of the "K" MS. can be further arranged according to the content. Thus, the fragment no. 3 contains the 'prastāvanā' and marks the beginning of the drama. The fragment no. 13 shows the end of Act I and the beginning of Act II. Similarly the fragment no. 45 denotes the end of Act II and the beginning of Act III. Moreover, the fragments numbered (K) 26, 64, 68, 75, 101 and two unpublished pieces (together comprising K I), 23, 50, 89, 112 and most probably an unpublished small piece (together constituting K IV), and 54, 55 and 56 (forming parts of the same leaf) appear to preserve some scene or scenes of Act IX—or perhaps of Acts VIII and IX. Any further textual assortment in respect of the rest of the fragments cannot be made with certainty[1]). All these observations, however, must always be treated with a certain amount of reservation in so far as these are based on the existing materials supplied by the printed fragments. No absolutely sure decision could therefore be arrived at.

ii) The second textual tradition is represented by the nineteen extant fragments of a Central Asian palm-leaf MS. designated accordingly by Lüders as "C".

These palm-leaves, as Lüders opines, were indigenous writing materials of Central Asia and, unlike the "K" leaves discussed above, these were not imported from India.

Of the said nineteen fragments of the "C" MS. one is a bigger piece and seventeen are smaller ones and the last one is a fragment which was originally printed as no. 116 along with the "K" fragments. The last-mentioned piece being written in an early form of Central Asian Brāhmī posed at first as a puzzle to Lüders who supposed that one entire leaf of the "K" MS. somehow happened to be lost and

1) The fragment no. (K) 99 may also be taken to indicate the end of some Act and the beginning of the next Act if the words of this small piece do not surely mean some stage direction.

was later on replaced by the Turfan restorer with a new leaf from another MS. But it transpired on later scrutiny by Prof. and Frau Prof. Lüders that this fragment should properly be assigned to the "C" MS.

Of these nineteen "C" fragments the first eighteen again admitted of further adjustment to one another in such a way as to reduce their total number to nine. These nine and the last fragment (no. 116)—i. e., ten (9+1=10) in all—could then be arranged into three leaves. This reconstruction was based on a close study of the outer features and the content of the ten fragments. Of these three leaves the first one consisted of four pieces while the second and the third folios were comprised of three pieces each (4+3+3=10 pieces=3 leaves). But none of these three leaves could be restored completely, However, we acknowledge again our indebtedness to Lüders for having made these leaves available in creditable print.

Of the said three leaves the third one is the biggest in size and the preserved portion of this leaf is about 34.5 cm. long. The third line on the reverse side of this folio contains a Vaṁśastha stanza of which 6 akṣaras are missing. After this gap of 6 akṣaras some such expression like 'niṣkrāntāḥ' (= 3 akṣaras) or 'iti niṣkrāntāḥ' (= 5 akṣaras) must be expected. Thus, the nine (6+3 = 9) or eleven (6+5 = 11) missing akṣaras equate with 5 cm. (approx.) or 5.5 cm. (approx.). Therefore, the total length of the third leaf in its original size can be roughly worked out at 39.5 cm. (34.5 cm. + 5.0 cm. = 39.5 cm.) or 40.0 cm. (34.5 cm. + 5.5 cm. = 40.0 cm.). This leaf has been designated by Lüders as 'C 4'.

Similarly the original length of the first leaf (designated by Lüders as 'C 1') may be calculated in consideration of the interven-ing space to have been covered by the missing akṣaras of the verses required by the standard schemes of the well-known classical metres followed therein. Thus, an Upajāti stanza in the second and third lines on the obverse side, a Śārdūlavikrīḍita verse in the first and second lines on the reverse side and a Śloka in the second and third lines on the reverse side help conjointly to work out the original length of C 1 at 39.5-40. cm. The formerly problematic fragment no. (K) 116 has been finally apportioned to this leaf.

In the same way the original length of the second leaf (designated by Lüders as 'C 2') can be calculated. Of the three surviving pieces of this leaf two fit in closely with each other and are equal to 15 cm.

(approx.). In the second and the third lines on the reverse side there is the remains of a Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza. The fortyfive missing akṣaras at the end of the second line and the beginning of the third one on the reverse side require 25 cm. (approx.). Thus, the total length of this leaf in its original size can be calculated at 40 cm. (15 cm. + 25 cm. = 40 cm.).

The leaves described as C 1 and C 4 bear some pagination numbers. In pursuance of an older custom these ciphers appear on the left margin of the obverse side in each case. Though badly rubbed off the numerical figures in C 1 can still be recognised as a broken '10' and possibly a '7' written below '10'. The numerical sign in C 4 is totally illegible. It may be a '10' or a '100'.

The three "C" leaves were written in Central Asia and the script they represent is of the earliest type of Central Asian Brāhmī. In this oldest phase of Central Asian Brāhmī, as also in the later stage of this script, the consonants 't' and 'n' are alike in form and sometimes 'c' and 'v' also are difficult to distinguish from each other. The script of the "C" leaves are essentially similar to that of the Turfan reviser of the "K" MS. Despite their semblance there is one point of distinction noticeable in the rounder form of the semivowel 'y' in the "C" folios.

The obverse side of C 1 is written in a very scattered way than all the remaining folio-sides of the "C" MS. The writing of the leaf no. C 2 is regrettably much blurred.

Besides the above features there are two notable orthographical peculiarities of the "C" leaves. The first is the Jihvāmūlīya sign found once each in C 1, obverse side, 1. 4 (°nauḫ-karṇṇa°) and in C 4, reverse side, 1.3 (duḫkhaṁ). This sign is identical with the corresponding sign of the later Gupta script. The second noteworthy feature is the Upadhmānīya sign in the form of a circle with an inserted cross appearing once in C 1, reverse side, 1.2 (śiṣyaiḫ pari°). This sign is the same as in the Kuṣāṇa script.

The writings of the "C" leaves, like those of the "K" fragments, betray the character of a palimpsest. The handwriting of the original scribe is still visible in various places, especially on the reverse side of C 1 and on the obverse side of C 4. The original script is significantly bigger than the reviser's later script.

The "C" leaves are rather carelessly written. There is a full series of scribal errors. Some of these errata seem to have been due to the

mode of pronunciation and the habit of accentuation prevalent in particular zones. Sometimes the peculiarities of orthography and spelling pertain more to the scribe than to his province. Some phonological and morphological characteristics are caused under the influence of Buddhistic Sanskrit. In certain cases no peremptory conclusion can be arrived at owing to the absence of the requisite context.

A close perusal of the writing of the "C" folios also establishes the fact that as regards the content C 2 immediately follows C 1. Likewise the leaf no. C 4, which contains the colophon to the ninth and the last Act, must have to be judged as the last folio of the drama and as such it comes after C 1 and C 2. The portion of the subject-matter, which naturally comes in between C 1 and C 2 on the one hand and C 4 on the other, may be inferred to have been the Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-vāda (as already known to be expounded by Arāḍa Kālāma and Rāmaputra Udraka in the B., Canto XII)—the pūrva-pakṣa—because the corresponding nairātmya-vāda—the Buddhistic uttara-pakṣa and the siddhānta-pakṣa—as put into the very mouth of the Buddha can be found in the concluding leaf no. C 4. The intervening leaf no. C 3, which is expected to have contained some philosophical discussion, is missing.

The obverse and the reverse sides of each of the three surviving leaves of the "C" MS. can also be determined from the content.

Despite their scantiness the materials supplied by the three extant folios of the "C" MS. can give us some idea of the closing scene of the ninth Act. The leaf no. C 4 is of special importance for a study of Aśvaghoṣa inasmuch as it contains the colophon which mentions the name and other particulars of the author.

These leaves appear to have been written originally in the late Kuṣāṇa era. The original scribe of the "C" MS. seems to have been later than and a different person from the already mentioned reviser of the "K" MS. The reviser of the "C" leaves must therefore be still later than the original scribe of the "C" MS. Anyway, the "K" fragments are earlier than the "C" remains.

c) *Comparison of the Two Textual Traditions*—After the appraisal of the two MSS. traditions taken separately we now take up a comparison of the preserved textual portions common to both.

Thus, the textual portion covered by the 7 lines of K I roughly corresponds with that spread over the 8½ lines of C 1, reverse side

and C 2, obverse side. Similarly the 19½ lines (approx.) of the missing leaf no. C 3 may be supposed to agree with the 16 lines of the folio nos. K II and K III which are entirely lost, or at least their fragments are not now recognizable. Moreover, some words of K I, reverse side, l. 5 (nīḷa-drumaṁ gagana-° and madhu-ghṛtā°) are found in C 2, obverse side, l. 4. Furthermore, K IV, obverse side, l. 1 and C 4, obverse side, l. 4 have some common words (nimnaṁ gatam bhavati).

Occasionally we meet with variants. Some of these are minor and some again are uncertain without any proper context. At times the "C" MS. gives us the better reading[1]).

As regards the content also there is uniformity between K I and K IV on the one hand and C 1, C 2 and C4 on the other. The topic dealt with in both is the reception of the two friends, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, by the Buddha. Some Sanskrit-speaking Buddhist Śramaṇa introduces the friends to the Buddha who pronounces benediction on them and the drama ends after this epilogue.

Thus, it is quite evident that the text of the Ś. has been received by us in two MSS. traditions. It is therefore extremely unwise to state that this social play has been preserved in "three fragments" (!) as has been loosely done by some scholar. Obviously the three extant leaves (viz., C 1, C 2 and C4) of the "C" MS. have been meant irrespective of the "K" fragments It is also equally incorrect to say with another unwary researcher that only a few passages of this drama are extant in "a Central Asian manuscript"—an utterly indiscreet statement vitiated by 'avyāpti-doṣa'. Similarly careless is the statement of the contributor to the Encyclopaedia of Buddhism that the Ś. is available in "...a Central Asian manuscript".

d) *Plot—Its Sources and Innovations*—The plot of the play is strewn over the extant fragments of the two MSS. traditions. Before we can collect these scattered materials and marshal them as far as feasible it would be profitable to trace the relevant sources of the story.

There is admittedly a mere reference to some characters of this

---

1) The readings of the Ś. fragments as shown in our citations include the possible supplements and conjectural suggestions of Lüders. In certain cases our amendments have also been given.

story in the S., 16/91 (Śāradvatīputra and Maudgalya-gotra, i. e., Maudgalyāyana), 16/88 (Aśvajit) and 16/87 (Kauṇḍinya) in the list of the Buddha's disciples. We find also in the S., 1/42[1]) a brief and incidental description (by way of aprākaraṇika upamāna in the context of a description of Kapilavāstu) of the city of Girivraja (or Rājagṛha) which serves as the place of action in this drama. A description of Rājagṛha is also noticed in the B., 10/1[cd] and 2[abc2]). Again, Aśvaghoṣa gives a fair account of the conversions of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha through Aśvajit in twentyone verses in the B., 17/3-23. This part of the narrative corresponds with the Ś. fragment nos. K I, K IV, C1, C2, C4 and K 65. The source of this episode is the Vinaya-piṭaka, Mahā-vagga, 1/23-24. There is no doubt a general uniformity between the account given in the Mahā-vagga on the one hand and that couched in the B. verses and the afore-mentioned Ś. fragments on the other. But for a fuller consideration of the joint biography of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana beginning with their birth and ending in their conversion to the Buddhistic faith we have to re fer to the post-Aśvaghoṣan Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā ascribed to Buddhaghosa of the fifth century A. D. It is strange that the later Aṭṭha-kathā narration (ad Dhamma-pada, Yamaka-vagga, vv. 11-12) agrees in some important details with the story materials supplied by the writings of the "K" and "C" fragments of the Ś. Before we can enter next into a consummate comparison of the two accounts it is therefore necessary to give the Aṭṭha-kathā story as follows :-

Sāriputta (in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Śāriputra) and Moggallāna (in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Maudgalyāyana) were born in two principal Brāhmaṇa families which were reputed for their opulence and friendly towards each other for seven generations. These two Brāhmaṇa boys were conceived and duly brought to earth on the same day by their

1) sarid-vistīrṇa-parikhaṁ spaṣṭā(')ñcita-mahā-patham
(°thaṁ—sic).
śailakalpa-mahā-vapraṁ Girivrajam ivāparam
(°raṁ—sic) . .

2) uttīrya Gaṅgāṁ pracalat-taraṅgāṁ śrīmad-gṛhaṁ Rāja-
gṛhaṁ jagāma . .
śailaiḥ suguptaṁ ca vibhūṣitaṁ ca dhṛtaṁ ca pūtaṁ ca
śivais tapodaiḥ .
pañcā(')calā(')ṅkaṁ nagaraṁ...

respective mothers Rūpasārī [in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Rūpaśārī (<Rūpa-śāradvatī ?)] and Moggalī (in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Maudgalī). The two boys bearing the matronymics Sāriputta and Moggallāna respectively were brought up amid great luxury in two Brāhmaṇa villages named Upatissa and Kolita, both lying in the vicinity of Rājagaha (in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Rājagṛha). Sāriputta and Moggallāna were also called Upatissa and Kolita respectively according as they were denizens of the afore-named villages. As they grew up they became bosom-friends and gradually attained proficiency in all the arts and sciences. One day the two friends went to witness some mountain-top festival at Rājagaha. For some time they enjoyed the fun at the carnival with other folk but at length they began to ponder over the impermanence of the mundane existence and felt some divine discontent. This pensive feeling of detachment led them to seek for salvation under the spiritual guidance of a wandering hermit named Sañjaya[1]). With a retinue of five hundred men they became monks and began to practise penance as per the spiritual direction. After some time they attained the goal of the (Sāṁkhya-Yoga) teachings but their spiritual thirst was not quenched thereby. In such a moment of unrest Sāriputta chanced to meet one day early in the morning the Elder Assaji (in Pāli ; = Sanskrit Aśvajit), one among the pañca-vargīya bhikṣus (= the first five disciples of the Buddha), who was on his stroll for almsfood. Sāriputta became charmed with the majestic personality of Assaji and convinced with the latter's speech containing the kernel of the Buddha's doctrines, and then went with

---

1) This tīrthika (heretic) ascetic belonged probably to the Kapila sect and taught Sāriputta (and obviously Moggallāna as well) up to the dhyāna plane of ananta ākiñcanya (= the seventh dhyāna as explained to the Buddha by his teacher Arāḍa of the Kālāma clan ; cf. the B., 12/63) — or perhaps as far as the dhyāna stage of saṁjñā-(')saṁjñā-rāhitya (= the eighth dhyāna as expounded to the Buddha by his teacher Rāmaputra Udraka ; cf. the B., 12/87). There is, however, no mention of the name of Sañjaya in the B. narrative referred to above and the surviving Ś. fragments. Nevertheless the adherence of Śāriputra (as well as of Maudgalyāyana) to the Sāṁkhya-Yoga tenets as attested by the B. account and the Ś. remains well confirms our above conjecture.

Moggallāna to adore the Buddha sojourning at the Veḷuvana[1]). The Buddha saw them coming from afar and pronounced his prediction in the presence of the surrounding mendicants that the two friends were predestined to be his chief disciples. Sāriputta and Moggallāna were then converted to the new faith.

Now let us turn to the story materials which can be culled from the Ś. fragments and compare these points with the corresponding ones in the Aṭṭha-kathā account and other references given above.

i) Firstly, the name 'Śāriputra', or 'Śāradvatīputra', as we have discussed previously, is evidently a matronymic. It is used synonymously with the surname 'Upatiṣya' in the Mahā-vagga, B., Ś. and the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā.

Again, the name 'Maudgalyāyana' (abbreviated as 'Maudga' in the Ś. fragments) is referred to as 'Maudgalya-gotra' in the S., 16/91[d]. But the Tibetan translation of the B., 17/16[d] gives the name of the clan as 'Maudgala' (" Maudgala. rigs. " = Maudgala-gotra). In any case, this name is apparently used by Aśvaghoṣa in the sense of a male scion (gotrā'patyaṁ pumān) while the Aṭṭha-kathā derives the name in the sense of a son (apatyaṁ pumān ; Maudgalyāyana = Maudgalī-putra = a matronymic). Aśvaghoṣa, however, is silent about the name 'Kolita' though both the Mahā-vagga and the Aṭṭha-kathā use this name as a synonym of Maudgalyāyana.

ii) Secondly, according to the Aṭṭha-kathā Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were both Brāhmaṇas by birth. Though there is no definite mention of this point in the S. as well as the Ś. fragments, the B., 17/6, 9, 15 and 22 make this item quite clear.

iii) Thirdly, the scene of the Ś., like that of the Aṭṭha-kathā story, is laid in the city of Rājagaha (or Rājagṛha). This place-name occurs in the fragment nos. (K) 27b, 11. 1 (Rājagaha) and 3 (puram = Rājagṛha-puram)[2]), 62a, 1. 2 (Rājagaha) and 115a, 1. 1

---

1) This name appears as 'Veṇuvana' in the B., 17/1. No mention of this name can be traced in the extant fragments of the Ś.

2) The words "pure 'smin" in the fragment no. (K) 41a, 1. 1 seem also to refer to Rājagṛha. But the word "pure" occurring in the first line of the fragment no. (K) 60b cannot be treated as a sure index owing to the scantiness of the preserved matter.

(Rājagṛha). The fragment no. (K) 7 (to be read together with its reconstructed form), reverse side, ll. 1-2 contain a description of Rājagṛha as built by the valiant Bṛhadratha, nicely decorated and fortified with castles, mud-walls, ramparts and ditches[1]). This description tallies with that of Girivraja (=Rājagṛha) in the S., 1/42 and the B., 10/1[cd] and 2[abc] already quoted above. Rājagṛha, the old capital of Magadha, is referred to as 'Magadha-pura' in the fragment no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 3. On the same side of this fragment the Buddha is said to sojourn inside the park of Magadha-pura[2]). This park adjacent to the city is the same as the Veṇuvana of the B., 17/1 and the Veḷuvana of the Mahā-vagga and the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā. Further, the name 'Magadhavatī' (abbreviated as 'Maga' in several places in the "K" fragments), the hetaera (Gaṇikā; often abbreviated as 'Gaṇi' in the "K" fragments) of Magadha-pura or Rājagṛha, as given to the heroine of this 'prakaraṇa' (= social drama) points out to the place of action of this drama.

iv) Fourthly, the 'giriyagga-samāja' in the fragment no. (K) 45b, 1. 1 and the 'girikagga[-samāja]' (in Prākṛta ; = Sanskrit girikāgra-°) in the fragment no. (K) 84a, 1. 2 agree with the 'mountain-top festival' in the Aṭṭha-kathā story. Again, the words "(g)i(r)i(yagga-sa)mājaṁ (ga)mis(s)i(di)" in the fragment no. (K) 22a, 1. 3 refer perhaps to Śāriputra's going to witness the said festival along with Maudgalyāyana and their attendants as in the Aṭṭha-kathā account.

v) Fifthly, according to the Aṭṭha-kathā story a feeling of detachment came upon Śāriputra during his stay in the 'girikāgra-samāja'. This idea has many parallels in the Ś. fragments though the name of the speaker has not been preserved in these passages. The relevant portions are quoted below :—

1. Fragment no. (K) 17a, 1. 1—......nan dhig aśanan dhik tat su(kham)......

2. Frg. no. (K) 18a, 1. 2—......(ṣ)v [=prāṇiṣv ?] ahiṁsro bhavet......

---

1) Line 1.......Bṛhadrathen=ātirathena nirmitaṁ svalaṅkṛta........
Line 2. koṭṭe avappa-pākāra-pa(r)ikhaṁ nagaraṁ......

2) Line 3.......eṣa hi sa maharṣir Magadha-purasy=opavane samprati......
Line 4. ......vaśyātmā viharati,,....

3. Frg. no. (K) 20a, l. 4—......nadī-kūla-durbbale śarīre visrambhaḥ a(pi)......

4. Frg. no. (K) 34b, l. 4—......(indri)yāś(v)air apahṛta-matayo ......

5. Frg. no. (K) 45a, l. 4—......viṣayeṣu jagat pramattaṁ.........

6. Frg. no. (K) 27a, l. 4—......tad vāryyaṁ gocarebbhyo (sic) mana iha cala......

7. Frg. no. (K) 20b, l. 3—......[n ?]irb(b)an(dha)ḥ (a)ho mohāt(m)akasya manaso......

8. Frg. no. (K) 35b, l. 1—......jar(ā)-vyādhi-ja(ni).........

9. Frg. no. (K) 21b, l. 1—......mṛt(e) hi naśyati prajā ....

10. Frg. no. (K) 6, obverse side, l. 3 (in the reconstructed form) —30 vyādhi-mara(ṇa ?)......

11. Frg. no. (K) 43b, l. 2—......śreyo dharmma-parigraha[ḥ ?] ....

However, it must be admitted on all hands that despite the agreement in ideas the above speeches cannot be claimed unequivocally to have been uttered by Śāriputra.

vi) Sixthly, the Aṭṭha-kathā narrates that as a result of this dispassionate attitude Śāriputra and his friend Maudgalyāyana renounced the world and took to monastic life. The Mahā-vagga also mentions their joining the monastic order before their conversion to Buddhism. Again, in the B., 17/4 Śāriputra (as well as Maudgalyāyana perhaps) is shown as an already ordained follower of the Kapila sect. In the same way the Ś. fragments seem to refer to the renunciation of Śāriputra (and presumably of Maudgalyāyana) as follows :—

1. Fragment no. (K) 40a, l. 2— ...pravrajyā-śyāgha...

2. Frg. no. (K) 43a, l. 1—......tena rūpeṇa pavvajissiti—......

3. Frg. no. (K) 57a, l. 2—......ppravvrajyā (sic) saṁvartteta ......

4. Frg. no. (K) 57b, ll. 1-3—......(pav)v(a)jita atta......... ta(va).........
.. ...— snigdham priyaṁ s(v)a-janam aśru......

5. Frg. no. (K) 11b, l. 1—......maraṇodvegena khalv aya(ṁ) pravraj(i)t(o)......

Admittedly these passages do not contain any specific reference to Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, and our proposition cannot of course be placed on a surer basis.

vii) Seventhly, according to the B. account (B., 17/4, 10, 11, 12, 13 & 14) Śāriputra (as well as his friend Maudgalyāyana ?)

practised penance in pursuance of the ātmavādin Sāṁkhya-Yoga teachings prior to his conversion through Aśvajit. The B., 17/22 adds that both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, as the crthodox ascetics, bore the triple staff and twisted locks when they approached the Buddha. Again, in the Ś. fragments numbered C4 and K IV the Buddha is depicted as refuting the Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-vāda (soaring at best up to the eighth dhyāna-stage) and establishing his nairātmya-vāda (culminating in the absolute stage of the ninth dhyāna) in the presence of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. This naturally proves the Sāṁkhya-Yoga leanings of the two friends before their new ordination. But in both these accounts there is no mention of their former teacher Sañjaya whose name occurs in the Mahā-vagga and the Aṭṭha-kathā stories.

viii) Eighthly, Aśvajit is described in similar terms in the Mahā-vagga, B. and Aṭṭha-kathā. According to these accounts Śāriputra became charmed with the beauty, demeanour and tranquillity of Aśvajit. Likewise the Ś. fragment no. (K) 18b, l. 1 seems to refer to the self-composure of Aśvajit as follows :—

......bhadantaḥ praśāntena veṣeṇa... ..

Further, the term "Ācārya" occurring in the fragment nos. (K) 36a, l. 2[1]) and 86a, l. 2[2]), and the term "Upajjhāya" (in Prākṛta ; =Sanskrit "Upādhyāya") found in the fragment nos. 14, 15 & 32 (in their reconstructed form), obverse side, l. 3[3]) [corresponding to the previous fragment no. (K) 14b, l. 3] refer possibly to the Elder Aśvajit. Again, the abbreviation of some role as "Upā" (standing perhaps for the "Upādhyāya"— rather than for the "Upāsaka", as Lüders supposes) in the fragment nos. (K) 46a, l 1[4]) and 47b, l. 2[5]) means most likely the teacher Aśvajit. Though the word "upāsa" (=upāsaka ?) appears in the fragment no. K IV, reverse side, l. 5 [corresponding to the former fragment no. (K) 50a, l. 4][6]) it does not necessarily refer to any speaking person. It might have been used as an adjective in some speech.

---

1) .....(i)dānīm Ācāryya-śuśr[ūṣ...... ?]...
2) ......darśitam Ācā(ryyeṇa)...
3) ......Vi(dū)—(bho Upa)jjhāya...
4) ... ..Upā—evam tāva...
5) ......Upā—bhavati nāham...
6) ......kila upā(sa)...

Moreover, the fragment no. (K) 65 appears to contain a dialogue between Śāriputra and Aśvajit. Here Aśvajit seems to deliver a discourse on Buddhistic philosophy for the enlightenment of Śāriputra and at the end the latter pays his deep respect and gratitude to the former. A relevant excerpt is given below :—

Fragment no. (K) 65b, 11. 2-4 : ... Ś(āri)[putraḥ] — ...... āśv (aśv—sic) abhiniveśayitā śreyasi gṛhīto bhavā(n)...(ya)tanam upaśamāyatana ... (pra)śasya-puru(ṣaḥ) ......

ix) Ninthly, there is an agreement between the Mahā-vagga and the B. (17/15-17) that on hearing the solemn sermon of the sober Elder Aśvajit Śāriputra became filled with the highest peace (prasāda) and his high contentment was reflected in his face. Corresponding to this the Ś. fragment nos. (K) 14, 15 and 32 (taken together in their reconstructed form)[1] have the following to offer :—

Obverse side.

Line 1 : ...... [Śāriputraḥ—?]...

Line 2 : ...... apar(i)m(i)tārttham avāptukāmena (avaptu°—sic) sat-sannikarṣe khalu pp(r)ayatitavyam (sic) mayā hi (—) ...... (gata-dharm)m(e) (sādh)y(a)m(ā)n(e) [']th(a) m(ār)gg(e) (tad a)mṛtam upalabdham bh(i)kṣum āsā(ddya)(sic) ...

Line 3 : ...... —Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ]—(bho upa)jjhāya [=Aśvajit ?] e(tassa pavva)jitassa vacanaṁ suṇiya apuru(va)-mukha-vaṇṇena añ(ñ)aṁ viya......

x) Tenthly, according to the Mahā-vagga and the B. (17/16-19) the wise counsel of Aśvajit opened the mind's eye of Śāriputra as well as of Maudgalyāyana. The minds of the two friends were purified by their actions and dispositions (āśaya ?). Similar ideas are to be found in the Ś. fragments as follows :—

1. Fragment no. C 1, obverse side, 1. 1— ... c(ā)nnya-dṛ(ṣ)ṭi-(to) (sic) ......

2. Frg. no. C 1, reverse side, 11. 3-4— ...... Bu(ddha)[ḥ]—Upati(ṣya) ... viśuddhasya manaso rā(gam alpena yatnena) ...

3. Frg. no. K I, reverse side, 11. 1-2— ... (B)u(d)dh(aḥ)—U(patiṣ)y(a) .... (vi)śuddhasya manaso rāgam alpena yatnena ... v(i)śuddhe 'ddhyāśa(ye) (sic) ......

4. Frg. no. C2, reverse side, 11. 3-4— ... Buddha[ḥ]— ...... (etad) api pū(rva-karmma-saṁ)skṛta(yor anahaṅkṛta)yor yuvayor ......

---

1) For a further discussion on these fragments see infra,

5. Frg. no. C 4, reverse side, ll. 1-2 — ...... (Buddhaḥ — gatena mārggeṇa) ...... vinītayor ya(t)i-dharmmeṇa kṛta-parikarmmaṇoḥ asmāt siddhānta-prativedhād uddhṛta-vividha-dṛṣ(ṭ)i-(śa)lyayo(ḥ) ś(u)d(dha)-manasor yuva(yo)ḥ ......

6. Frg. no. K IV, obverse side, l. 4 — ...... (ga)tena mārgge(ṇa) ...... ṇa kṛta-parikarmaṇoḥ (a) ...... (dṛṣṭ)i-(śalyay)o(ḥ) ......

xi) Eleventhly, the Mahā-vagga, B. (17/20) and Aṭṭha-kathā agree on the point that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were the two chief disciples of the Buddha. The same idea finds its parallel in the Ś. fragments as follows :—

1. Fragment no. C 1, obverse side, l. 4 — ...... [Śāriputro ?] (nama)ti — Buddha[ḥ] — svāga(ta)ṁ ...... nau-karṇ(ṇ)adhārāya [nauh-° — sic] bhaviṣyate dharma-senā-pata(ye) [°sena° — sic]

2. Frg. no. K I, obverse side, l. 4 — ...... (pa)taye — ......

3. Frg. no. C 1, reverse side, l. 2 — ...... Buddha[ḥ] (obviously addressing Maudgalyāyana) — svāgataṁ (bh) ...... (ṛ)d(dh)i-vikalpeśvarāya ......

The last citation from the Ś. tallies also with the B., 17/20 in another respect that Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are credited respectively with wisdom and magic powers.

xii) Lastly, the arguments for the refutation of the ātma-vāda of the pre-classical and Vedānta-like Sāṁkhya and the establishment of the Buddhistic nairātmya-vāda (as previously hinted at in other contexts) are exactly alike in the Ś. fragments and the B. (17/10-14 ; cf. also 12/68 ff.). These points of similarity are noted underneath :—

1. a) Ś., fragment no. C 4, obverse side, ll. 1-2 — [Buddhaḥ —?] ...... (śa)rī(ra)-nirmuktam ā(tma)-sa(ṁ)jñakam buddhi-s(au)kṣmyaṁ tat — sūkṣmatvāc caiva doṣāṇām avyāpārāc ca cetasaḥ (/) (dīrghatvād ā)yuṣaś caiva mokṣa(s tu) (pa)rikalpyate (//)

b) B., 17/11 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations) — "He (=Śāriputra) held that the Sāṁkhya considers (consider— sic) the body to consist of parts and therefore only destroys the group of gross sins, but that under the Buddha's teaching gross and subtle are destroyed alike."

c) B., 12/75 —— sūkṣmatvāc ...... parikalpyate ..

2. a) Ś., frg. no. C 4, obverse side, ll. 2-3 — ...... Śāri[putraḥ] — ...... [anya-?]thātma-grāhe sati (sata — sic) na naiṣṭhikī nivṛttir (= atyantaḥ parityāgaḥ ; nirvṛttir — sic ; nirvṛtir — suggested by

Lüders) bhavati(,) nairātmya-darśanāc (nairātmyā° — sic) ca bhavati ......

b) B., 12/69[cd] and 73 —

....

kṣetrajñasyā(')parityāgād avaimy etad anaiṣṭhikam ..
yat karmā(')jñāna-tṛṣṇānāṁ tyāgān mokṣaś ca kalpyate .
atyantas tat-parityāgaḥ saty ātmani na vidyate..

c) B., 17/13-14 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)—"...... he (=Śāriputra) deemed the (Sāṁkhya) method of salvation not to lead to finality ......"

3. a) Ś., frg. no. C 4, obverse side, 1. 5—[Śāriputra's speech] ...... n=otpadyate bīja[m u]daka-p(ṛ)thiv(y-a)r(t)[u ?]ṁ [bīja-daka°—sic ; bījodakaṁ pṛ°—suggested by Lüders in consonance with the corresponding "K" text quoted below] ...... (eva)ṅ = ... (a)smin [(a)smiṁ—sic] vi(naṣṭe mukta iti niścayaḥ kṛtaḥ).

b) Ś., frg. no. K IV, obverse side, 11. 2-3—[Śāriputra's speech] ...... n=otpadya(te) bījam udaka-pṛthivy-art[uṁ ?] [bījodakaṁ pṛthivy-art(uṁ ?) —sic] ...... (asmi)n (v)inaṣ(ṭ)e m(ukta) (i)ti niś(c)ayaḥ k(ṛ)taḥ ......

c) B., 12/72 and 82[cd]—

ṛtu-bhūmy-ambu-virahād yathā bījaṁ na rohati.
rohati pratyayais tais tais tadvat so 'pi mato mama..

....

tasmāt sarva-parityāgān manye kṛtsnāṁ kṛtārthatām..

Thus, the same line of argument as followed in this context by Aśvaghoṣa in his B. and Ś. is that the twentythree evolutes (beginning with the uppermost rung termed "mahat" or "buddhi") retrace gradually in the pratiloma process of merger into the respective causes to the 24th principle, viz., the kevala-kāraṇa-rūpā kevalā prakṛti (=kṣetra=guṇamaya kṣara-puruṣa). Again, this kṣara-puruṣa (=kṣetra), the 24th principle, is then merged into the guṇāśraya and kārya-kāraṇottara akṣara-puruṣa or kṣetrajña (=sattva or jīva ; corresponding to the abhinna-nimittopādāna-kāraṇa māyopahita saguṇa Brahman or sopādhika Īśvara of the later Vedānta-prasthāna and answering to the Paśyantī Vāc of the akhaṇḍa-vākya-vyakti-sphoṭa-vāda), the 25th principle. After this prakṛti-laya the akṣara-puruṣa, the 25th principle, is finally absorbed into the nirguṇa and nirupādhika Para-Brahman which is the highest absolute and the 26th and the last principle.

Now, according to Aśvaghoṣa's mode of interpretation, the 25th saguṇa principle (or the 26th nirguṇa principle) representing cit or ātman equates with the Buddhistic vijñāna-skandha which is nothing more than a subtle stage of buddhi or prakṛti-vikṛti mahat (=the 23rd principle). Moreover, the term "kṣetrajña" (= kṣetra-jñātṛ = the knower of the kṣetra or kṣara-puruṣa or kevalā prakṛti or the 24th principle) given to the 25th principle signifies kṣetra-jñāna-kartṛtva and as such cannot altogether extricate the ahaṁ-tattva or the 22nd principle. In any case, the sat-kārya-vāda of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysicians can at best lead a sādhaka up to the level of the eighth dhyāna (=the saṁjñā-'saṁjñā-rahita-daśā). But the Buddha's pratītya-samutpāda is a better solution to the problem of absolute extinction inasmuch as it ultimately points out to the final saṁjñā-vedanā-nirodha or nairātmya stage attainable in course of the ninth dhyāna in which the ātman (or cit or vijñāna-skandha or buddhi-saukṣmya) ceases to exist.

However, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana being thus convinced were then converted by the Buddha.

Thus, it is quite evident from the foregoing points of semblance that the ingredients of the plot as traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. correspond mostly with the details as furnished by the post-Aśvaghoṣan Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā. This anachronism apparently points out to the pertinent conclusion that both Aśvaghoṣa and the author of the Aṭṭha-kathā have drawn upon some common source besides the Mahā-vagga—if the details of the Ś. story are not entirely due to the historical imagination of the dramatist.

After dealing thus with the points of agreement[1] between the extant Ś. plot and its sources let us now take up the items of deviation from the sources as noticeable in the Ś. story as follows :—

i) Firstly, the existing Ś. fragments as well as the B. do not mention the name of the heretic teacher of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana before their conversion to Buddhism while the Mahā-vagga and the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā give the name of this teacher as "Sañjaya".

---

1) Further points of semblance will be shown later on in connection with the co-ordination of the fragments of the afore-said "K" and "C" manuscripts.

ii) Secondly, the Ś. remains and the B. show that the two Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇas (viz., Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana) were formerly followers of the Kapila sect. But the Mahā-vagga and the Aṭṭha-kathā are silent on this point.

iii) Thirdly, both the Mahā-vagga and the Aṭṭha-kathā refer to the attendants of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana who were also converted to the new faith along with their masters. On the contrary, the B., 17/4, 20 and 23 mention the numerous disciples of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana but do not contain any reference to these disciples being formerly the attendants of their masters. The extant Ś. fragments also show the Vidūṣaka alone as a stock companion of Śāriputra. The Vidūṣaka even has been left out of the last fairly retained leaf no. C 4 which apparently depicts the scene of the conversion of the two friends, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

iv) Fourthly, according to the Mahā-vagga, B. and Aṭṭha-kathā Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were convinced by Aśvajit before the two friends met the Buddha to receive their ordination. But the Ś. fragment no. C 4 shows that this eminent pair was both convinced and converted by the Buddha.

v) Fifthly, the Mahā-vagga and the B., 17/16-17 agree on the point that after his meeting with Aśvajit Śāriputra returned to Maudgalyāyana with an unusual countenance beaming with high contentment and thus looked like another person. This change was noted by Maudgalyāyana. But in the Ś. fragment nos. 14, 15 and 32 (taken together in their reconstructed form) it is the Vidūṣaka who observed this change of Śāriputra.

vi) Sixthly, according to the Mahā-vagga and the B., 17/20, the Buddha saw Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana coming from afar and proclaimed in the presence of the surrounding mendicants that this couple of friends was to be his chief disciples. But in the Ś. fragment nos. C 1 and K I this prediction is directed forthwith to the pair.

vii) Seventhly, the supernatural elements of the Mahā-vagga and the B., 17/22 have been wisely eliminated in the available Ś. fragments.

viii) Lastly, there is an agreement between the Mahā-vagga and the B., 17/23 in the respect that the disciples of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana were also converted after their teachers. But the

extant Ś. fragments do not make any mention of this additional feature.

Besides the above points of deviation there are many innovations in the Ś. fragments. These novel features are discussed below.

What strikes us most at the outset is that of all the major (rūpaka) and minor (uparūpaka) varieties of Sanskrit drama Aśvaghoṣa should deem a prakaraṇa (=a social rūpaka) to be a suitable medium for his preaching. We ought to attempt here to find out a reasonable explanation for this peculiarity of choice.

As we all know from the concluding verses of the S. (18/63-64)[1] and the B. (28/74)[2] Aśvaghoṣa professes to write ornate kāvyas („Kunstepen") for the edification and propagation of Buddhism. Again, śānta-rasa is the dominant note in his two classical epics.

The same altruistic motto of the missionary poet must have obviously led him to select such a popular type of drama which would be appropriate for his planned plot and at the same time exercise a far-reaching influence on a wider range of public.

To begin with, the name of the drama and the preserved concluding scene suggest that the story relates to the first part of the biography of the Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa Śāriputra (as well as that of his friend Maudgalyāyana). Thus, the hero Śāriputra having been a Brāhmaṇa prior to his embracing Buddhism would naturally fit in with a prakaraṇa which has been allotted, as per the a posteriori rules recorded in Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, a hero belonging to the

---

1) ity eṣā vyupaśāntaye na rataye mokṣārtha-garbhā kṛtiḥ
śrotṝṇāṁ grahaṇārtham anya-manasāṁ kāvyopacārāt kṛtā.
yan mokṣāt kṛtam anyad atra hi mayā tat kāvya-dharmāt kṛtaṁ
pātuṁ tiktam ivauṣadhaṁ madhu-yutaṁ hṛdyaṁ kathaṁ syād iti..

prāyeṇālokya lokaṁ viṣaya-rati-paraṁ mokṣāt pratihataṁ
kāvya-vyājena tattvaṁ kathitam iha mayā mokṣaḥ param iti.
tad buddhvā śāmikaṁ yat tad avahitam ito grāhyaṁ na lalitaṁ
pāṁsubhyo dhātujebhyo niyatam upakaraṁ cāmīkaram iti..

2) "Thus this poem has been composed for the good and happiness of all people in accordance with the Sage's Scriptures, out of reverence for the Bull of sages, and not to display the qualities of learning or skill in poetry." [Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations]

rich middle-class people below the rank of royalty (e.g., a Brāhmaṇa, a minister and a merchant). The nāṭaka type, therefore, would not have been suitable for the dramatist's plot.

Further, a popular religious propaganda required for its wider appeal a great variety of dramatis personae including some entertaining stock characters (like the Vidūṣaka) to attract the public and some common ones (like the Duṣṭa) intended to point out the besetting sins of the social life.

Moreover, some common scenes of the city life including naturally the amorous ones (as we find also in the B. and the S.) would necessarily have to be introduced with the ultimate aim of eradicating the lust for sensual pleasures and rousing a dispassionate attitude towards the object-world.

Besides these popular features meant for the commonalty Aśvaghoṣa must have had in his mind the higher aspects of philosophy to impress upon the élite. Thus, the Ś. seems to have been a drama meant alike for the diverse strata of the society and the predominant sentiment of this drama is śānta-rasa, and the abhorrence of all the 'lalita' elements of love-dalliances has been suggested (śṛṅgāra-garhā-dhvani) as in the B. and the S.

These points must be borne in mind because otherwise it would be inconceivable on the part of Aśvaghoṣa to depict the dialogue between the serious Śāriputra and the jovial Vidūṣaka[1], or the moralist Maudgalyāyana and the devilish Duṣṭa[2] collocated in the same leaf.

All these requirements, therefore, could only be fulfilled by Aśvaghoṣa through the adoption of a highly popular type of drama then in vogue which would accommodate a great variety of characters and social aspects. This requisite type could naturally be nothing but a prakaraṇa which, in consonance with the earliest known theory in the Nāṭya-śāstra, and the earliest known practice in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa (and later in Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa), abounded in the typical characters like the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa and others. But these regular prakaraṇa features, as we

---

1) In the fragment nos. (K) 14, 15 and 32 (taken together in their reconstructed form).

2) In the fragment no. (K) 4, reverse side.

have already shown above, were certainly introduced by the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa in his Ś. not for mere merriment but for rousing a feeling of nirveda in the minds of the spectators. Thus, this ulterior object of the Buddhist missionary must be traced in the medley of the characters like the Buddha, Upajjhāya (=Upādhyāya in Sanskrit, =Aśvajit ?), Kauṇḍinya, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and others speaking Sanskrit and the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa and others speaking different Prākṛta dialects.

After these preliminary remarks we now deal with the question as to whether there is any scope for innovation within the texture of the plot especially when the points of semblance with the known sources are so numerous and those of deviation from the original accounts are so minor and so few. For a rational solution to this problem it is necessary to refer back to our comparative analysis of the story based on the collation of the different accounts.

We have seen above that there exists a great conformity of the Ś. fragments with the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā story. According to the latter account Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana went to witness a 'mountain-top festival' at Rājagṛha. For some time the two friends enjoyed the frolic at the festival and at the end a feeling of renunciation dawned upon them. But this account does not contain any details of the carnival and the circumstances that led the friends to renounce the world. It was of course to this part of the story that Aśvaghoṣa could apply best his historical imagination without interfering with his sources. He could therefore supplement these details and endow them with all secular charms though his ultimate aim was to utilise the whole situation as an excitant factor to give rise to the idea of transitoriness of the world.

Thus, the scene of a carnival being naturally the most suitable place for the meeting of multivarious types of persons, Aśvaghoṣa could profitably assemble varied dramatis personae speaking several popular dialects in a highly entertaining kaleidoscope. In this way also we can reasonably explain the collocation of the Buddha, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and other sober moralists along with the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa and the other lighter and lower roles in the other parts of the same play.

Again, some of the popular characters (like the Vidūṣaka, and probably the Duṣṭa also) might as well be due to the adherence of Aśvaghoṣa to the then prevalent stage-conventions.

Further, some of the afore-mentioned deviations might have been necessitated by dramatic action.

Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa had naturally to conform to other ornate paraphernalia required by some norm of an early classical prakaraṇa. This standard of a prakaraṇa answers admirably to the earliest known theory in Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra and the earliest known practice in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa (and later in Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa). We have already referred to some popular aspects of the Ś. Let us now point out to other regular prakaraṇa features which agree with the sanction of the Nāṭya-śāstra and are common to the Ś., DCP. (= Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa) and MCHP. (= Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa).

i) Firstly, as a social play the Ś., like the DCP. and the MCHP., had ample scope for innovations. Aśvaghoṣa, as we have already seen above, applied his creative abilities to the secular embellishment of his religious bias. Thus, he had to marshal his materials into several scenes comprising nine Acts, frame the details of these scenes, depict the dialogues of the characters and suitably distribute Sanskrit and the Prākṛtas among these roles. The Buddha, Śāriputra, Maudga-lyāyana, Upādhyāya (=Aśvajit ?), Kauṇḍinya and other major characters are made to speak Sanskrit while the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa, the Gaṇikā named Magadhavatī and other minor roles are assigned different local dialects. All the characters except the first five (viz., the Buddha, Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Aśvajit and Kauṇḍinya) are the creations of Aśvaghoṣa. The presence of the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa and the Gaṇikā in the Ś. is required by the theoretical tradition and confirmed by the parallel roles in the DCP. and the MCHP. Again, Dhānaṁ (<Dhānaṁjaya <Dhanaṁjaya) in the Ś. has many traits in common with the Viṭa of the DCP. and the MCHP. Further, it is also striking that Aśvaghoṣa has allotted Sanskrit to the Buddha in his B., S. and Ś. and all the philosophical teachings are couched in Sanskrit[1].

However, through all his innovations Aśvaghoṣa's ulterior mission scuds effectively and as such his Vidūṣaka, Duṣṭa, Gaṇikā and Viṭa

---

1) This also confirms Aśvaghoṣa's position as a Buddhist belonging to that section of the late Hīna-yāna Mahā-sāṅghikas which had decided leanings towards the early Sanskrit Mahā-yāna.

vanish before the concluding scene (of the ninth Act) where subtle philosophical teachings eliminate all the charming frailties of life and the sole theme of conversion reigns supreme.

ii) Secondly, the Ś. is a big drama complete in nine Acts. The size of its plot, like that of the ten-Act MCHP., is within the limits of the theoretical sanction. Aśvaghoṣa, therefore, had a gigantic canvas to work upon.

iii) Lastly, some scenic aspects of the Ś. find their parallels in the DCP. and the MCHP. Thus, in the Ś. fragment nos. (K) 22[1] and 45[2] we find a reference to some 'giriyagga-samāja' in course of the conversation between the Vidūṣaka and the Duṣṭa. Again, the word 'girikagga(-samāja)' occurs in the fragment no. (K) 84[3] where the Vidūṣaka and Maudgalyāyana appear together on the stage. Moreover, the word 'nṛtta' in the fragment no. (K) 102a, 1. 2 and the inflected verb-form 'naccati' in the fragment no. (K) 107b, 1. 2 naturally fit in with the context of this gathering. This 'mountain-top festival' reminds the readers of the DCP. and the MCHP. where the hero Cārudatta and his Vidūṣaka named Maitreya attend a musical soirée.

Further, we find a mention of a 'jiṇṇuyāna' (in Prākṛta ; =Sanskrit jīrṇodyāna) in the fragment no. (K) 4[4] where Magadhavatī, the Nāyaka, the Duṣṭa, the Vidūṣaka and Maudgalyāyana are all engaged in conversation. The same word ('jiṇṇuyāna') occurs also in the fragment no. (K) 66[5] in which the Duṣṭa and the Vidūṣaka appear

---

1) a 1. .. V(i)dū[ṣakaḥ] – kim puna ...
   3. . (g)i(r)i(yagga-sa)māजaṅ (ga)mis(s)i(di) ...
   b 1. . Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] — ...
   2. . Duṣṭa[ḥ] — mā tāva ...
2) b 1. .. giriyagga-samājassa ...
   2. . Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — ...
   3. . (Du)ṣ(ṭaḥ) — (k)iśśa kālanā — Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] — ...
3) a 2. .. girikagga ...
   b 1. .. Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — ...
   2. . Maudgalyāyanaś ca ...
4) Reverse side, 1. 1—...—Vidū[ṣakaḥ]—(jiṇ)ṇuy(ā)n[a ?]...
5) a 1. . (D)u(ṣ)ṭa[ḥ] — ...
   2. ... (V)i(dū) [ṣakaḥ] — ...
   b 1. ... (ñ)-j(iṇ)ṇu(yāna) ...

[Contd.]

on the stage. Again, in the Ś. fragment no. (K) 88b, ll. 1-2[1] there is a reference to a 'jiṇṇa-pokkha(rinī)' (in Prākṛta ;= Sanskrit 'jīrṇa-puṣkariṇī') with the Vidūṣaka, the Upādhyāya (=Aśvajit ?) and the Duṣṭa present on the spot. Moreover, there is some reference to strangulation and revival of some person in the fragment no. (K) 30 (including 31, 42 and 105)[2] in which the Vidūṣaka, the servant Gobaṁ (<Govaṁ < Govardhana ?) and the Duṣṭa discuss these things. A similar mention by the Duṣṭa is found in the fragment no. (K) 53[3] (in its reconstructed form). All these find their correspondence in the throttling scene in the MCHP.

Besides, the fragment nos. (K) 13[4], 16[5], 29[6], 30[7] and 41[8] contain references to some vehicle shown on the stage. This carriage is obviously a 'pusta' or stage property. Similarly the MCHP. shows a vehicle on the stage.

Moreover, the Ś. leaf no. K IV, reverse side, l. 3 [=the fragment no. (K) 50a, l. 2][9] and the MCHP. describe a 'gaṇikā-gṛha'.

Thus, in consideration of the foregoing prakaraṇa features as found in the Ś. and the conformity of these traits with the earliest known theory and established practice, we conclude that the Ś. is a full-fledged prakaraṇa furnished with its regular characteristics.

[Contd.]

The word 'udyāne' noticed in the second line of the small fragment no. (K) 58b cannot be presumed unhesitatingly to mean the 'jīrṇodyāna'.

1) ... (Duṣ)ṭ(a)[ḥ] — ś(ā)p(a)-mah(i)mā ... hāye jiṇṇa-pokkha-(riṇī)

2) a 1. [Vidū(ṣakaḥ)— ?] ... yo ... (ni)russāsaṁ kariya idāni kathañci ussasati — ...

2. [Gobaṃ— ?] ... gacchamāne n(i)lussāsaṅ kaleti — Vidū-[ṣakaḥ] — kathaṁ kathaṁ nilussā(saṁ) ...

3) a 1. ... (kaṇ)ṭha-baddhe kaṇṭha-viṭṭhit(ālā)n(e) śa(ṁ)vutt(e) — ...

4) b 3. (pravahaṇ)ārūḍhake(na) nikkhantā sarvve — ...

5) a 3. ... (tī)rṇṇakena (=a vehicle ?) upasṛptā — Gaṇi(kā) — ..
b 2. ... pavahaṇaṁ āgacchati nirvvarṇṇi(ya) ...

6) b 3. ... ka(-)yānakenāgacchati — [Nāya(kaḥ)—]

7) a 3. ... pavahaṇa-potakaṁ vāhayamā ...

8) a 2. (prava)haṇārūḍhakena (Ga)ṇi(k)ā ...

9) ...... (ma)hanto khu āmodo gaṇikā-kule sabahu ......

But of the nine Acts of the Ś. we can only recognise, as already shown under the appraisal of the "K" and "C" MSS., the beginning and end of Acts I and II, the beginning of Act III and the closing scene of Act IX. Although the traces of the plot of this torso can be ascertained through a comparison of the MSS. remains with the known sources still we are not in a position either to restore the entire story out of the existing materials or to arrange all the fragments according to the sequence of scenes in each Act. Further, we are not given to say how much of each Act has been preserved for us.

e) *Co-ordination of the Fragments and Identity of Authorship.*— So far we have seen to what extent the story as known from the sources can be traced in the "K" and "C" fragments. We have also dealt with the apparent divergences from the original accounts and the nature and extent of the innovations applicable to the plot. Further, the regular prakaraṇa features as exhibited in the said fragments agree with the theory and practice of this type of drama. All these phenomena thus suffice to prove that the remains of "C" have their correspondence in some fragments of "K". Besides, what is more important, the above facts already go a long way to show that there obtains a mutual relationship among the fragments of the "K" MS. We have now to hunt up further the internal evidences in the "K" fragments to establish their correlation and the external evidences in the B. and the S. to finally settle the concordance of Aśvaghoṣa's works. These evidences are recorded underneath :—

1. a) Fragment no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 1—
   t(a)m(o) y(e)n(a) kṣ(i)pt(am) ...... (may)ūkh(ai)r..
   ...... (ra)j(o) (ya)sy(a) (dh)va(s)t(am)
   b) sūrya-sadṛśa-vapur abhyudito vijahāra sūrya iva Gautamas tamaḥ .. [S., 3/16[cd]]
   c) maharṣi-candro jagatas tamonudas tamaḥ-prahīṇo nijagāda Gautamaḥ .. [S., 10/58[cd]]
   d) na jāyate vīta-rajas-tamaskaḥ .. [S., 16/18[d]]
   e) jayati jita-tamaske nīrajaske maharṣau. [B., 13/72[b]]
2. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 2 (beginning)—...aham abhirame śānti-parame — ......
   b) tvad-dharme parame rame .. [S., 12/16[d]]
3. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 2 (middle) —
   ... — Dhṛti(ḥ) — ... puruṣa-sa(ṁ)jñakan tejaḥ ...

b) chittvā hi pāśaṁ gṛha-bandhu-saṁjñaṁ ......
[B., 9/51^{c}]
c) kaḥ kāma-saṁjñān mṛgayeta śatrūn..[B., 11/17^{d}]
d) kaḥ kāma-saṁjñaṁ viṣam ādadīta..[B., 11/19^{d}]
e) ime 'nye narakaprakhye garbha-saṁjñe 'śuci-hrade.
[B., 14/31^{ab}]
f) śrīmanty udyāna-saṁjñāni yaśo-dhāmāny acīkaran..
[S., 1/49^{cd}]
g) gṛha-saṃjñaṁ mṛgayeta bandhanam (°naṁ—sic)..
[S., 8/29^{d}]
h) ahaṁ mamety eva ca rakta-cetasāṁ śarīra-saṁjñas (°jñā—sic) tava yaḥ kalau grahaḥ.
... ...
śarīra-saṁjñaṁ gṛham āpadām idam (idaṁ—sic)..
[S., 9/35^{ab} and 36^{d}]
i) mitra-saṁjñān arīn iva..[S., 15/7^{d}]
j) Yaśodharāṁ nāma yaśo-viśālāṁ vāmābhidhānāṁ śriyam ājuhāva..[B., 2/26^{cd}]
k) putrābhidhānasya mano-rathasya. [B., 3/3^{b}]
l) rogābhidhānaḥ sumahān anarthaḥ [B., 3/42^{c}]
m) kāya-klamair yaś ca tapo'bhidhānaiḥ [B., 7/22^{a}]
n) priyābhidhānaṁ tyaja moha-jālaṁ...[S., 5/45^{c}]
o) jarābhidhānaṁ jagato mahad bhayam (bhayaṁ—sic).
[S., 9/34^{b}]
p) bhāryābhidhāne tamasi bhramantam (°ntaṁ—sic).
[S., 10/3^{b}]

4. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 1—
...—Kīrtti[ḥ —] kva punar idānīṁ sa puruṣa-vigraho dharmaḥ samprati viharati—...
b) babhrāje śāntayā lakṣmyā dharmo vigrahavān iva..
[S., 2/56^{cd}]
c) dharmasya sākṣād iva saṁnikarṣe [B., 10/6^{c}]

5. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 11. 1-2—
...—Buddhiḥ—svādhīnāyām ṛddhau kva punar na viha(rati) ...(pakṣī)va vyomni yāti vra(jati: ?) (niḥ)sa(ṅ)g(as) t(oyava)d gām praviśati (,) bahudhā mūrttiṁ vibha(jati) (,) khe varṣaty ambu-dhārām (,) jvalati ca yugapat sandhyāmbuda (sandhya°—sic) iva sva-cchandāt parvva(t ?) ,.. (v)rajati ca vi(dhivad) dha(rm)ma(ñ) c(a) (carati)

b) Sugatas ...... gaganam utpapāta ha..
sa vicakrame divi bhuvīva punar upaviveśa tasthivān.
niścala-matir aśayiṣṭa punar bahudhā (')bhavat punar
abhūt tathaikadhā..
salile kṣitāv iva cacāra jalam iva viveśa medinīm
(°nīṁ —sic).
megha iva divi vavarṣa punaḥ punar ajvalan nava
ivodito raviḥ..
yugapaj jvalañ (jvalan —— sic) jvalanavac ca
jalam avasṛjaṁś ca meghavat.
tapta-kanaka-sadṛśa-prabhayā sa babhau pradīpta iva
sandhyayā ghanaḥ..[S., 3/21-24]

c) "He mounted to the starry mansions in the sky, He penetrated the earth too without obstruction, He walked on the water also without sinking and produced many transformations with His body." [B., 27/41 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

d) Nandaṁ viditvā Sugatas tatas taṁ...
pāṇau gṛhītvā viyad utpapāta......
kāṣāya-vastrau kanakāvadātau virejatus tau nabhasi prasanne.
[S., 10/3[ac] and 4[ab]]

e) Folio no. C 1, obverse side, ll. 2-3——
...... a(tha) ......(ṣa)yā buddhi-tapasām ṛddhayaḥ ..
[Maudga(lyāyanaḥ) ?] (ñ=ca vāyoḥ) ......
(ā)tme(śvara-ddh)yāna-balena (sic) kuryyur na yoginā(ṁ)
duṣkaram asti (k)i(ñcit) ......

f) Folio no. K I, obverse side, ll. 1-2——
...... — Ma [=Maudga(lyāyanaḥ)—?] ... ... tra ......
m .. ... y ...... k ...... ñ ca vāyoḥ ātmeśvara-dh(y)āna-
balena kuryyur nna (y) ......

6. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, l. 3—
... ... — Dhṛtiḥ — tena hi sarvvā (= Dhṛti-Buddhi-Kīrttayaḥ) yeva tāvad enaṁ (= Buddhaṁ) vāsa-vṛkṣī-kurmmaḥ ... .

b) ...... kāṣāyasaṁbhṛd dhṛti-kīrttibhṛt saḥ (=Sarvārthasiddhaḥ).
[B., 6/65[b]]

c) vāsa-vṛkṣe samāgamya vigacchanti yathāṇḍajāḥ .
[B., 6/46[ab]]

d) vāsa-vṛkṣaṁ guṇavatām (= Kapilavāstu-puram) ... ...,
[S., 1/54[a]]

e) "...... as for birds whose roosting-tree [=vāsa-vṛkṣa] s ablaze." [B. , 20/47 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

f) "Attachment is the roosting-tree (vāsa-vṛkṣa) of suffering ; ... ... " [B. , 26/59 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

7. a) Frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 11. 3-4——
...... eṣa hi sa maharṣir Magadha-purasyopavane
samprati sorṇṇa-bhrūs (°bbhrus——sic) tanu-mṛdu-
jāla-pāṇi-pā(daḥ) ...... vaśyātmā viharati ......

b) cakrāṅka-pādaṁ sa tato maharṣir [= Asitaḥ]
jālāvanaddhāṅguli-pāṇi-pādam .
sorṇa-bhruvaṁ vāraṇa-vasti-kośaṁ
savismayaṁ rāja-sutaṁ [=Sarvārthasiddhaṁ] dadarśa..
[B. , 1/60]

c) dṛṣṭvā ca sorṇa-bhruvam āyatākṣaṁ jvalac-charīraṁ
śubha-jāla-hastam .
taṁ [= Sarvārthasiddhaṁ] bhikṣu-veṣaṁ......
[B. , 10/9[abc]]

8. a) Frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 1. 1——
..... (sar)vv(ā)sv avasthā(su) ......

b) sarvāsv avasthāsu vadhāya mṛtyuḥ . [B. , 9/37[b]]

c) sarvāsv avasthāsv iha...... [S. , 5/22[c]]

d) sarvāsv avasthāsu labhe...... [S. , 7/17[c]]

e) cittaṁ sarvāsv avasthāsu [S. , 14/37[c]]

f) mṛtyuḥ sarvāsv avasthāsu [S. , 15/54[c]]

g) sarvāsv avasthāsv aham ...... [S. , 18/16[b]]

9. a) Frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 1. 2 (beginning)——
...... (mā)tṛ-pitṛ-putra-va(yasya) ......

b) mātṛ-pitṛ-suta-suhṛt-sadṛśaṁ...... [S. , 3/35[c]]

c) ...... tanaya-pitṛ-mātr-apekṣayā . [S. , 3/29[b]]

10. a) Frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 1. 2 (end) —
...... maraṇāddhvani (sic) ......

b) manāṁsi śaṅke kaṭhināni nṛṇāṁ svasthās tathā hy adhvani (= maıaṇādhvani) vartamānāḥ ..
[B. , 3/61[cd]]

c) nirīkṣamāṇo maraṇādhvani prajāḥ .. [B. , 4/97[d]]

11. a) Frg. no. (K) 4, obveıse side, 1. 4 and reverse side 1. 1 —

Nāyakaḥ smayati (sic ; °te ? <√ṣmiṅ īṣad-dhasane — bhv-ādi-gaṇīya ātmanepadin aniṭ dhātu) — Maga[dhavatī]
— naṅ kahin te geham — Nāya[kaḥ] — bhava(t)i
...... [gṛha-?]n ta(t) loke parigrahavatāṅ g(ṛ)hiṇāṅ
g(ṛ)hā(ṇ)i (m) ...... manaso gṛhabhūtam eva — ......

b) Frg. no. (K) 59a, 1I. 1-2 —
.....—Nāya[kaḥ]—hanta ...... tas(ya) yāthātm(ya)to bhavati
nāpi g(ṛ)h(a)n (na) ......

c) yāthātmyato vindati yo hi duḥkhaṁ ..... [S., 16/39[a]]

12. a) Frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 11. 2-4 and reverse side, 11. 1-3 —
..... — Gaṇi[kā] — kiṅ khu dāni surada-vimadda-kkha(ma) ...... ī tasminn aparādhe kan daṇḍam anu-tiṣṭhāmi — Gaṇi[kā] — kāmaṅ khu adaṇḍāraho piyo
tava tu maha ...... (arhe)ssi daṇḍaṁ ...... — Ga(ṇi) [kā]
— (dā)ḷ(i)ma-vicūritena sasovaccala-rucakena
lavaḷī-phalāvadaṁsaṁ āsavam balakāreṇa pā(ya)......
— Dhānaṁ [<Dhānaṁjaya < Dhanaṁjaya] — Magadhavati
atitīkṣṇaḥ khalv ayaṁ daṇḍaḥ ......

b) saced bhaves tvaṁ khalu dīrgha-sūtro daṇḍaṁ
mahāntaṁ tvayi pātayeyam (°yaṁ—sic).
muhur muhus tvāṁ śayitaṁ kucābhyāṁ vibodhayeyaṁ ca
na cālapeyam (°yaṁ—sic) . . [S., 4/35]

13. a) Frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, 1. 1—
[Gaṇi(kā)] .....avikkhittena hidayena ādaṁso dhārayi-tavvo.....

b) sevārtham ādarśam ananya-citto[1)] vibhūṣayantyā mama
dhārayitvā . [S., 6/18[ab]]

14. a) Frg. no. (K) 13a, 1. 2—
..... gṛha-vibhūtīr yyasya mitrais sahī(y).....

b) sadbhiḥ sahīyā hi satāṁ samṛddhiḥ . . [B., 10/26[d]]

15. a) Frg. no. (K) 17a, 1. 2—
..... yayā (=viṣaya-sukha-tṛṣṇayā ?) vanaṁ śāntam apāsya
(d)uḥkhinaḥ .....

---

1) The genuine reading of the first quarter of this verse has been determined by the present writer in the "Jñāna-muktāvalī" (=Nobel Festschrift), New Delhi, 1959, pp. 42-47.

b) ..... tapo-vanebhyo bhavanaṁ praveṣṭum .
... ...
pūrve 'pi jagmuḥ sva-gṛhān vanebhyaḥ . .
tapo-vanastho 'pi ..... jagāma . . puram .....
. . mahīṁ ..... tapo-vanād etya rarakṣa . .
..... vanāt sasūnur nagaraṁ viveśa .

... ...
evaṁ-vidhā dharma-yaśaḥ-pradīptā
vanāni hitvā bhavanāny atīyuḥ .
..... gṛhaṁ prayātuṁ tapo-vanād ....
[B., 9/68-71]

c) anātmanādāya gṛhonmukhasya punar vimoktuṁ .....
[S., 6/48^cd]

d) ..... nṛpa-pravīrāṁs tān ye tapo-vanam apāsya gṛhāṇy atīyuḥ . .
... ...
cīrāṇy apāsya dadhire punar aṁśukāni cchittvā (chi° — sic) jaṭāś ca kuṭilā mukuṭāni babhruḥ . .
... ...
tyaktvā kāṣāyaṁ gṛham aham itas tāvad eva prayāsye .
[S., 7/50^cd, 51^cd & 52^b]

e) vana-vāsa-sukhāt parāṅ-mukhaḥ prayiyāsā gṛham eva yena me .
... ...
upaśānti-pathe śive sthitaḥ spṛhayed doṣavate gṛhāya saḥ . .
... ...
samupetya vanaṁ tathā punar gṛha-saṁjñaṁ mṛgayeta bandhanam (°naṁ — sic) . .
... ...
capalaṁ bhavanotsukaṁ manaḥ pratisaṁkhyāna-balena vāryatām (°tāṁ — sic) . .
... ...
hāsyas tathā gṛha-sukhābhimukhaḥ satṛṣṇaḥ . .
... ...
tathā śreyaḥ śṛṇvan praśama-sukham āsvādya guṇavad
vanaṁ śāntaṁ hitvā gṛham abhilaṣet kāma-tṛṣitaḥ . .
[S., 8/13^ab, 28^cd, 29^cd, 55^cd, 59^d & 60^cd]

f) gṛha-prayāṇaṁ prati ca vyavasthitaṁ śaśāsa Nandaṁ śramaṇaḥ sa śāntaye . . [S., 9/4^cd]

16. a) Frg. no. (K) 17a, ll. 1, 3 and 4 —
..... nan dhig aśanan dhik tat su(kham ?) .....
śa(r)ī(ra-dh)āraṇārttham avaśya-karttavyaś cāhāro
na cā .... (śarī)raṁ hy āhāro niyata iha vikalam
upacārai.....

b) kṣut-pipāsā-śrama-klāntaḥ śramād asvastha-mānasaḥ .
prāpnuyān manasāvāpyaṁ phalaṁ katham anirvṛtaḥ .
tasmād āhāra-mūlo 'yam upāya iti niścayaḥ .
āhāra-karaṇe dhīraḥ kṛtvā(')mita-matir matim ..
[B., 12/103 & 107]

c) tvag-asthi-māṁsa-kṣatajātmakaṁ yadā śarīram āhāra-vaśena tiṣṭhati . [S., 9/9[ab]]

d) upayuktas tathā(')ty-alpo (= āhāraḥ) na sāmarthyāya kalpate ..
.... anāhāro hi nirvāti nirindhana ivā(')nalaḥ ..
yasmān nāsti vinā('')hārāt sarva-prāṇabhṛtāṁ sthitiḥ .
tasmād duṣyati nāhāro vikalpo 'tra tu vāryate ..
.... kṣud-vighātārtham āhāras tadvat sevyo mumukṣuṇā ..
.... bhojanaṁ prāṇa-yātrārthaṁ tadvad vidvān niṣevate ..
evam abhyavahartavyaṁ bhojanaṁ pratisaṁkhyayā
na bhūṣārthaṁ na vapuṣe na madāya na dṛptaye ..
dhāraṇārthaṁ śarīrasya bhojanaṁ hi vidhīyate.
.... na bhaktyā nāpi tarṣeṇa kevalaṁ prāṇa-guptaye..
... ...
kevalaṁ kṣud-vighātārthaṁ na rāgeṇa na bhaktaye..
[S., 14/3[cd], 8[cd], 9, 11[cd], 12[cd], 14, 15[ab], 18[cd] & 19[cd]]

(e) yato 'ham āhāra-vidhāv asaktaḥ. [S., 18/18[b]]

17. (a) Frg. no. (K) 17b, l. 2 —
...u-śattrubhūtaṁm (sic) dravyaṁ hi matsari ......

(b) anartha-mūlā viṣayāś ca kevalā nanu praheyā viṣamā yathārayaḥ..[S., 9/46[cd]]

(c) aribhūteṣv anityeṣu satataṁ duḥkha-hetuṣu.
kāmādiṣu ..... [S., 12/24[abc]]

18. (a) Frg. no (K) 18a, l. 2 —
.,. sarvve hi k(r)ima(y)o .....,

(b) hata-sūkṣma-krimi[1)]-kīṭa-jantu-kīrṇām.
[B., 5/5b]

19. (a) Frg. no. (K) 20a, '. 4 —
nadī-kūla-durbbale śarīre ...

(b) idaṁ hi rogāyatanaṁ jarā-vaśaṁ nadī-taṭānokahavac calācalam (°laṁ — sic).
na vetsi dehaṁ jala-phena-durbalaṁ balasthatām ātmani yena manyase..[S., 9/6]

(c) prajñā tv aśeṣeṇa nihanti doṣāṁs tīra-drumān prāvṛṣi nimnageva.. [S., 16/36ab]

20. (a) Frg. no. (K) 22a, 1. 3 —
.....(g)i(r)i(yagga-sa)mājaṅ ...

(b) Frg. no. (K) 45b, 1. 1 —
... girikagga-samājassa ...

(c) Frg. no. (K) 84a, 1. 2 —
... girikagga(-samāja ?) ...

(d) samājair utsavair dāyaiḥ ...
alaṁcakrur alaṁvīryās te jagad-dhāma tat puram (°raṁ — sic) [S., 1/55acd]

---

1) The same spelling [√kram (√kramu pāda-vikṣepe ; a bhv-ādi-gaṇīya parasmaipadin seṭ dhātu) + –in (an Uṇ-ādi k-it pratyaya)] with the radical vowel <<a>> changed to <<i>> (id-ādeśa) and without samprasāraṇa of the radical semivowel << r >> to << ṛ >> (in which case the 'id-ādeśa' will not be applicable) is sanctioned by usage as follows : –

a) ... k[r]imibhir=apahṛtaṁ vā pāṁsu[bh]i ...
[Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, fragment no. *163, obverse side, 1. 4]

b) ... krimiṇāṁ (= krimimatīṁ) paśya.
[Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya on Pāṇini, 6/4/1 (<<aṅgasya>>)]

c) ... krimiṇām iti. krimayo 'syāṁ santīti pāmāditvān na-pratyayaḥ.
[Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa on the Mahā-bhāṣya quoted above]

d) krami-tami-śati-stambhām ata ic ca (4/121) — kramu pāda-vikṣepe ... in k-it ... ata ikārādeśaḥ. krimiḥ kṣudra-jantuḥ. pāmāditvāt kriminaḥ . yavāditvāt krimimān . kṛmir ity api saṁprasāraṇānuvṛtter iti kecit . ...
[Ujjvaladatta's Uṇ-ādi-sūtra-vṛtti] [Contd.]

21. (a) Frg. no. (K) 24a, 1. 2 —
... kṛṣṭebbhya (sic) iva gau...
(b) Frg. no. (K) 27a, 1. 4 —
... tad vāryyaṁ gocarebbhyo (sic) mana iha cala...
(c) dravat-phalebhyo dhṛti-raśmibhir mano
nigṛhyatāṁ gaur iva śasya-lālasā..[S., 9/42[cd]]
(d) adṛṣṭa-tattvena parīkṣakeṇa sthitena citre viṣaya-pracāre.
cittaṁ niṣeddhuṁ na sukhena śakyaṁ kṛṣṭādako gaur
iva sasya-madhyāt.. [S., 14/48][1)]

22. (a) Frg. no. (K) 27b, 1.3 —
...s(y)a (ś)r(ī)-viyuktam puraṁ syāt .. ...
(b) idaṁ puraṁ tena vivarjitaṁ vanaṁ ......
na śobhate tena hi no vinā puraṁ ......
[B., 8/13[ac]]

[Contd.]

e) nīlaṅgus tu krimiḥ [Amara-koṣa, 2/5/13[c]]

f) ... krāmati . ... krami° iti in k-it (kiḥ — sic). bāhulakāt samprasāraṇam api . '... krimivat kṛmiḥ' iti Rabhasaḥ . 'krimir nā kṛmivat ...' (iti Medinī).
[Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Rāmāśramī on the Amara-koṣa cited above]

g) 561 krami° . krimiḥ. saṁprasāraṇānuvṛtteḥ kṛmir api . ...
[Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's Siddhānta-kaumudī, Uṇ-ādi-prakaraṇa]

h) ... in syāt sa ca k-it ... akārasya ikārādeśaś ca . ... [Vāsudeva Dīkṣita's Bāla-mano-ramā on the Siddhānta-kaumudī quoted above]

i) ... in syāt sa ca k-it ... ata ikārādeśaś ca . ... [Jñānendra Sarasvatī's Tattvabodhinī on the Siddhānta-kaumudī cited above]

j) According to Debrunner the word kṛ'mi- (kri'mi-) [with the acute accent (udātta-svara) on the radical vowel) noticed in the Vedic Saṁhitās is derived from √kram . But this etymology is either wrong or dubious. [Altindische Grammatik]

1) The same aprakṛta upamāna is also found in relation to other prakṛta upameyas in the following passages :—

a) viṣayād viṣayāntaraṁ gatā pracaraty eva yathā hṛtāpi gauḥ.
.... ramate 'nyatra gatā tathāṅganā..[S., 8/41]

b) sva-bhūmiṣu guṇāḥ sarve ye ca śīlādayaḥ sthitāḥ.
vikīrṇā iva gā gopaḥ smṛtis tān anugacchati . . [S., 14/41]

23. a) Frg. no. (K) 29a, 1. 2 —
... (d)ukkho khu piya-vinābhāvo — ... .
b) avaśyabhāvī priya-viprayogas tasmāc ca śoko niyataṁ niṣevyaḥ. [S., 5/29[ab]]
24. a) Frg. no. (K) 29a, 1. 3 —
(Nā)ya[kaḥ] — na samīpastheṣv anāsthā (ana° — sic) dūrasthe ...
b) vihāya rājyaṁ viṣayeṣv anāsthas ... [B., 1/69[a]]
c) sa yayau śayita-varāṅganād anāsthaḥ. [S., 2/65[b]]
d) ... bheje vanaṁ yo viṣayeṣv anāsthaḥ. [S., 7/35[b]]
e) praśānta-cetā niyamastha-cetāḥ svasthas tato 'bhūd viṣayeṣv anāsthaḥ . . [S.,17/6[cd]]
f) Chandaṁ vana-cchandatayā nirāsthaḥ. [B., 7/1[b]]
g) ity evam ukto 'pi yadā nirāstho ... [B., 13/14[a]]
25. a) Frg. no. (K) 34b, 1. 4 —
(indri)yāś(v)air apahṛta-matayo ...
b) Frg. no. (K) 79b, 1. 1 —
... pañcendriyāśvo nā...
c) nindyas tathā bhavati kāma-hṛtendriyāśvaḥ . . [S., 8/58[d]]
d) lolendriyāśvena mano-rathena jehrīyamāṇo na dhṛtiṁ cakāra .. [S., 10/41[cd]]
e) ciram unmārga-vihṛto lolair indriya-vājibhiḥ. [S., 12/20[ab]]
f) dhṛtyendriyāśvāṁś capalān vijigye [B., 2/34[c]]
g) tata Indra-samo jitendriyāśvaḥ [B., 5/22[a]]
h) "Then Aśvajit, who had broken the horses of his senses in, ..." [B., 17/3 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]
26. a) Frg. no. (K) 43b, 1. 2 —
... śreyo dharmma-parigraha(ḥ ?) ...
b) śamāya tāvat kuru saumya buddhim (buddhiṁ — sic).
....
buddhiṁ kuru śreyasi tāvad eva . . [S.. 5/22[b] & 49[d]]
c) apavarge matiṁ kuru .. [S.,11/55[d]]
27. a) Frg. no. (K) 45a, 1. 4 —
... viṣayeṣu jagat pramattaṅ ......
b) ... jagati viṣaya-vyagra-hṛdaye .... viviktaḥ saṁsaktaṁ viṣaya-kṛpaṇaṁ *śocati* jagat . . [S., 14/51[ad]]

c) viṣayān avajānāsi yatra saktam idaṁ jagat . .
nāvajānāmi viṣayāñ (°yān — sic) jāne lokaṁ tad-ātmakam
[B., 4/82[cd] & 85[ab]]

d) kāmādiṣu jagat saktaṁ ...... [S., 12/24[c]]

28. (a) Frg. no. (K) 59b, 1. 2 —
... (ku)la-v(y)asanam ad(ṛṣṭv)ā ...

b) svasthaḥ phalastho vyasanāny adṛṣṭvā. [S. 6/43[b]]

29. a) Frg. no. (K) 65a, 1. 2 —
... śayita iva sad-aśvo (sadāśvo — sic)
ghaṭṭitaś[1] cotthi[taś ca ?] ...

b) viddhau sad-aśvāv iva ... [B., 9/1[c]]

c) sad-vājīvodyatāṁ dhuram (°raṁ — sic) [S., 2/13[b]]

d) parijana-bodhakaraṁ dhvaniṁ sad-aśvaḥ. [B., 5/80[b]]

e) darśiteyaṁ sad-aśvatā. [B., 6/55[b]]

f) ratho vidheyāśva iva prayātaḥ . . [S., 16/58[d]]

30. a) Frg. no. (K) 65a, 1. 3 —
... garbbha-vāsasyāśuceḥ par(yy)ā(y)aḥ d...(kh)
[= duḥkha ...?]

b) ... narakaprakhye garbha-saṁjñe 'śuci-hrade.
...... duḥkham archanti jantavaḥ . . [B., 14/31[abd]]

31. a) Frg. no. (K) 65b, 1. 1 —
... yaḥ paśya vyudaya-vyaya...

b) yasmāc ca paśyāmy udayaṁ vyayaṁ ca [S., 18/16[a]]

32. a) Frg. no. (K) 89b, 1. 1 —
...ṇa kṛta-parikarmaṇoḥ (ṇakṛta-° — sic) ......

b) Folio no. K IV, obverse side, 1. 4 —
...ṇa kṛta-parikarmaṇoḥ (a)......

c) Folio no. C 4, reverse side, 1. 2 —
vinītayor ya(t)i-dharmmeṇa kṛta-parikarmmaṇoḥ ...

d) Frg. no. (K) 104a, 1. 1 —
... (pa)riṇata-śubha-ka(rma) ...

---

1) The word 'ghaṭṭita' occurs several times in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. as follows :—

a) śata-patram ivā(')rdha-vakra-nāḍaṁ sthita-kāraṇḍava-ghaṭṭitaṁ cakāśe . . [B., 5/53[cd]]

b) padmāni kāraṇḍava-ghaṭṭitāni . . [S., 10/38[d]]

c) aghaṭṭitaṁ śāntim upaiti cetaḥ . . [S., 14/49[d]]

e) Folio no. C 2, reverse side, 11. 3-4 —
... — Buddha[ḥ] — ... pū(rva-karmma-saṁ)skṛta(yor anahaṅkṛta)yor ...
f) ... Bodhi-sattvās tu sarve ....
ata upacita-karmā rūḍha-mūle 'pi hetau ...... [B , 2/56[ac]]
g) vistīrṇa-kalpācita-puṇya-karmā. [B., 3/34[b]]
h) pūrva-hetu-bala-prāptaḥ [B., 12/68[c]]
i) aneka-kalpācita-puṇya-karmā [B., 13/58[c]]

33. a) Frg. no. (K) 104b, 1. 1 —
...... (p)r(āp)t(a-cak)ṣu(r) ......
b) ...... Buddham avāpta-cakṣuḥ . . [S., 17/32[d]]
c) śamaṁ yayau kiṁcid-upātta-cakṣuḥ.. [S., 17/13[d]]
d) upapannam alabdha-cakṣuṣo ...... [S., 8/23[c]]

34. a) Folio no. C 1, reverse side, ll. 2-3 —
...... — [Śramaṇaḥ — ?] tri(bh)iś (tṛ° — sic) śiṣyaiḥ parivṛtaḥ śobhate muni-candramāḥ (.) ......(n) tr(i)...... (y)ukta iva candramāḥ (..) ...[1]
b) mārgaṁ prapede sadṛśānuyātraś candraḥ sanakṣatra ivāntarikṣam.. [B., 3/9[cd]]
c) virejatus (mantri-puro-hitau) tasya (= Sarvārthasiddhasya) ca saṁnikarṣe punarvasū yoga-gatāv ivendoḥ..[B., 9/11[cd]]

35. a) Folio no. C 2, obverse side, 1. 2 —
...... (nīla-)dru(ma). ....(gana-ta)...vipp(ra)......(tasya) (sic) śakuner ādiptaṁ trai(lo)ky(a)m ......
b) Folio no. K I, reverse side, 1. 4 —
......(r da)vāgni-parigatam iva n(ī)la-(d)ru(m)aṅ gagana-tala-(v)i......
c) mahatā khalu jātavedasā jvalitād utpatito vana-drumāt.
...... nīḍa-tṛṣṇayā ...... dvijaḥ .. [S., 8/19]
d) "Seeing the three spheres of existence to be thus impermanent, suffering and without self, and to be ever on fire, there is no place of refuge for men to enter, as for birds whose roosting-tree is ablaze." [B., 20/47 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

---

1) The second hemistich of this śloka (anuṣṭubh) stanza seems to run as follows :—
[nakṣatrāṇā](n) tr(i)[bhiś] [śubhraiḥ] [saṁ](y)ukta iva candramāḥ (..)

e) labhe na śāntiṁ na dhṛtiṁ kuto ratiṁ niśāmayan
dīptam ivāgninā jagat .. [B., 4/98[cd]][1)]

f) kālāgninā vyādhi-jarā-śikhena loke pradīpte sa
bhavet pramattaḥ ..[S., 5/41[cd]]

36. a) Folio no. C 2, obverse side, 1. 3 —
[Buddhaḥ — ?] ... [sukhānām atṛptikarā]ṇām
(°kara° — sic) ...

b) Folio no. K I, reverse side, 1. 5 —
[Buddhaḥ — ?] ...... sukhān(āṁ) ...

c) kāmābhibhūtā hi na yānti śarma tripiṣṭape kiṁ
vata martya-loke.
kāmaiḥ satṛṣṇasya hi nāsti tṛptir ... ...
lokasya kāmair na vitṛptir asti ......
Māndhātur āsīd viṣayeṣv atṛptiḥ..
... ...
kāmeṣv atṛpto Nahuṣaḥ papāta...
... ...
(Aiḍaḥ) jagāma nāśaṁ viṣayeṣv atṛptaḥ..
... ...
bhuktvāpi yān (= kāmān) naiva bhavanti tṛptāḥ.
[B., 11/10[abc], 12[c], 13[d], 14[d], 15[d] & 25[b]]

d) lokasya kāmair na hi tṛptir asti..[S., 5/23[d]]

e) na kāma-bhogā hi bhavanti tṛptaye .....
tathendriyārtheṣv ajitendriyaś caran na kāma-
bhogair upaśāntim ṛcchati..
[S., 9/43[a] & 44[cd]]

f) tṛptir ... ...
nāpi kāmaiḥ satṛṣṇasya tasmāt kāmā na tṛptaye..
... ...
kāmeṣu hi satṛṣṇasya na śāntir upapadyate..
kāmānāṁ ...... prāptau tṛptir na vidyate.
[S., 11/32[acd], 37[cd] & 38[ab]]

g) viṣayair indriya-grāmo na tṛptim adhigacchati
[S., 13/40[ab]]

---

1) The same simile occurs, as we have already seen under the account of the B., in the Touen-houang leaf of an anonymous mahākāvya on the biography of the Buddha as follows :—
bha]veṣu sarveṣu na khalv ahaṁ rame
davāgni-dīpteṣu taruṣv ivāṇḍajaḥ.. 83 (= 9/83[cd])

37. a) Folio no. K I, reverse side, ll. 1-2 —
... (B)u(d)dh(aḥ) — U(patiṣ)y(a) ...... v(i)śuddhe 'ddhyāśa(ye) (sic) .....
b) Frg. no. (K) 75a, l. 1 —
... v[ı]śuddhe 'ddhyāśa(ye) (sic) ......
c) tataḥ sa pūrvāśaya-śuddha-buddhir [B., 3/34[a]]

38. a) Folio no. C 2, reverse side, l. 3 —
[Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] ...... (k)ṛ(ta)m bhṛśa-viṣai(ḥ) spṛ(ṣ)ṭ(aṁ yathā)śīviṣaiḥ — ...
b) nāśīviṣebhyo hi tathā bibhemi ...... yathā bhayaṁ me viṣayebhya eva..[B., 11/8[ad]]

39. a) Folio no. C 4, obverse side, l. 2 —
[Buddhaḥ — ?] (śa)rī(ra)-nirmuktam ā(tma)-sa(ṁ)-jñakam buddhi-s(au)kṣmyaṁ tat — sūkṣmatvāc caiva ... (already quoted above in full)
b) kṣetrajño viśarīraś ca [B., 12/80[a]]
sūkṣmatvāc caiva ...... (already quoted above in full) [B., 12/75]

40. a) Folio no. C 4, obverse side, l. 3 —
[Śāri(putraḥ) —] ......thā(")tma-grāhe [= anyathā-(")tma-° ?) sati (sata — sic) na naiṣṭhikī nivṛttir (nirvṛttir — sic ; nirvṛtir — suggested by Lüders) bhavati (,) nairātmya-darśanāc (°tmyāda° — sic) ca bhavati ...... (already cited previously)
b) ātma-grāhāc ca tasyāpi jagṛhe na sa (= Sarvārthasiddhaḥ) darśanam .. [B. , 12/84[cd]]
c) kṣetrajñasyā(')parityāgād avaimy etad anaiṣṭhikam.. [B. , 12/69[cd]]

41. a) Folio no. C 4, obverse side, l. 5 —
[Śāri(putraḥ) —] ...... notpadyate bīja[m u]daka-p(ṛ)thiv(y-a)r(tu)ṁ (bījadaka° — sic ; bījodakaṁ pṛ° — suggested by Lüders) ...... (eva)ṅ ......
b) Folio no. K IV, obverse side, l. 2 —
...... notpadya(te) bījodakaṁ pṛthivy-art......
c) Frg. no. (K) 50b, l. 2 —
...... notpadya(te) pānodakaṁ pṛthivy-art......
d) ṛtu-bhūmy-ambu-virahād yathā bījaṁ na rohati. ...... tadvat so 'pi ......
[B. , 12/72[abd]]

42. a) Folio no. C 4, reverse side, l. 1 —
[Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] karmma (karmmā — sic) kṣetraṁ bījan utpatti-cetas
tṛṣṇā kleda-cchādanañ cā(p)y (avandh)ya(m)
(evaṁ lokaḥ sas)y(ava)j j(ā)yamāno jñānāditye ...... t —
......
b) Folio no. K IV, obverse side, l. 3 —
...... (karmma kṣet)r(am) b(ījam) u(tpat)t(i-cetas)
... ... evaṁ loka(ḥ) sasyavaj jāyamāno jñānā(d)i...
c) Frg. no. (K) 50b, l. 3 —
...... evaṁ loka(ḥ) sasyavaj jāyamāno jñānā(d)i...
d) vikāra-prakṛtibhyo hi kṣetrajñaṁ muktam apy aham.
manye prasava-dharmāṇaṁ bīja-dharmāṇam eva ca ..
yat karmā(')jñāna-tṛṣṇānāṁ tyāgān mokṣaś ca kalpyate.
[B. , 12/70 & 73[ab]]
e) ... jvaliṣyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ .. [B. , 1/69[d]]
43. a) Folio no. C 4, reverse side, l. 2 —
(Buddhaḥ —) ...... asmāt siddhānta-prativedhād uddhṛta-vividha-dṛṣ(ṭ)i-(śa)lyayo(ḥ) ... ...
b) Folio no. K IV, obverse side, l. 4 —
... ... (dṛṣṭ)i-(śalyay)o(ḥ) ... ...
c) Frg. no. (K) 50b, l. 4 —
... ...(d)...(ṣ)i... ... (= dṛṣṭi-śalyayoḥ ?)
d) yo dṛṣṭi-śalyo hṛdayāvagāḍhaḥ prabho bhṛśaṁ mām atudat sutīkṣṇaḥ.
tvad-vākya-saṁdaṁśa-mukhena me sa samuddhṛtaḥ śalyahṛteva śalyaḥ .. [S. , 18/7]

The citations from the B. and the S. may be multiplied at pleasure.

The above parallel passages exhibit unmistakably the similarity in wordings, ideas, topics and ornate features. In many cases we mark a tendency to repeat the favourite sets of ideas and expressions. These peculiarities of language and style also clearly show that the author of the said fragments is the same as that of the B. and the S.

But before we finally settle the question of the co-ordination of the "K" and "C" fragments we have to examine the validity of the popular hypothesis that the "K" fragments contain the remains of three dramas, viz. , i) the Ś. , ii) some allegorical drama (like Kṛṣṇamiśra's Prabodha-candrodaya) and iii) some hetaera-drama (like

Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa and Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa). The "K" fragments have been classified and considered accordingly under these three heads. The details of this classification have been given by Dr. Lüders and we need not recapitulate them here. Many of the arguments of this three-drama theory can be decisively refuted by the copious evidences given above under innovations and concordance. The remaining arguments are now being called in question as follows :—

1. At first we take up the case of the single fragment which is alleged to contain a portion of a lost allegorical drama and examine it in relation to the Ś. The personification of abstract ideas as we find in the so-called allegorical play is not a new feature in Aśvaghoṣa. Already in the B., 13/2-3[ab1)] there are humanised characters like Māra (= Kāma), his three sons named Vibhrama, Harṣa and Darpa, and three daughters, viz., Arati, Prīti and Tṛṣ who dramatically attack Sarvārthasiddha before the attainment of enlightenment. Again, in the S., 4/8[2)] Aśvaghoṣa describes in a mālopamā the matching of Nanda and Sundarī like that of Kandarpa and Rati, Pramoda and Nāndī, and Praharṣa and Tuṣṭi.

Further, symbolism is quite common in the religio-philosophical literature prior to Aśvaghoṣa. Thus, to mention only a few, the personifications of Manyu (= Wrath), Tapas, Śraddhā, Kāma, Kāla, Śrī or Rāja-Lakṣmī, Dharma, etc. are well known to us. Again, similar concretised characters are often met with in the post-Aśvaghoṣan ornate literature. Thus, Bhāsa, for example, has personified Viṣṇu's Sudarśana(cakra) in his Dūta-vākya, and Cakra, Śārṅga, Kaumodakī, Khaḍga, Śūla, Śāpa, (Rāja-)Śrī and others in his

---

1) yaṁ Kāma-devaṁ pravadanti loke Citrāyudhaṁ Puṣpa-śaraṁ tathaiva.
kāma-pracārādhipatiṁ tam eva mokṣadviṣaṁ Māram udāharanti..
tasyātmajā Vibhrama-Harṣa-Darpās tisro 'rati-Prīti-Tṛṣaś ca kanyāḥ.

2) Kandarpa-Ratyor iva lakṣyabhūtaṁ Pramoda-Nāndyor iva nīḍabhūtam (°taṁ — sic).
Praharṣa-Tuṣṭyor iva pātrabhūtaṁ dvandvaṁ sahāraṁsta madāndhabhūtam (°taṁ — sic)..

Bāla-carita. These personified characters appear on the stage and take part in conversation like the divine and human roles. Likewise Vana-devatā is a personified character speaking Sanskrit in Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāma-carita. Moreover, the personifications like Vana-Lakṣmī, Vasanta-Lakṣmī, Rāja-Lakṣmī and others are often found in the classical epics. The same tradition has been handed down to Kṛṣṇa-miśra's Prabodha-candrodaya (11th century A.D.) and Kavi-Karṇapūra's Caitanya-candrodaya (16th century A D.). Thus, there is an unbroken continuity of a tendency towards personification since the Vedic age. Both Aśvaghoṣa and Bhāsa must have been well aware of this trend in literature[1] that preceded them and it is quite natural that they should pursue this rich tradition and make it still richer. It is extremely unjust as well to opine that personification is a rare feature in Classical Sanskrit drama — especially when the tendency towards symbolism is so prominent in Bhāsa and the same tradition has been maintained throughout.

Moreover, the conversation of the three personified characters, viz., Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrtti that we find in the extant fragment of the so-called allegorical drama ends in a stage direction for the entrance of the Buddha upon the stage[2]. The textual portion preserved in this fragment appears to bear the characteristics of some sort of an interlude — say, a Śuddha Viṣkambhaka — in which three middle-class characters below the rank of the Buddha take part, converse with one another in Sanskrit on their importance in relation to the Buddha's character, give the whereabouts of the Buddha and his sojourn in the park (= Veṇu-vana) attached to Magadhapura (= Rājagṛha = Girivraja) in course of their eulogy of the Buddha and virtually announce the Buddha's entrance upon the stage.

This interlude — in consonance with the theory and the practice of the Sanskrit drama — must be placed in between two Acts and

---

1) As we are mainly concerned with literature we are eschewing for the present the proofs that can certainly be adduced in favour of symbolism in other forms of art.

2) Fragment no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 4 —
[Dhṛtiḥ —] .... pūrṇṇa(ḥ) — tataḥ praviśati prabhā-maṇḍalena dīp(t)ena ..... Bhaga(vā?)ṁ .....

as such cannot be allotted to the first or the last Act. The conversation and the stage direction that we learn from this fairly preserved fragment cannot thus be assigned to the beginning of Act I as found in the fragment no. (K) 3 where the Pāripārśvika and the Vidūṣaka are mentioned as the speakers and there is also a stage direction for the entry of some unidentifiable person[1]. In the same way the text of this interlude cannot be tagged on to that of the last Act the remains of which are known from the folios numbered C 1 and K I.

Thus, the textual matter of the fragment no. (K) 1 — only to offer a suitable suggestion — should properly go with Act VIII in which the entry of the Buddha upon the stage in company with some senior monks [fragment nos. (K) 54[2] and 56[3] (in their reconstructed forms)] becomes necessary before Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana could be ushered into his presence for conversion.

In any case, the textual portion of the fragment no. (K) 1 gives every evidence in favour of its being written by Aśvaghoṣa and belonging to his Ś. We therefore conclude that the popular belief in the existence of the so-called allegorical drama supposedly written by some writer of the Aśvaghoṣa school, is absolutely baseless and must also be dismissed on the grounds of 'gaurava'.

2. Now we turn to the "K" fragments which are supposed to contain some portions of a lost 'hetaera-drama', i. e., a 'prakaraṇa', and examine them in relation to the Ś.

---

1) Obverse side, 1. 1 — siddham Pāripārśvikaḥ — ....
„ „ 1. 2 — ....
„ „ 1. 3 — ....
Reverse side, 1. 1 — ..... (tataḥ p)r(avi)ś(ati) ....
„ „ 1. 2 — ....
„ „ 1. 3 — ..... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — ......

2) a 1. — ..... naitad āścaryyaṁm (sic) Bhagavat......
2. — .... . (s)āddhyam (sic) asti — tataḥ praviśanti Śramaṇa-(Śār)i(putra-Maudgalyāyanāḥ) ....
b 2. — .... tau Śāriputra-Maudgalyāyanau Śramaṇe(n)..

3) a 1. — ..... — (Kau)ṇḍi[nyaḥ] — Bhagavan et(au) kh(alu) .....
2. — ..... (caratāṁ..) ..... ta [= āgacchata ?] iti (paśy)ā(m)i .....
b 2. — ....mānau ....

We have already seen above that the presence of such popular characters as the Gaṇikā, the Vidūṣaka and the Duṣṭa in the Ś. is in consonance with the earliest known theory and practice of this type of social drama. Let us now adduce further internal evidences to prove the collocation of these popular characters with Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana in some fragments as follows :—

a) Firstly, the fragment no. (K) 10 contains the conversation among Dhānaṁ (<Dhānaṁjaya <Dhanaṁjaya), Śāradvatī [= Śāradvatīputra (?) ; = the Nāyaka (?)], the Dāsīputtra (= the Duṣṭa ?) and some anonymous Prākṛta-speaking role. The topic of the conversation is apparently the love-quarrel of some cakravāka-mithuna and pārāvata-mithuna. The same subject seems to have been continued in the fragment no. (K) 11[1]. The latter fragment does not mention the name of any speaker and as such it is not much helpful for our present discussion. We therefore leave this divagation and refer back to the former fragment [i. e., the fragment no. (K) 10]. But for the facilities of our discussion a few relevant words of this fragment are quoted below :—

a 1. [Śāri(putraḥ)— ?] ...... mahatī (,) yaś cāsya prārtthito '(r)tthaḥ sa ca hṛdaya-gataḥ sandṛśya(t)......

2. ...... karayamānā na jīvanti — Dhānaṁ — Śāradvatī(-putra ?) ......

3. [Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] .... svantam iva — Dhānaṁ — na me priyaṁ yac cakravāka-mithunasya ......

4. [Duṣṭaḥ — ?] ... .. bhoti — Nāya(kaḥ) [= Śāri(putraḥ) ?] — śi dāsī-puttra (= Duṣṭa ?) — Dhānaṁ — nanu ko hetuḥ kala(hasya) ......

b 3. ...... pārāvata-mithunasya bbrūhi (sic) kathaṁ viggraho (sic) jātaḥ — Nāya(kaḥ) [= Śāri(putraḥ) ?] — śṛṇu ......

In the above excerpt Dhānaṁ, i. e., Dhanañjaya and the Nāya(ka) are apparently the two principal speakers while the Dāsī-puttra (= the Duṣṭa ?) and the unidentifiable Prākṛta-speaking person are found only to intervene. It seems that the Duṣṭa is found guilty of teasing and perhaps killing (?) [a 2 above] the pairs of the cakravākas and the pārāvatas and for this he is admonished (?) by the compassionate hero [a 4 above]. In a 2 Dhānaṁ appears to address Śāradvatī[putra ?] and after this vocative there is a gap which has

1) a 3. — ...... ayañ cakkravāka-mith(u)na-sahāyo (sic) ......

continued in the next line [a 3] and ended in the words 'svantam iva' [a 3]. The lost portion of the leaf indicated by this gap must have naturally contained the speech of Dhānaṁ and the reply of Śāriputra. After this reply which ends in the words 'svantam iva' [a 3] comes again the speech of Dhānaṁ [a 3]. In a 4 the Duṣṭa possibly tries to minimise his guilt or totally plead not guilty to the charge by showing some alibi for which he is rebuked (?) by the hero [a 4]. After this Dhānaṁ takes up the thread of the conversation and asks probably Śāriputra [= the Nāya(ka) ?] about the cause of the quarrel of the cakravāka couple [a 4]. Then in b 3 it is probably Dhānaṁ who asks the Nāya(ka) about the cause of a similar quarrel of the pārāvata pair and after this the Nāya(ka) goes to relate the course of events.

From the foregoing data the deduction which naturally follows is that Śāriputra, Dhānaṁ and the Duṣṭa belong to one drama, i. e., the Ś. Even if the word << Śāradvatī[putra] >> is not treated as a vocative but explained as some matter relating to him, the above conclusion will still remain the same.

But what is strange about this fragment is that the query is put to Śāriputra while the answer is put into the mouth of the Nāya(ka). From this the conclusion becomes irresistible that the Nāya(ka) is none other than Śāriputra. The word 'Nāya(ka)' points out to the status of the role in the drama in question while the word 'Śāradvatī-[putra]' stands for the metronymic of the hero. Who else but Śāradvatīputra can be the hero of the Ś. ? It is inconceivable that the hero of the Ś. should be different from Śāriputra. In a 2 Dhānaṁ addresses 'Śāradvatī[putra]' by name while in the allotment of the speeches the word 'Nāya(ka)' appears. The speeches assigned to Śāriputra in the "K" fragments are sometimes introduced with the name 'Śāri(putra)' and sometimes with the designation 'Nāya-(ka)' and no uniformity is found to have been maintained[1]. This mention of the designation before the speeches given to the

---

1) Should we suppose that prior to his meeting with Aśvajit, Śāriputra has been shown in the "K" fragments as the 'Nāya(ka)' amidst his former associates while subsequently he is referred to as 'Śāri(putra)' ? The present remains of the "K" MS. do not warrant any categorical answer in this matter.

hero seems to point out to an old usage surviving in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa[1].

But what really poses as a problem is that the fragment no. (K) 16a, 11. 2-3[2] seem to give the name of the 'Nāya(ka)' as Somadatta. We have already worked on the indications supplied to us by the fragment no. (K) 10 cited above and arrived at the pertinent conclusion that the word 'Nāya(ka)' referred to the appellation of the person whose metronymic was 'Śāradvatī[putra]'. This identification of the 'Nāya(ka)' is now being switched to a different direction. If we are to explain away this anomaly and avoid on the grounds of 'gaurava' any fresh theory on the existence of two separate dramas only on this account, we have to conclude that the word 'Nāya(ka)' is the stage-designation given to the character whose personal name is Somadatta and metronymic is 'Śāradvatī[putra]'. This peculiar equation is purely based on the present state of the "K" fragments and the validity of this identification cannot avowedly be verified and confirmed with the help of the internal evidences.

However, even if we leave aside the above disputable equation we cannot but accept the collocation of Śāradvatī[putra], who unquestionably belongs to the Ś., with Dhānaṁ and the Duṣṭa (?) apportioned to the so-called 'hetaera-drama'. This conclusion naturally leads us to its corollary that those fragments in which Dhānaṁ and the Duṣṭa are known to be the speakers must be regarded as the genuine parts of the Ś.

b) Secondly, by pursuing the above point of collocation we find that the fragment no. (K) 29 (in its reconstructed form) furnishes

---

1) It is also remarkable that in conformity with the "K" fragments Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa allots the speeches to the Vidūṣaka, the Gaṇikā and the Ceṭī (besides the Nāyaka) without mentioning their names in the stage directions though the proper names can be gathered from the texts of the speeches. The Śakāra and the Viṭa of Bhāsa correspond respectively to the Duṣṭa and Dhānaṁ (?) of the "K" fragments.

2) a 2. — ... — Nāya(kaḥ) — eṣa panthā gamyatām — ...
3. — ... — Gaṇi(kā) — Somadatta ...

The identification of the Nāya(ka) as Somadatta may also be inferred from other fragments.

us with further data. Before we proceed with our arguments we propose to quote this fragment as follows :—

a 1. ... (pa)ryyākula Ājīvika(ḥ) (Ajī° — sic) ...

2. [Gaṇi(kā) — ?] ... (d)ukkho khu piya-vinābhāvo — Dhān(aṁ) — (ś) [=Śāriputra ?] ...

3. (Nā)ya[kaḥ] — na samīpastheṣv anāsthā (ana° — sic) dūrasthe ...

4. [Gaṇi(kā) — ?] ... (ṇa)m pucchatha suṇiya yadi kuppita ...

b 1. ... gilāyamānaṁ Ājīv(i)ka-sama(ṇaṁ) ...

2. ...ṣṭvā — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — ai kileso gambhīra-vaṭu(m) ...

3. ... ka-yānakenāgacchati — (Nāyakaḥ) ...

4. ... (ga)cchati — Gaṇi[kā] — kahi(ṁ) ...

In this fragment Dhānaṁ is further found in the company of other characters, viz., i) some Ājīvika-śramaṇa, ii) the Vidū[ṣaka] and iii) the Gaṇi[kā]. Besides these there is also the Nāya[ka] and in a 2 Dhānaṁ seems to address Ś[āriputra] as in the fragment no. (K) 10a, 1. 2. Now that Dhānaṁ belongs to the Ś., it is proved beyond doubt that the Vidū[ṣaka] and the Gaṇi[kā] must appertain to the same drama. This finding also proves its corollary that all those fragments where the Vidū[ṣaka] and the Gaṇi[kā] are mentioned must be assigned to the Ś.

c) Thirdly, the fragments numbered (K) 14, 15 and 32 (taken together in their reconstructed form) show the Vidū[ṣaka], the Upajjhāya (= Prākṛta < Sanskrit Upādhyāya ; = Aśvajit ?) and Śāri[putra] in the same scene. Some relevant words of these fragments are cited below :—

Obverse side

1. 3. — ...— Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] — (bho Upa)jjhāya (!) e(tassa pavva)-jitassa vacanaṁ suṇiya apuru(va)-mukha-vaṇṇena añ(ñ)aṁ viya ...

Reverse side

1. 3. — ... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] upadeso edisassa Bambhaṇa-janassa anuggāhako bh(āti) — (Śāri) [= Śāriputraḥ] kiñ ca varṇṇāvare(ṇ= auṣadham u)padiṣṭam āturebhyo na roga-ppra(śaman)āya (sic) bhavati kiṁ varṇṇan ta...

1. 4. — t... na dahana-karmā bhavati āho nikṛṣṭa-varṇṇenākhyātam uṣṇa-parigatāyodakan (°gatayo° — sic) na prahlāda(m āvahat)i ......

From the above it appears that the topic of the conversation is the question of the acceptability to a Brāhmaṇa of a religion which

has been expounded by a Kṣatriya. The Vidūṣaka also seems to mark a strange glow in the countenance of Śāriputra subsequent to the latter's listening to the sermon of the Upajjhāya. Śāriputra offers some apologetic in favour of Buddhisṃ and tries to convince the Vidūṣaka of its worth.

Anyway, the presence of Aśvajit in the Ś. is quite natural. But what is striking in these fragments is the collocatioṇ of Śāriputra and the Vidūṣaka. Thus, the Vidūṣaka must be regarded as a part and parcel of the Ś. and all those fragments where this character finds a place are no doubt parts of the same drama.

d) Fourthly, the fragment no. (K) 4 proves the collocation of Maga[dhavatī] (= the Gaṇikā heroine), the Nāya(ka), the Duṣṭa, Komudagandha (= Prākṛta ; < Sanskrit Kaumudagandha ; = the Vidūṣaka) and Maudgalyāyana. Some relevant words are cited below :—

Obverse side

1. 3. — ..... — Maga[dhavatī] — ..... pekkhāmi dassanam pi me imassa dullabha(ṁ) ..... (añ)ñ..... ki(la) .....

4. — Nāyakaḥ smayate (°ti — sic) — Maga[dhavatī] — naṅ kahin te geham — Nāya[kaḥ] — bhava(t)i ..... (gṛha)n ta(t) loke parigrahavatāṅ g(ṛ)hiṇāṅ g(ṛ)hā(ṇ)i (m).....

Reverse side

1. 1. — manaso gṛhabhūtam eva — Duṣṭa[ḥ] — haṅgho Komudagandha dekkha tāva ..... (lī)l(a)m makkaṭah(o) — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — (jiṇ)ṇuy(ā)n.... bh.....

2. — .....tth..... (a)cchariyaṁ — Du(ṣṭaḥ) — m peśśeti ajja te dāśī-putta himena .....

4. — dhāvanti — Maudga[lyāyanaḥ] ..... (utt)iṣ(ṭh) = ot(t)iṣ(ṭh)a — ete hu .....

We have seen beforehand that the Vidūṣaka and the Duṣṭa of the so-called 'hetaera-drama' belong to the Ś. In the present case our view is further confirmed inasmuch as the three typical characters of the alleged 'hetaera-drama', viz., the Gaṇikā (named Magadhavatī), the Duṣṭa and the Vidūṣaka (named Komudagandha < Kaumudagandha), are found together with Maudgalyāyana who obviously belongs to the Ś. Thus, the Gaṇikā, like the Vidūṣaka and the Duṣṭa, must be assigned to the Ś. and as such all those fragments where the Gaṇikā has some part to play must be acknowledged to be the genuine portions of the Ś, The Dhīra-(pra)śānta Nāyaka, as shown before,

is probably none else than Śāriputra himself though the preserved text of the present fragment does not contain any speech addressed to the Nāyaka which might reveal his identity.

e) Lastly, the reverse side of the genuine leaf no. K IV refers to the house of the Gaṇikā. For the facilitation of the subsequent discussion some words of the said folio-side are cited underneath :—

1. 2[1]. — .....yamānenās(m)i śreṣ(ṭh)i-put(r)e(ṇa) ....

1. 3. — ..... (ma)hanto khu āmodo gaṇikā-kule[2] .....

It is not improper that the house of the Gaṇikā should be mentioned in this folio-side as she is proved to be one of the characters of the Ś. Such reference and perhaps description as well constitute the regular 'prakaraṇa' features which find their corroboration in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa and Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa. Again, the name and the identity of the 'Śreṣṭhi-putra' cannot be ascertained from the present remains of the "K" MS. On the analogy of Bhāsa's as well as Śūdraka's hero Cārudatta, who is a Brāhmaṇa by birth but a śreṣṭhin by profession, the 'Śreṣṭhi-putra' in the present case cannot be identified with the Nāyaka Somadatta because in the fragment no. (K) 30b, 1. 2 Somadatta is apparently referred to as born in a 'Sottiya' (= Prākṛta < Sanskrit 'Śrotriya' = Brāhmaṇa) family[3] and not as a son of a Śreṣṭhin. The other fragments do not enlighten us in this respect. Further, Śāriputra, who happens to be identified with Somadatta, is also known from the Mahā-vagga and other sources to be born in a Brāhmaṇa family. We desist from indulging in any idle conjecture in this matter.

However, what is really a puzzle is that while the obverse side of the folio no. K IV contains a part of the closing speech of the Buddha addressed to Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, the reverse side is naturally expected to make provision for the remaining portion of the Buddha's speech, his benediction to Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and the colophon to the Ś. The fourth and the fifth lines of the obverse side break off in the middle and the words they contain

---

1) These words were originally deciphered by Lüders as ".....yamānenāsi śreṣ(ṭh)i-put(r)e....." in the fragment no. (K) 89a, 1. 1.

2) The same words appeared at first in the second line of the fragment no. (K) 50a.

3) ..... di-siṭṭha-niṭṭhānaṁ sottiya-kula-sabhāvasa ....t Somạ-ḍaṭṭena na bhuttaṁ bhuñjamāno .....

correspond with those in the second line of the folio no. C 4, reverse side[1]. The matter that remains to be completed in K IV, obverse side required at least two lines as we can gather from the third and the fourth lines in the folio no. C 4, reverse side. The text of these two requisite lines could not possibly be compressed into the fifth line of the leaf no. K IV, obverse side. To suppose that this folio-side had two additional lines and thus contained seven lines in all sounds absurd because the average number of lines per folio-side does not exceed five. When we await the end of the drama in the folio no. K IV, reverse side the scene is switched abruptly to some irrelevant matter, It is inconceivable that the scribe should leave the Ś. incomplete in the K IV, obverse side and copy on the reverse side some fresh matter from the middle of another drama, viz., the 'hetaera-drama'. The only plausible explanation is that owing to inadvertence the scribe forgot to copy the closing portion of the Ś. on the reverse side and carelessly copied from some other folio-side of his original. The mention of the compound word 'gaṇikā-kule' in the reverse side does not stand in the way of this folio-side being authentic because the Gaṇikā herself has been proved to belong to the Ś.

In any case, however, we can no longer shudder at the idea of the stock characters like the Vidūṣaka, the Duṣṭa and the Gaṇikā being associated with the Ś. It follows as a corollary that all other roles assigned to the so-called 'hetaera-drama' belong properly to the Ś. Thus, the wide-spread belief in the existence of a 'hetaera-drama' as distinct from the Ś. is mere 'śaśa-viṣāṇecchā'.

We therefore conclude that the popular 'three-drama theory' is not justifiable and that the "K" fragments allotted to the alleged 'allegorical play' and the 'hetaera-drama' really belong to Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. In other words, all the fragments of the "K" MS. which are available in print are the genuine remnants of only one drama, viz., the Ś. composed by none else than Aśvaghoṣa. It is therefore baseless to say that this MS. contained the collected dramatic works of Aśva-

1) C 4, reverse side, 1. 2 — [Buddhaḥ —] ..... uddhṛta-vividha-dṛṣ(ṭ)i-(śa)lyayo(ḥ) ś(u)d(dha-)manasor yuva(yo)ḥ yad e.....

K IV, obverse side, 11. 4-5 — ....(dṛṣṭ)i-(śalyay)o(ḥ) ..... [śuddha-manaso ?]r .... [yad ?] e...............

ghoṣa. The co-ordination of the "K" fragments and their single authorship are thus finally established.

f) *Authenticity of the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* — So far we have culled the internal and external evidences accessible to us in order to examine the customary 'three-drama theory' and establish the co-ordination of the "K" fragments and their single authorship. These data may also be adduced to prove the authenticity of the Ś. beyond any shade of doubt.

Particularly the identification of the śloka ("sūkṣmatvāc caiva", etc. already quoted above) in the palm-leaf no. C 4, obverse side 1. 2 with the B., 12/75 is a sure index in this respect. The speaker of this stanza in the B. is the Buddha and the topic is the animadversion on the Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-vāda. In the case of the C 4 verse also the speaker is obviously the Buddha though his name is not found in the preserved passage. The subject-matter also is no doubt the same.

Further, the concordance of Aśvaghoṣa's B., S. and Ś. which we have shown above makes it quite clear that he had a tendency to repeat his favourite sets of ideas and expressions in his works. Moreover, the colophon of the Ś. has much in common with those of the B. and the S.[1]

We therefore conclude that the Ś. is an authentic text of Aśvaghoṣa though the name of this drama does not appear in the lists of the Chinese and Tibetan translations of his works. It is probable that the popular 'lalita' elements of the Ś., like those of the S. discussed above, might have discouraged any puritanic translator.

2. *Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka* — a) *Proofs of its Existence* — After dealing with the textual condition and other cognate features relating to the Ś. we now turn to the R. Unlike the text of the Ś. preserved in two MSS. traditions the text of the R. is known to us only from certain direct and indirect references scattered in some Buddhistic, Brāhmaṇistic and Jinistic works. These external evidences are given below :—

i) The earliest known reference to Aśvaghoṣa's composition of the R. is found in the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan"[2] of the Chinese

---

1) The relevant words of these three colophons have been given under "Aśvaghoṣa's Life" above (p. 5).

2. The title of this Chinese work is also shown differently as follows :—

[Contd.]

Tri-piṭaka (Taisho Issaikyo edn., L., 2058 ; Tok., 24/9/105a). The Chinese title is rendered as "A Sūtra (ciṅ) or Record (chwān) on the Nidāna or Cause of transmitting the Dharma-piṭaka — A History of the Indian Patriarchs". This work is the third[1] Chinese translation into verses done in 472 A. D.[2] by Ci-ciâ-yê (Nanjio), or rather Ki-Kia-Ye (Bagchi), in collaboration with Thân-yâo (Nanjio ; = T'an yao — Bagchi) of the Pe-wêi or Northern Wêi dynasty (386-534 A. D.). The author of the Sanskrit original is unknown and the Sanskrit text, which is now lost, is said to have been existing when the Chêng yüan Catalogue (785-804 A. D.) was compiled. However, Ci-ciâ-yê is said to have translated five works in 19 or 25 fasciculi for the sake of Thân-yâo. The name Ci ciâ-yê is translated into Chinese as "Hö-sh'" (= "Ho che" — Bagchi) [literally 'what-matter' < Sanskrit Kiṅ-kara (?) — Nanjio][3]. The transliteration Ki-Kia-Ye [phonetically Kiet Kiâ â < Kekaya or Kikâya (=Prākṛta)] has also been traced back to the Sanskrit original name Kiṁ-kārya (Bagchi). Anyway, Kiṅ-kara (Nanjio ; = Kiṁkara — Suzuki) or Kiṁ-kārya (Bagchi) was most probably a śramaṇa of Central Asia whence he later migrated to Pei t'ai, "the terrace of the North" of Wei (Bagchi).

However, the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan" is complete in six chapters[4] and the entire work still exists. This Chinese translation deals with the history of the succession of twenty-

---

[Contd.]

a) "Fu-fâ-tsâṅ-yin-yuen-ciṅ (or cwhān) [...... (or chwân) ?]" (Nanjio) ;

b) "Fu fa tsang yin yüan ch'uan" (= Accounts Relating to the Transmission of the Dharma-piṭaka — Suzuki) ;

c) "Fou fa tsang yin yuan tchoan" (Lévi) ;

d) "Fou fa tsang yin yuan tch'ouan" (Maspero and Bagchi) and

e) "Fu-fa-tsang-yin-yüan-ch'ūan" (Johnston).

1) The two previous translations into Chinese were done by Tche yen of Song and T'an yao of Wei (Bagchi).

2) This work has been assigned to the 6th century A. D. by Maspero.

3) Suzuki also translates Chi-chia-yeh as Kiṁkara.

4) But the "Fou fa tsang king", the Transmission of the Dharma-piṭaka, consists of two chapters (Bagchi).

three patriarchs from Mahā-Kāśyapa to Siṁha-Bhikṣu. In the list of these patriarchs Aśvaghoṣa stands eleventh from Mahā-Kāśyapa. Besides this there is a detailed account of the role of Aśvaghoṣa as a musician-preacher in company with an opera party in "Hoa che" (= Pāṭaliputra), his composition of a melodrama named the "Lai ch'a ho lo" or rather "Lo-tch'a-ho-lo" [= Rāṣṭrapāla(-nāṭaka)] for converting the citizens to Buddhism, and the nirveda theme of the drama[1]. It is also known from this Chinese version that the R. was a great success and its performance caused the renunciation of five hundred Kṣatriya princes of Pāṭaliputra. Eventually the king of Pāṭaliputra was afraid that his other subjects might leave their homes and take to religion. So he banned the drama and its enacting in his kingdom.

The above account does not seem to have preserved any quotation proper from the text of the R.

ii) The second reference to the R. is found in the Vāda-nyāya, a treatise on the Nigraha-sthāna of Buddhistic logic, by Dharmakīrtti who is generally placed in the 6th century A. D.[2] The text of the Vāda-nyāya and its commentary named Vipañcitārthā by Śāntarakṣita (circa 825 A D.) were discovered along with many other manuscripts by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in course of his second tour (from April 4 to November 10, 1934 — about six and a half months) of Tibet in search of ancient palm-leaf manuscripts (originally taken from India). During this tour Sāṅkṛtyāyana chanced to find out in the monastery libraries a palm-leaf MS. each of the Vāda-nyāya and the Vipañcitārthā[3]. The one is complete in 20 leaves of the size of 12 x 2⅓ inches with 10 lines (in average) of written matter per folio-side. This MS. is written in a swift and clear Kuṭilā script by some Vāgīśvara. On

---

1) An analysis of this detailed notice will be taken up later on.

2) According to Sāṅkṛtyāyana Dharmakīrtti was a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa who migrated from South India to Nālandā and whose date might be tentatively estimated at 625 A. D.

3) Sāṅkṛtyāyana describes also another MS. of the Vāda-nyāya-ṭīkā (?) which is complete in 42 palm-leaves of the size of 11⅓ x 2⅓ inches with 10 lines of written matter per folio-side. This MS. written in a rough and running Kuṭilā script was discovered in the Ngor monastery (one day's journey from Śi-gar-tse).

iv) Besides the detailed account of the composition and gist of the R. in the Chinese Tri-piṭaka, and the brief citation from this drama in the Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇistic texts on

---

[Contd.]

bhruvor līlaivānyā dara-hasitam abhyasyati mukhaṁ
dṛśor vakraḥ panthās taruṇima-samārambha-sacivaḥ.
idānīm etasyāḥ kuvalaya-dṛśaḥ pratyaham ayaṁ
nitambasyābhogo nayati maṇi-kāñcīm adhikatām..
— Rājyapālasya.

[Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa, 15/27 (= serial no. 360), p. 67. This stanza is shown as anonymous in a hitherto unpublished incomplete MS. of the Prasanna-sāhitya-ratnākara (107a) of Nandana (end of the 15th century A. D.) with a wrong variant °bhoge in d which goes against the word 'ayaṁ' in c Again, Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A. D.) in his Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta, 2/2/2 has retained cd of this stanza and replaced ab with "bhruvoḥ kācil līlā pariṇatir apūrvā nayanayoḥ, stanābhogo 'vyaktas taruṇima-samārambha-samaye." (attributed to Vīryamitra in the Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa, 15/1, serial no. 334[ab], p. 62 ; = Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya, 142 ; = Nandana's Prasanna-sāhitya-ratnākara 103[b] ; = Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, 3274 ; = Jalhaṇa's Sūkti-muktāvalī, 51/7), and attributed the verse thus formed to Rājoka.]

This stanza occurs in the Vayaḥ-sandhi-vrajyā section and deals with the vayaḥ-sandhi of the nāyikā, and this description is apparently put into the mouth of the enamoured nāyaka. The śṛṅgāra-laden idea of this verse is extremely incompatible with the nirveda theme of Aśvaghoṣa's R. It is also inconceivable that this verse could have been uttered by Saint Rāṣṭrapāla in the R.

The second verse ascribed to śrī-Rājyapāla is given below :—

devena prathamaṁ jito 'si Śaśabhṛl-lekhābhṛtānantaraṁ
Buddhenoddhata-buddhinā Smara ! tataḥ kāntena pānthena me.
tyaktvā tān bata haṁsi mām atikṛśāṁ bālām anāthāṁ striyaṁ
dhik tvāṁ dhik tava pauruṣaṁ dhig udayaṁ dhik kārmukaṁ dhik
charān.. — śrī-Rājyapālasya.

[Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa, 22/2 (= serial no. 701), p. 129 ; = Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya, 414 ; = Nandana's Prasanna-sāhitya-ratnākara, 138[b]. Śrīdharadāsa in his Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta, 2/103/2 quotes this verse with negligible variations and ascribes it to the poetess Vidyā.]

[Contd.]

logic there is also an allusion to the R. in the Piṁḍa-nijjutti (Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī Prākṛta ; = Sanskrit Piṇḍa-niryukti), a Jaina canonical work. The Piṁḍa-nijjutti is ascribed to the celebrated Dig-ambara saint Bhadrabāhusvāmin who is said to have died 170

[Contd.]

This stanza occurs in the Virahiṇī-vrajyā section (= Madan-opālambha-vīci sub-section of the Śṛṅgāra-pravāha section in Śrīdharadāsa's Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta). Here the speaker is a virahiṇī nāyikā admonishing Kāma for tormenting her and the suggested rasa is vipralambha-śṛṅgāra. The reference to the Buddha is merely incidental and has nothing to do with any Buddha-stuti or preaching of nirveda befitting the saintly character of Rāṣṭrapāla. Even the repugnance to Kāma (= Madanopālambha) put into the mouth of the heroine in separation is in favour of śṛṅgāra-rasa (śṛṅgāra-poṣaka) — not śānta-rasa (śānta-poṣaka). It is entirely different in spirit from the Kāma-nindā of the B. and the S. where śṛṅgāra rasa stands subservient to śānta-rasa in a bādhya-bādhaka relation. It is therefore unthinkable that this verse, which depicts Kāma-dhikkāra by a love-lorn lady, can be rightly claimed to have been uttered by Rāṣṭrapāla in the R. Even the account of this drama given in the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan" does not warrant any such possibility. Further, the anthologies themselves do not agree on the question of the authorship of the verse under review. In any case, this stanza cannot be justifiably associated with Aśvaghoṣa's R.

Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa's Rāṣṭrapāla is entirely different from the poet (śrī-)Rājyapāla of the anthologies because the latter has been identified with the Yuva-rāja who patronized the 9th-century Pāla court-poet Abhinanda (son of Śatānanda, and thus distinct from Abhinanda, son of Jayanta of Kāśmīra and author of the Kādambarī-kathā-sāra) who wrote the Rāma-carita. This Yuva-rāja Rājyapāla is different from the second Rājyapāla-Kāmboja of the juniorPāla line.

In this context we also take up another verse of the Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa, 41/48 (= serial no. 1423), p. 248 where the word 'Rājya-pāla' is found. The verse in question is quoted underneath :—

ambhaḥ kardamatām upaiti sahasā paṅka-dravaḥ pāṁśutāṁ
pāṁśur vāraṇa-karṇa-tāla-pavanair dik-prānta-nīhāratām.

[Contd.]

years (527-170 B. C. = circa 357 B. C.) after the death of the Mahā-vīra (ca. 599-527 B. C.). Thus Bhadrabāhu is a contemporary of Candragupta the Maurya (ca. 357 B. C.). But this dating of the Jaina canonical text is based largely on unreliable traditions because the authority of the Jaina canons, which were compiled in course of the 1st Council of the Śvetāmbaras in Pāṭaliputra under the leadership of the veteran Sthūlabhadra during the reign of the Maurya Candra-gupta, was rejected by Bhadrabāhu and his adherents. Again, the 2nd Council of the Śvetāmbaras for the final compilation of the Jaināgama texts under the direction of the sthavira Devardhi (known as 'Kṣamā-śramaṇa') was held in the city of Valabhī (or Vallabhī) in Guzarat sometime between the 5th-6th centuries A. D. The Jaina-siddhāntas thus edited by Devardhi were based on traditions, both oral and written, and contained partly the original doctrines of the Mahā-vīra and partly the later elaborations and modifications in theme and language including also Devardhi's own composition. Moreover, the divergences regarding the list of the contents of many texts prove that some older texts have been lost or destroyed and later compositions interpolated. The validity of this Council also has been questioned by the Dig-ambaras. At any rate, one thing is plausible that the Jaina canons contain doctrines of different periods and as such the final codification of these teachings could not take place earlier than the 5th century A. D. — more than 1000 years after the Mahā-vīra. Therefore the traditional date of the Piṁḍa-nijjutti cannot be much relied upon.

However, it is in the "utpādanāyāṁ māyā-piṇḍa-dṛṣṭāntaḥ" section of the Piṁḍa-nijjutti (vv. 474-480 ; to be read along with

---

[Concld.]

nimnatvaṁ girayaḥ samaṁ viṣamatāṁ śūnyaṁ jana-sthānakaṁ
niryāte tvayi Rājyapāla ! bhavati tyakta-sva-bhāvaṁ jagat..

— Mahodadheḥ.

[= Śrīdharadāsa's Sad-ukti-karṇāmṛta, 3/32/5 with a reasonable variant in c (°-sthānatāṁ).]

This stanza attributed to Mahodadhi occurs in the Cāṭu-vrajyā section and as such deals with a panegyric on the abhiyāna of some king or prince. It is dubious whether the word 'Rājyapāla' stands for any proper name. In any case, this 'Rājyapāla' has nothing to do with Aśvaghoṣa's Rāṣṭrapāla.

the illuminating gloss of Malayagiri) that we find an allusion to Aśvaghoṣa's R. Here we have an altered form of the story. In this Jaina version[1] the author of the Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka is Asāḍabhūi (Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī Prākṛta ; = Sanskrit Āṣāḍhabhūti), a disciple of Dharmaruci-sūri. The scene is at first laid in Rājagṛha during the reign of King Siṁharatha. While begging for alms in the house of a famous actor named Viśvakarman in Rājagṛha the monk Asāḍabhūi having latent histrionic talent is tempted to marry the two handsome daughters of the actor. Soon he is disillusioned and abandons his wives much to his chagrin after composing a new drama named the Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka which would give them the means of livelihood ("prajīvanakam"). This drama deals with the edifying adventures of King Bharata the Cakravartin of the Ikṣvāku dynasty ("Bharata-cakravartinaś carita-prakāśakaṁ Rāṣṭrapālaṁ nāma nāṭakam"), the manifestation of the Absolute to him, and his renunciation with five hundred attendants. This drama is staged successfully by a group of five hundred Kṣatriya princes as actors under the direction of Asāḍabhūi who takes the role of the hero. At the end of the play Asāḍabhūi and the five hundred princes go to Dharmaruci-sūri and are initiated. Then Viśvakarman repeats the performance in Kusumapura (= Pāṭaliputra) whereupon another five hundred Kṣatriyas leave their homes. The people become furious at this and with a view to avoiding such alarming phenomena in future they burn the MS. of the drama ["tato lokena cintitam (—) 'evaṁ Kṣatriyāḥ pravrajanto niḥ-Kṣatriyāṁ pṛthivīṁ kariṣyantī'ti nāṭaka-pustakam agnau praveśitam"].

A comparison of this Jaina version with the Chinese account given above well reveals the following facts regarding the text of the R. :—

i) Firstly, both the versions agree on the points that the drama in question was staged successfully in Pāṭaliputra by the author himself taking probably the role of the hero, and that five hundred Kṣatriya princes of that city renounced the world as a result of the performance.

---

1) The story is given in Vijayarājendra-sūri's Abhidhāna-Rājendra, a Jaina encyclopaedia.

ii) Secondly, according to both the accounts this drama once made a remarkable religious sensation in the city life of Pāṭaliputra which undesirable phenomenon ultimately determined the later fate of this work. The stage performance was interdicted by the then ruling king or the text of this drama was burnt by the infuriated mob. In any case, the text became finally lost.

iii) Lastly, turning from the points of semblance to those of difference we find that the name of the drama only is common to both the versions. Otherwise the name of the author and the plot are different in the Buddhistic and Jinistic accounts. Thus, in the former version the author is Aśvaghoṣa and the plot relates to the story of Rāṣṭrapāla known to us from the Majjhima-nikāya and other Buddhistic sources. In the latter version, on the contrary, the dramatist is Asāḍabhūi and the subject-matter is the renunciation of King Bharata. Again, in the former the word 'Rāṣṭrapāla' is either a personal name, or a family name, while in the latter the same word is an adjective qualifying the proper name Bharata.

Despite these differences one thing still sounds reasonable that the story of Rāṣṭrapāla's indomitable urge for renunciation, and faith in religion made it extremely popular not only to both the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna schools of Buddhism but also later on its universal appeal grew so wide as to cross the frontiers of Jinism and the theme was finally adapted in the Jaina canon. Further, the Chinese version attests to the popularity of the R. in China. Moreover, the two extracts from the nigraha-sthāna section of the Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇistic texts on logic discussed above prove beyond doubt that the text of the R. survived at least upto the 6th century A. D. when a dramatic recital of the whole text was acknowledged as a highly effective means of defeating an antagonist in debate. It is also interesting that the name of Aśvaghoṣa alone is mentioned in the context of the nigraha-sthāna.

Moreover, it is striking that the R. is reviewed in the Chinese Tri-piṭaka, quoted in the Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇistic Nyāya texts, and even alluded to in the Jaina canon while the Ś. has lamentably passed into oblivion. It is possible that the R. became popular for its ethical theme and universal element of bhakti in religion while the Ś. (like the S.) became neglected because it was loaded with ample 'lalita' elements necessitated by the theory and practice of a social drama. Nevertheless neither the R. nor the Ś. has been revived through any Chinese or Tibetan translation,

We therefore conclude on the basis of the above external evidences that the text of the R. was extant as late as the 6th century A. D. — if not still later. The Buddhistic, Brāhmaṇistic and Jinistic sources thus conjointly prove the existence of Aśvaghoṣa's R.

b) *Name of the Drama* — We have seen above that the title of the drama in question is given in Dharmakīrtti's Vāda-nyāya as the "Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka". That this must be the actual title of the drama is known from a mention of the name of Rāṣṭrapāla in the list of the prominent disciples of the Buddha in the S., 16/89. There is also a brief reference to Rāṣṭrapāla's conversion in the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the B., 21/26. The name 'Rāṣṭrapāla' is translated into Tibetan as "yul-ḥkhor skyoṅ" Rāṣṭrapāla's name is also found in the Avadāna-śataka, no. 90 (in the ninth varga), Aśokāvadāna-mālā, no. 21, Mahā-vastu, vol. 3, pp. 40-41 (in the conclusion of the Puṇyavanta-Jātaka) and the Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā. Malayagiri's Vivṛti on the Jaina canonical text Piṁḍa-nijjutti also confirms the correct spelling of the name 'Rāṣṭrapāla'. This spelling is also supported by the corresponding Pāli form of the name, 'Raṭṭhapāla', which we meet with in the Majjhima-nikāya, 2(= Majjhima-paññā-saka)/4(= Rāja-vagga)/2(= Sutta number ; =serial number 82), Thera-gāthā, vv. 769-793, Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna, Aṭṭha-kathās of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, and many other Pāli texts and Aṭṭha-kathās. The Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī Prākṛta form of the name, Raṭṭhavāla', which we find in the text of the Piṁḍa-nijjutti, also corroborates our above contention.

In the light of the foregoing data it is proved that the title "Rājyapāla-nāṭaka", which is found in the MS. of Cakradhara's Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga, is obviously wrong[1]. This error is due either to the carelessness of the scribe or to the imperfectly preserved traditional citation from Dharmakīrtti handed down to Cakradhara. Should we infer from this that the Sanskrit original of Aśvaghoṣa's R. was lost and its exact title forgotten before Cakradhara (after 900 A. D.) wrote his Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga ?

---

1) This also proves once again that the verses associated with some (śrī-)Rājyapāla in the anthologies already quoted above cannot be justifiably claimed to have belonged to Aśvaghoṣa's R.

Further, the Chinese transliteration of the name 'Rāṣṭrapāla'[1] is given by Kiṅ-kara (or Kiṁ-kārya) and T'an yao as "Lai ch'a ho lo" (Bagchi)[2] in the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan". But Kumārajīva shows the name as "Lo-tch'a-ho-lo" in his Chinese translation of the original Sūtrālaṅkāra in Sanskrit ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. The former transliteration appears to be a less accurate representation of the Sanskrit name 'Rāṣṭrapāla' inasmuch as the first syllable "Lai" contains an undesirable element of epenthesis which supports the wrong name 'Rājyapāla' ("Lai tch'a" < Rājya ?). The second transliteration, on the contrary, is free from this defect and is related to the original Sanskrit name 'Rāṣṭrapāla' through the Pāli form 'Raṭṭhapāla'[3].

In any case, the above Chinese transliterations[4] have been incorrectly rendered back into Sanskrit as 'Râṣṭravara', 'Râstavara'[5] (sic ! ; = same as 'Rāṣṭravara' ?) and 'Rājahara'.

Leaving aside these wrong conjectures we come to the conclusion that the correct title of the drama under consideration is "Rāṣṭra-pāla-nāṭaka".

c) *Theme of the Drama — Its Analysis and Sources* — We have seen above that the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan" contains a Chinese

---

1) The Sanskrit name 'Rāṣṭrapāla' is translated into Chinese as "Hu-kwo".

2) This name is also shown differently as "Lai cha huo lo" (Suzuki) and "Lai tch'a houo lo" (Lévi).

3) (Sanskrit) Rāṣṭrapāla > (Pāli) Raṭṭhapāla > * Latthap^{h}āla > * Laccha(p)hala > (Chinese) Lo-tch'a-ho-lo. The changes in the spelling are obviously due to the characteristic mode of pronunciation of Sanskrit names in Chinese.

4) There is still another Chinese transliteration, viz., "Lai cha hero la", given by some scholar who renders it as 'Rāga-svara' (obviously applicable to the drama — not to its hero). But such a rendering into Sanskrit is not correct because it goes against all the authentic evidences given above.

5) It is amazing that some scholar describes the name 'Rāsta-vara' as a 'musical instrument' (!) invented by Aśvaghoṣa. But in the light of the foregoing proofs this appalling explanation is marred by asambhava-doṣa.

translation of an account of Aśvaghoṣa's R. from some anonymous original in Sanskrit (before 472 A. D.). This account deals with the composition of the R., its theme, execution and later proscription. Before we proceed with an analysis of the theme we give the details of the account as follows :—

Aśvaghoṣa went to Pāṭaliputra on a propaganda-tour. In that city he was going here and there to preach Buddhism and convert others to it. Inspired by the desire to save the residents of that city he composed a beautiful piece of music called "Lai ch'a ho lo" (or rather "Lo-tch'a-ho-lo") [= Rāṣṭrapāla].

Its classical melody was pure and elegant, and beauty and dolour were perfectly harmonised in it.

It dealt with duḥkha, śūnyatā and nairātmya.

Everything saṁskṛta (aggregate) is illusory and subject to transformation. The three dhātus (= worlds) are the prisons for imprisoning the people, and it is impossible to be happy in any of these spheres of existence.

The position of a king is only apparently high. Although he is powerful and free to do whatever he likes his position is after all impermanent. On the fateful occasion nothing can save it. It is like a cloud in the sky, scattered and destroyed in an instant.

The body is empty and pithless like a plantain tree. It is an enemy, a thief, and it is not possible to convert it into an intimate friend. It is like a cage (sic ; pot ?) full of venomous serpents. It is not possible either to love it or to get pleased with it. This is why the Buddhas always denounce the body.

It is thus that Aśvaghoṣa spoke at length of duḥkha, śūnyatā and nairātmya.

He gave this piece of music to the artists who were to execute it but they were incapable of understanding its spirit. The airs of the songs, and the sounds of the instruments were all falsified and incorrectly executed. So Aśvaghoṣa donned the white woollen dress of a layman and got into the assembly of the artists. Then assuming the leadership of the orchestra he himself played on the cymbals (or bells) and the drum and took upon himself the lute and the guitar (or lyre). Then the sounds of the instruments became elegantly melancholic and the airs of the songs became perfect. The performance gave expression to duḥkha, śūnyatā and nairātmya of all the saṁskṛta dharmas (= aggregate products).

10

At that time there were five hundred Kṣatriya princes in the city who understood the spirit of the song. They imbibed at once an aversion to the five desires, gave up the world and took religion.

But the king of Pāṭaliputra was afraid that on hearing this song his other subjects also might renounce the world, that his kingdom would be depopulated, and that his function as a king would thus be ruined. He therefore circulated forthwith an order forbidding the people to play the music any further.

Thus, in this account Aśvaghoṣa appears in his usual role of an ardent missionary 'kavi' intent on Buddhistic propaganda and conversion. This accords well with his career already discussed in the first part of this chapter.

Again, Aśvaghoṣa is depicted in the above account as a great exponent of the classical music of India of the first Christian era. This aspect of the versatile genius agrees as well with the account of his life dealt with previously[1]. It also seems that besides being the regisseur of the opera party he might have taken some part in the stage representation of the R.

Moreover, this drama was once a very effective means of Buddhistic propaganda at least in Pāṭaliputra but this popularity ultimately caused its disappearance.

Now, coming to an analysis of the theme of the R. we find the following salient features :—

i) Firstly, the R. is replete with lyrical lilt. This music is said to have been commensurate with the melancholic theme of the drama.

The preponderance of music in this melodrama thus bears resemblance to the uparūpaka variety named "Troṭaka" though śānta-rasa is evidently aṅgin in the former while śṛṅgāra-rasa is admittedly aṅgin in the latter.

However, this marvellous melody centres round the life of Rāṣṭrapāla which is popular to both the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna schools of Buddhism. Thus, the hero of the R. is naturally Rāṣṭrapāla[2].

---

1) Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of music will be referred to later on under the Kāvyāṅgas in Chapter III.

2) In the conclusion of the Puṇyavanta-Jātaka of the Mahā-vastu (vol. 3, p. 41) there is a reference to Rāṣṭrapāla's skill as a vīṇā-player. Is it possible that Aśvaghoṣa himself took the role of Rāṣṭrapāla in the stage performance of the R. in Pāṭaliputra ?

ii) Secondly, Rāṣṭrapāla is known to have embraced Buddhism out of a firm faith in the Buddha's doctrines. In the Buddhistic legends he is also celebrated for his dogged determination to take to pravrajyā. He is accredited as the bhikṣu-śreṣṭha in the Avadāna-śataka and the Aśokāvadāna-mālā[1]. He is also a famous convert like Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.

It is therefore no wonder that the story of Rāṣṭrapāla's conversion should be the choice of Aśvaghoṣa who is a preacher of Buddha-bhakti[2] during the transitional period between the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna schools and with whom conversion is the favourite theme.

Nevertheless the afore-cited Chinese account does not allow us to conjecture in what respect Aśvaghoṣa recast the legends about Rāṣṭrapāla in his R. because this account does not actually give the plot of the drama. What we can gather from this Chinese version is nothing more than a gist of the R. which deals with a popular preaching of nirveda. No higher principles of metaphysics can be found here. This popularity of Buddhistic propaganda perhaps explains why the purport of the drama is still preserved in Chinese translation while the original drama is no longer extant.

iii) Lastly, the basic ideas of the R. have close parallels in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. These parallelisms are noted underneath :—

1. a) R. —The ideas of duḥkha, śūnyatā and nairātmya .
   b) bādhātmakaṁ duḥkham idaṁ prasaktaṁ ..... [S., 16/4[a]]
   c) ..... bhavaṁ duḥkham iti vyapaśyat . . [S., 17/19[d]]
   d) sarvatra niyataṁ duḥkhaṁ na kvacid vidyate śivam (°vaṁ — sic) . . [S., 15/44[cd]]
   e) duḥkhaṁ sarvatra sarvasya vartate sarvadā ..... [S., 15/50[ab]]
   f) duḥkhaṁ bhaviṣyaty abhavad bhaved vā . . [S., 16/16[d]]
   g) duḥkham eva viśiṣyate . . [S., 11/54[d]]
   h) yatra gacchati kāyo 'yaṁ duḥkhaṁ tatrānugacchati . [S., 15/47[ab]]
   i) kāye sati vyādhi-jarādi duḥkhaṁ ..... [S., 16/13[a]]

---

1) Avadāna-śataka, vol. 2, no. 90, p. 123.

2) This popular preaching of the Mahā-yāna ideal of Buddha-bhakti confirms once again the standpoint and date of Aśvaghoṣa on the borders of the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna.

j) ... sva-bhāvo duḥkhaṁ śarīrasya ca cetasaś ca . . [S., 16/12[cd]]

k) tal lokam ārtaṁ karuṇāyamāno rogeṣu rāgādiṣu vartamānam . [B., 13/61[ab]]

l) duḥkhāya sarvaṁ na sukhāya janma . . [S., 16/9[d]]

m) tasmāj jarāder vyasanasya mūlaṁ samāsato duḥkham avehi janma . [S., 16/7[ab]]

n) pratyakṣam ālokya ca janma-duḥkhaṁ duḥkhaṁ tathātītam apīti viddhi .
yathā ca tad duḥkham idaṁ ca duḥkhaṁ duḥkhaṁ tathānāgatam apy avehi . . [S., 16/14]

o) taj janma-vyādhi-mṛtyu-vyasana-parigataṁ matvā jagad idaṁ ..... [S., 11/62[a]]

p) duḥkhārṇavād vyādhi-vikīrṇa-phenāj jarā-taraṅgān maraṇogra-vegāt .
uttārayiṣyaty ayam uhyamānam ārtaṁ jagaj jñāna-mahāplavena . . [B., 1/70]

q) anityaṁ tu jagan matvā nātra me ramate manaḥ . . [B., 4/85[cd]]

r) sahetukaṁ ca kṣayi-hetumac ca tasmād anityaṁ jagad ity avindat . . [S., 17/18[cd]]

s) yataś ca saṁskāra-gataṁ viviktaṁ na kārakaḥ kaścana vedako vā .
sāmagryataḥ saṁbhavati pravṛttiḥ śūnyaṁ tato lokam imaṁ dadarśa . . [S., 17/20]

t) yasmān nirīhaṁ jagad asva-tantraṁ naiśvaryam ekaḥ kurute kriyāsu .
tat tat pratītya prabhavanti bhāvā nirātmakaṁ tena viveda lokam (°kaṁ — sic) . . [S., 17/21]

u) duḥkhān anityāṁś ca nirātmakāṁś ca dhātūn[1] ..... [S., 16/47[cd]]

v) athāśuciṁ duḥkham anityam asvaṁ nirātmakaṁ caiva cikāya kāyam (°yaṁ — sic) . . [S., 17/16[cd]]

w) anityatas tatra hi śūnyataś ca nirātmato duḥkhata eva cāpi . [S., 17/17[ab]]

2. a) R. — All the saṁskṛta-dharmas (= aggregate products) are illusory and characterized by transformation.

1) Cf. dhātūn hi ṣaḍ bhū-salilānalādīn ..... [S., 16/48[a]]

b) yataś ca saṁskāra-gataṁ viviktaṁ ....
sāmagryataḥ saṁbhavati pravṛttiḥ śūnyaṁ tato lokam
imaṁ dadarśa . . [S., 17/20^{acd}]

c) tat saumya lolaṁ parigamya lokaṁ māyopamaṁ citram
ivendrajālam (°laṁ — sic) . [S., 5/45^{ab}]

d) niḥsāraṁ paśyato lokaṁ toya-budbuda-durbalam
(°laṁ — sic) . [S., 15/63^{ab}]

e) asāram asv-antam aniścitaṁ jagaj jagaty anitye ...
[S., 9/16^{cd}]

f) jagati kṣaya-dharmake ... [B., 5/18^{a}]

g) jagataś ca yadā dhruvo viyogo ... [B., 5/38^{a}]

3. a) R. — There is no happiness in the three spheres of existence.

b) ahaṁ punar bhīrur atīva-viklavo jarā-vipad-vyādhi-bhayaṁ vicintayan.
labhe na śāntiṁ na dhṛtiṁ kuto ratiṁ niśāmayan dīptam ivāgninā jagat . . [B., 4/98]

c) śarma nāpnoti na śreyaś calendriyam ato jagat . .
[S., 13/48^{cd}]

d) kāmādiṣu jagat saktaṁ na vetti sukham avyayam (°yaṁ— sic) . . [S., 12/24^{cd}]

e) kāmābhibhūtā hi na yānti śarma tripiṣṭape kiṁ bata martya-loke. [B., 11/10^{ab}]

f) lokasyābhyāhatasyāsya duḥkhaiḥ śārīra-mānasaiḥ.
kṣemaḥ kaścin na deśo 'sti svastho yatra gato bhavet . .
[S., 15/49]

4. a) R. — The status of a king is pitiable and impermanent. His power and freedom of will are futile.

b) lakṣmyāṁ mahatyām api vartamānas tṛṣṇābhibhūtas tv anukampitavyaḥ.
prāpnoti yaḥ śānti-sukhaṁ na ceha paratra duḥkhaiḥ pratigṛhyate ca . . [B., 11/55]

c) rājye nṛpas tyāgini bahv-amitre viśvāsam āgacchati ced vipannaḥ.
athāpi viśrambham upaiti neha kiṁ nāma saukhyaṁ cakitasya rājñaḥ . . [B., 11/46]

d) śramaḥ parārthe nanu rāja-bhāvaḥ . . [B., 11/47^{d}]

e) dṛṣṭvā vimiśrāṁ sukha-duḥkhatāṁ me rājyaṁ ca dāsyaṁ ca mataṁ samānam.

nityaṁ hasaty eva hi naiva rājā na cāpi saṁtapyata eva dāsaḥ . . [B., 11/44]

f) kiṁ ca rājarṣibhis tāvad asurair vā surādibhiḥ.
Mahendrāḥ śataśaḥ petur māhātmyam api na sthiram (°raṁ — sic) . . [S., 11/48]

g) ājñā nṛpatve 'bhyadhiketi yat syān mahānti duḥkhāny ata eva rājñaḥ.
āsaṅga-kāṣṭhapratimo hi rājā lokasya hetoḥ parikhedam eti . . [B., 11/45][1]

h) ato viditvā balā-vīryamāninaṁ balānvitānām avamarditaṁ balam (°laṁ — sic).
jagaj jarā-mṛtyu-vaśaṁ vicārayan bale 'bhimānaṁ na vidhātum arhasi . . [S., 9/21][2]

5. a) R. — The body is empty and pithless like a plantain tree. It is an enemy, a thief, and it is not possible to convert it into an intimate friend It is like a cage (sic ; pot ?) full of poisonous snakes.

b) tvak-snāyu-medo-rudhirāsthi-māṁsa-keśādinā(')medhya-gaṇena pūrṇam (°rṇaṁ — sic).
tataḥ sa kāyaṁ samavekṣamāṇaḥ sāraṁ vicintyā(')ṇv api nopalebhe . . [S., 17/36][3]

c) indriyāṇām upaśamād arīṇāṁ nigrahād iva.
[S., 13/38ab]

d) tasmād eṣām akuśalakarāṇām arīṇāṁ cakṣur-ghrāṇa-śravaṇa-rasana-sparśanānām (°nāṁ — sic).
[S., 13/56ab]

---

1) Cf. gaṇa-dāsasya te garvaḥ ṣāḍ-bhāgena bhṛtasya kaḥ. [Candrakīrtti]

2) Compare :—

a) Ś. frg. no. (K) 20a, 1. 4 — ...... nadī-kūla-durbbale śarīre ...

b) idaṁ hi rogāyatanaṁ jarā-vaśaṁ nadī-taṭānokahavac calācalam (°laṁ — sic).
na vetsi dehaṁ jala-phena-durbalaṁ balasthatām ātmani yena manyase . . [S., 9/6]

3) Cf. kadalī-garbha-niḥsāraḥ saṁsāra iti niścayaḥ . .
[B., 14/6cd]

Here the upamāna 'kadalī-garbha' relates to the upameya 'saṁsāra' while the same upamāna is connected with the upameya 'kāya' (body) in the Chinese account given above.

e) dviṣadbhiḥ śatrubhiḥ kaścit kadācit pīḍyate na vā.
indriyair bādhyate sarvaḥ sarvatra ca sadaiva ca ..
[S., 13/32]

f) kaḥ kāma-saṁjñān mṛgayeta śatrūn .. [B., 11/17[d]]

g) sapatnabhūteṣv aśiveṣu teṣu kāmeṣu kasyātmavato ratiḥ syāt .. [B., 11/33[cd]]

h) aribhūteṣv anityeṣu satataṁ duḥkha-hetuṣu.
kāmādiṣu .... [S., 12/24[abc]]

i) bhetavyaṁ na tathā śatror nāgner nāher na cāśaneḥ.
indriyebhyo yathā svebhyas tair ajasraṁ hi hanyate ..
[S., 13/31]

j) kāmā hy anityāḥ kuśalārtha-caurā riktāś ca māyā-sadṛśāś ca loke. [B., 11/9[ab]]

k) tasmāt tān (= kāmān) mūlataś chindhi mitra-saṁjñān arīn iva .. [S., 15/7[cd]]

l) nirvṛtaḥ ko bhavet kāyaṁ mahā-bhūtāśrayaṁ vahan.
paraspara-viruddhānām ahīnām iva bhājanam (°naṁ — sic) .. [S., 15/56][1)]

m) yadāmbu-bhū-vāyv-analāś ca dhātavaḥ sadā viruddhā viṣamā ivoragāḥ.
bhavanty anarthāya śarīram āśritāḥ kathaṁ balaṁ roga-vidho vyavasyasi . [S., 9/12]

n) idaṁ hi śayyāsana-pāna-bhojanair guṇaiḥ śarīraṁ ciram apy avekṣitam (°taṁ — sic).
na marṣayaty ekam api vyatikramaṁ yato mahāśīviṣavat prakupyati .. [S., 9/14][2)]

From this analysis of the theme of the R. as per the Chinese account given above let us now turn to the available sources of the

---

1) Cf. "When the kings saw the Mallas thus arrayed and coming forth to fight, like snakes which have been confined in a jar, they made up their minds to fight." [B., 28/15 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

Here the upamāna "the snakes" is related to the upameya "the Mallas" while the same upamāna is construed with the upameya "the mahā-bhūtas" in the afore-cited S., 15/56 and the Chinese account given above.

2) Such examples may be multiplied at pleasure.

probable plot of this drama. As we have seen before, Rāṣṭrapāla is a popular figure of both the Hīna-yāna and the Mahā-yāna schools of Buddhism. So the different aspects of the life of Rāṣṭrapāla are to be found in the works of both these schools. For the facilitation of our discussion these works may be classified under the following three heads[1] :—

i) Firstly, some of the works deal with the story of Rāṣṭrapāla's firm resolve to renounce the family life and his unflinching devotion to the Buddha and his doctrines. They narrate his conversion by the Buddha and attainment of Arhatship. At this point some legends add the account of Rāṣṭrapāla's return to his parents and his sermon to his father and later to King Kauravya while other texts relate the stories of Rāṣṭrapāla's former births.

ii) Secondly, there are certain works which supplement some interesting details to the legends falling under the first group. The writings which come under the present group are mostly the Aṭṭha-kathās or commentaries by Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla on some Tri-piṭaka texts.

iii) Lastly, there are also works which contain incidental references to Rāṣṭrapāla and some aspect or other of his life.

Thus, the story of Rāṣṭrapāla is traceable in the Sutta and the Vinaya texts and the Aṭṭha-kathās thereon.

From the said three classes of works we can no doubt collect the varied materials regarding the life of Rāṣṭrapāla. Even though the legends do not agree in some details they at least help us to form some idea of the pious life of this Buddhist saint and the essence of his teachings. But it is not possible to ascertain the details of the particular legend or legends which might have stirred the imagination of Aśvaghoṣa so long as the text of his R. or a dependable summary of its plot is not brought to light. Nevertheless we may conjecture on the basis of the data furnished by the Chinese account discussed above that Aśvaghoṣa took his story most probably from the Majjhima-nikāya of the Tri-piṭaka. He infused the ideal of Buddha-bhakti of the rising Mahā-yāna into the original story of the Hīna-yāna and thus made himself popular to both the schools alike.

---

1) The detailed references to the literature on Rāṣṭrapāla have been collected by Mabel Bode and Malalasekera and so we need not recapitulate them here.

However, according to the Majjhima-nikāya account[1] Raṭṭhapāla (Pāli ; = Sanskrit Rāṣṭrapāla)[2] came of a principal noble family (gṛha-pati-putra)[3] at Thullakoṭṭhita [Pāli ; = Sanskrit Sthūlakoṣṭhaka (phonetically Sthūlakoṣṭhita ?)], a town in Kuru country. He was the only son of his rich parents. This beloved boy was thus born and brought up in luxury. Gradually he grew up into a young man and entered the family life. One day he happened to witness the conversion of a Brāhmaṇa householder by the Buddha who was then sojourning[4] with his disciples at Thullakoṭṭhita and preaching there. At this Raṭṭhapāla resolved to renounce the world and besought the Buddha to initiate him into the new faith. But the Buddha declined to take Raṭṭhapāla into the monastic order so long as the latter could not obtain the permission of his parents.

So Raṭṭhapāla returned home and approached his parents thrice[5]

1) 2 (= Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka or °-paññāsaka)/4(= Rāja-vagga = Vagga IX)/2(= Raṭṭhapāla-sutta = serial no. 82 of the PTS. edn.). This Raṭṭhapāla-sutta must be distinguished from the Mahā-yāna Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra alias Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā to be touched upon later on.

2) The name 'Raṭṭhapāla' is explained by some as a 'family-name'.

3) Though the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta finds its place in the Rāja-vagga of the Majjhima-nikāya still Raṭṭhapāla is not described there as a prince. Aśvaghoṣa seems to have followed the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta when he says in his B., 21/26 that Rāṣṭrapāla's wealth was equal to that of a king. The Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna (vv. 10-11) also refers to Raṭṭhapāla's birth in a 'mahā-bhoga aḍḍha-kula'. But in the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (no. 90) of the Avadāna-śataka Rāṣṭrapāla is represented as the nephew ('bhrātṛ-putra') of the king named Kauravya. According to the Mahā-vastu (vol. 3, pp. 40-41) Rāṣṭrapāla was a minister's son (amātya-putra). The Tibetan tradition shows him as the son of King Udayana and both the father and the son are said to have been converted by the Buddha (Lacôte, Bṛhat-Kathā, p. 263). Rāṣṭrapāla's father is also described by some as a very wealthy councillor.

4) According to the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (op. cit.) the Buddha was sojourning in the forest ('vanaṣaṇḍa') of Sthūlakoṣṭhaka.

5) According to the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (op. cit.) Rāṣṭrapāla entreated his parents only once.

for their consent to his renunciation. But being refused thrice by them he determined to fast unto death. The parents tried to soften him thrice but could not elicit any reply from him[1]. Then his associates came and tried thrice to persuade him to break his fast but all in vain. At last on the practical advice of his friends his parents had to yield. They granted him the necessary permission only after extracting a promise[2] from him that he must see them after attaining Arhatship.

Then Raṭṭhapāla went to the Buddha and was initiated. After some time the Buddha went to Śrāvastī to reside at the Jetavana of Anāthapiṇḍika. Raṭṭhapāla also followed the Buddha to Śrāvastī and became an Arhat there within a short time. Then with the Buddha's permission Raṭṭhapāla returned to Thullakoṭṭhita to see his parents.

In his native land Raṭṭhapāla stayed at the 'Deer-park' of King Koravya (Pāli ;= Sanskrit Kauravya) lying adjacent to Thulla-koṭṭhita. From this park he went to his father's house for begging for alms there. His father mistook him for one of those Buddhist monks who took their only son away from the family and so abused him without giving him any almsfood. Then a slave-woman of the same caste as Raṭṭhapāla came out of the house to throw away some stale rice in the street. She also failed to recognize Raṭṭhapāla when he begged that putrefied food of her, and thus unknowingly poured that substance into his almsbowl. But soon she identified him and then came all possible entreaties from his father to come back to the family life full of riches and pleasure. Even the former wives of Raṭṭhapāla failed to impress on him with all their charms and ornaments. When he addressed them as sisters they swooned and fell to the ground. He was well convinced of the futility of the tri-varga-sevā. He then took his meal served by his father and uttered some epigrammatic gāthās on the impermanence of the world of fictitious appearances, futility of wealth, emptiness and impurity of the body and vanity of beauty. After this preaching to evoke nirveda in the minds of his father and other members of the house-

---

1) The Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (op. cit.) adds that Rāṣṭrapāla's kinsmen also tried in vain to dissuade him from his resolve.

2) The Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (op. cit.) makes no mention of this condition.

hold Raṭṭhapāla departed for his shelter in the 'Deer-park' where the old King Koravya came to see him. Then ensued the dialogue between the king and Raṭṭhapāla. The king asked Raṭṭhapāla the reasons for the latter's renunciation as the latter did not sustain any loss [Pāli pārijuñña < Sanskrit pārijīrṇya ; 'ī' in 'jī' of the Sanskrit form > 'u' in 'ju' of the Pāli form (through dissimilation) ; √jṛ(ṣ) vayo-hānau (daivādika parasmaipadin seṭ dhātu) > hāni-sāmānya (semantic extension through lakṣaṇā)] in respect of jarā, vyādhi, bhoga and jñāti. Thereupon Raṭṭhapāla delivered a sermon dealing with the transitoriness of the world and the futility of strength, enjoyment and thirst for attachment. The world is being carried away helplessly. No possession is real. Lust and greed give no satiety. Life in this world of continual flux is impermanent and subject to transformation. So religion is the only panacea to get abiding happiness in this world. With these dharmoddeśas ends the famous Raṭṭhapāla-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya.

Some interesting details of this story have been supplied by Buddhaghosa in the Papañca-sūdanī and Dhammapāla in the Līn-attha-ppakāsinī.

The same story has been retold in the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (no. 90) in the Avadāna-śataka (which must be dated earlier than the middle of the third century A. D. when this work was translated into Chinese) with some variations. Some of these differences have been shown above in the foot-notes. A comparison of the Sanskrit Rāṣṭrapālā-vadāna with the Pāli Raṭṭhapāla-sutta summarized above well reveals the fact that the Pāli account gives us the original story on which the Sanskrit account is founded. The deviations are nothing more than later elaborations. Despite the minor variations there is on the whole a general agreement between the Sutta and the Avadāna accounts running up to the attainment of Arhatship by Raṭṭhapāla. No doubt the story proper relates to Raṭṭhapāla's unshakable resolve to become a recluse, his conversion by the Buddha and winning Arhatship. After this main story the two accounts differ from each other. The Pāli story narrates the return of Raṭṭhapāla to his father's house to see his parents in pursuance of his promise to them before they granted him the necessary permission for renunciation, and his sermon on nirveda to his father and King Koravya. The Sanskrit account, on the contrary, omits the points about Rāṣṭrapāla's promise and his returning home after attaining Arhatship. Here we

find instead the story of Rāṣṭrapāla's three previous births in each of which he did some act of piety[1]. It is thus evident that the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna is a later version which has added a fantastic colour to the simple story of the saint that we find in the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta.

There is also another redaction of the same story in the Aśokāvadāna-mālā, no. 21 which is a Sanskrit paraphrase of the Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna noted above. Here also we meet with some minor variations which are not worth considering in our present discussions.

There are avowedly other references to the varied aspects of the life of Raṭṭhapāla in many other works[2]. These references have been placed together by Mabel Bode and Malalasekera. We need not recount them here because it is fruitless to pursue the immaterial details when we do not possess either the text of the R. or any fair idea of its plot proper.

Leaving aside the unnecessary details we may however compare the older story of the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta in the Majjhima-nikāya with its two later redactions in the Avadāna-śataka (no. 90) and

---

1) Similarly the Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna relates the legend of Raṭṭhapāla's munificence in a former birth and a prophecy about his rebirth. It appears that the Sanskrit Rāṣṭrapālāvadāna (as well as its Sanskrit paraphrase in the Aśokāvadāna-mālā to be discussed later on) tallies with the Pāli Raṭṭhapāla-sutta as regards the narration of Rāṣṭrapāla's present birth and with the Pāli Raṭṭhapāla-Apadāna in respect of the tendency to depict the story of his previous births. The Avadāna thus seems to be an elaboration of both the Sutta and the Apadāna.

Further, Malalasekera refers to other previous births of Raṭṭhapāla.

But we need not enter into these unnecessary details because these would not be profitable for the present purpose.

2) The Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra alias Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā of the Mahā-yāna sect of Buddhism deals with the Buddha's reply to Rāṣṭrapāla's questions on the qualities (dharmas) of a Bodhi-sattva. This sūtra is one of the 49 parts of the Ratna-kūṭa class of texts. It was translated into Chinese between 585-592 A. D. This Sanskrit Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra has nothing but the name in common with the Pāli Raṭṭhapāla-sutta (no. 82) of the Majjhima-nikāya.

the Aśokāvadāna-mālā (no. 21). This comparison will clearly show that the subject-matter of the original story is doubtlessly Raṭṭhapāla's renunciation through faith, his conversion by the Buddha and his attainment of Arhatship. This nucleus of the Rāṣṭrapāla legend is no doubt common to the three versions. After this the original Sutta account ends in two popular sermons on nirveda while the two later versions developed in a different way.

Now, coming to the probable plot of Aśvaghoṣa's R. we observe that he most likely followed the ballad-like Sutta story as it was impossible for him to consult the two later Avadāna versions. Our proposition becomes doubly confirmed when we consider the fact that the gist of the R. as given in the "Fu fa tsang yin yuan chuan" finds a remarkable correspondence with the two sermons of Raṭṭhapāla in the concluding part of the Sutta story. We mark in both the same popular preaching of nirveda. The world is a continual flux of unreal aggregates. The body is pithless and filthy. Physical beauty and strength are unstable. Wealth does not bring satiety to any person. Further, Raṭṭhapāla's dharmoddeśa to King Koravya has a strange parallel in the Buddha's sermon to King Śreṇya (=Bimbisāra) in the B., Canto XI. In both the apparently high status of a king and the tri-varga-sevā (= equal attachment to dharma, artha and kāma in family life) are denounced. Moreover, the concordance of ideas of the afore-mentioned gist of the R. on the one hand and the B. and the S. on the other well corroborates our standpoint. It is therefore quite natural that the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa should take up the Sutta story, which contains the potentialities of a drama, and give proper 'nāṭaka' shape to it. We may also presume that he had to introduce some points of deviation and innovation in his R. in accordance with the theory and practice of nāṭakas prevalent in his time. But we are not in a position to determine these points now. It also seems reasonable that the R. consisted of a minimum of five Acts. The upper limit is impossible to locate today. The above gist of the R. in Chinese translation does not help us in this matter. There is also no ground to infer that this gist depicts the last scene of the R. Virtually we possess only the purport of the whole drama without any reference to Act or scene.

d) *Authenticity of the Rāṣṭrapāla-nāṭaka* — The foregoing data regarding the textual position of the R. do not present a satisfactory

picture. Of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works the R. has sustained the heaviest loss because no manuscript of this nāṭaka has been discovered as yet. Its status becomes all the more worse when we consider the fact that its name does not appear on the lists of the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the Buddhist Tri-piṭaka. Like the S. and the Ś. this drama too has not been graced with any translation. It is also true that Aśvaghoṣa does not give any direct proof of his composition of the R. though he mentions the name of Rāṣṭrapāla in the S., 16/89 and refers to his conversion in the B., 21/26. Nevertheless the gist of this drama in Chinese translation, the brief but important citation from the prastāvanā in the nigraha-sthāna section of Buddhistic and Brāhmaṇistic texts on logic, a significant allusion to this drama in the Jaina Canon, and above all the concordance of ideas of the R. with the B. and the S. prove conjointly the authenticity of the R.

We therefore conclude that the R. as based on the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya is a genuine work of Aśvaghoṣa in which śānta-rasa is apparently aṅgin and popular preaching of nirveda prevails. This drama is also of unique importance because here (as in the Ś.) śānta-rasa predominates while in the later nāṭakas śṛṅgāra or vīra is the main sentiment according to theory and practice.

Further, Aśvaghoṣa viewed the conversion of Rāṣṭrapāla as a significant phenomenon like that of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. These three are known as the chief disciples of the Buddha. As Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are eulogized as the 'Dharma-senā-pati' and 'Ṛddhi-vikalpeśvara' respectively so also Rāṣṭrapāla is accredited as the " ...... agro ...... bhikṣūṇāṁ ...... śrāvakāṇām ...... " (Avadāna-śataka, vol. 2, no. 90, p. 123) and " ...... agro ...... sarva-bhikṣūṇāṁ puṇyavāñchinām/..................... Rāṣṭrapālo 'yaṁ śraddhālur bhaktimān sudhīḥ (Speyer's textual suggestion incorporated here)// " (Aśokāvadāna-mālā as quoted in the Avadāna-śataka, op. cit., p. 123, f.-n. 1). It is thus quite natural that Aśvaghoṣa should depict the conversion of Rāṣṭrapāla in his R.

A. ii) *A Tentative Chronology of Aśvaghoṣa's Four Authentic Kāvyas.*

So far we have dealt with the textual conditions and other cognate matters pertaining to the four authentic works of Aśvaghoṣa. After considering the strikingly similar colophons to the B., S. and Ś. all

three mentioning the metronymic of Aśvaghoṣa, and the numerous cases of the repetition of his favourite sets of ideas and expressions found in all the four afore-said works, there cannot be any doubt about the identity of their authorship. Let us now take up the question of a probable chronology of these four works.

Of the above four kāvyas the B., as we already know, treats of the whole biography of the Buddha beginning with his birth and ending in his death and the division of his relics. The story is depicted on a gigantic canvas of 28 cantos to touch upon briefly all possible aspects of the life of the Buddha. This racy account concentrates chiefly on the more or less matter-of-fact narration in the true Epic style and there is not enough scope for the leisurely elaboration of the individual facets and the display of the secular elements. Further, the B. lacks that mellifluous felicity which graces the consummate product S. Moreover, the extant Sanskrit text of the B. does not exhibit much metrical variety like the more mature work S. It is therefore quite pertinent to suppose that Aśvaghoṣa set his hand at first to the B. which paved the path for his three other kāvyas.

The B. is followed by the S. which deals with the conversion of the Buddha's half-brother Nanda and thus dilates upon a particular episode of the Buddha's life. The initiation of Nanda (along with Ānanda, Kṛmila and some others) is mentioned summarily in only one verse in the B. (19/39) while this single incident has been elaborated into the S., a florid epic of full 18 cantos overladen with lavish 'lalita' elements. In the S. Aśvaghoṣa treads more assured because here, more than elsewhere, the wordings are highly refined, and the cadence of the rare and complex metrical schemes like Vardhamāna and Kusumita-latā-vellitā bears no doubt the mark of a ripe talent. The S. therefore is decidedly later than the B.

After the above two ornate epics comes the Ś. which, as we have seen before, deals with the initiation of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The B. already gives a brief account of this conversion in 21 verses (17/3-23), and the names of these two prominent disciples of the Buddha are also mentioned incidentally (along with the names of Subāhu, Cunda and other noted converts) in only one verse of the S. (16/91). But in the Ś. this single episode of the Buddha's biography has been amplified with ample historical imagination and retold under the ornate garb of a typical 'social drama' (= prakaraṇa) of 9 Acts,

The Ś. strikes a new note in so far as the Buddha is shown here as initiating two persons outside his pre-pravrajyā family while in the S. he is depicted as converting his half-brother Nanda. The Ś. too is surcharged with plenty of popular elements in the form of a hetaera, a jester and a villain and appropriate śṛṅgāra scenes. Even in the existing fragments of this drama we mark the definite traces of the use of two uncommon classical metres, viz., Hariṇī [having 17 syllables in each pāda ; utilised once in the fragment no. (K) 34] and Suvadanā[1] [consisting of 20 syllables in each pāda ; employed five times in all in the fragments numbered (K) 1, 10, 33, 34 and 62], and a longer metre, viz., Srag-dharā [comprising 21 syllables in each pāda ; used twice in the fragment nos. (K) 27 and 79][2].

Lastly comes the R. which, as we have already seen, is most likely a dramatized version of the Raṭṭhapāla-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya. The conversion of Rāṣṭrapāla is noted already in only one verse of the B. (21/26) and his name (along with the names of Kṣemā, Ajita and other leading disciples of the Buddha) is found also in a stanza of the S. (16/89). The episode of his conversion has been developed in the R. In this drama also, as in the Ś., the hero Rāṣṭrapāla is a famous convert outside the Buddha's former family. We desist from further observation on the textual matters of the R. so long as a fairly discussable text of this play is not brought to light.

Anyway, the common aim of all these four kāvyas is preaching and through it conversion. The missionary kavi Aśvaghoṣa, as we already know, adopted the then popular medium of ornate kāvyas for the propagation of Buddhism. His above kāvyas contain the kernel of the Buddha's teachings. Of these four works the B. no doubt stands first in importance as the central story to which the S., Ś. and R. form, so to say, the three detailed supplements. However, considering the foregoing data one would be naturally inclined to think that Aśvaghoṣa composed these works in due succession.

Now, with these observations on the four authentic kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa we pass on to the examination of the apocryphal works.

---

1) Also used twice in the S. (11/62 and 18/64).

2) There is also the remains of an Āryā metre (?) in the Ś. fragment no. (K) 8.

B. *The Apocryphal Works*

I. *General Introduction* — Some twenty works are known to exist in Sanskrit as well as in the Tibetan and Chinese translations which are attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. These works may be divided into two broad classes according as they are preserved in Sanskrit or not. But before we mention their names and supply some available details under the respective categories we propose to make some relevant observations relating to their spurious character. These points are noted below :—

1) Firstly, in certain cases the Sanskrit text alone or the Tibetan or Chinese translation only has survived today and we are not in an advantageous position to make a mutual comparison for settling the question of their genuineness. The situation has not improved enough even in those few cases which admit of a profitable collation because here too the works in question cannot stand in any way the other tests of authenticity.

2) Secondly, the colophons to some of the works are not uniform as regards the ascription.

3) Thirdly, the attribution in certain cases is due to the wrong identification of other Buddhist writers with Aśvaghoṣa.

4) Fourthly, the particular metronymic [viz , 'Suvarṇṇākṣiputra' (in the Ś.) or 'Suvarṇākṣīputra' (in the S.)[1] of Aśvaghoṣa is wanting in all the colophons which contain his name. The mere mention of his name in a colophon is by no means a definite criterion of the authorship. The appellations like 'ācārya', 'bhadanta' and others are too common to prove the alleged authenticity.

5) Fifthly, all the above works deal with some aspect or other of highly developed Mahā-yāna (including Buddhistic Tantra and some miscellaneous matters) which cannot find any counterpart in Aśvaghoṣa's four authentic kāvyas.

6) Lastly, the style of the questionable Sanskrit texts (leaving aside those cases where the lost Sanskrit originals have to be inferred from the extant Tibetan and Chinese translations) lacks in every

1) The Sanskrit colophon to the B. is missing though the Tibetan colophon to this work (Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations, p. 286) shows this metronymic. However, no MS. of the R. has survived today.

respect the subtle charms of the poetic wordings which adorn the genuine works of Aśvaghoṣa.

From the foregoing evidences we thus conclude that the author (or authors) of the apocryphal works cannot be claimed to have been identical with the kavi Aśvaghoṣa who composed the four authentic kāvyas. The similarity of ideas and expressions is so puerile and remote that it cannot be adduced in favour of the problematic works. It is reasonable to think that these works of full-blown Mahā-yāna were probably attributed to the 'mahā-kavi' Aśvaghoṣa by some negligent scribes — if not by the eponymous authors or the careless translators or the unscrupulous cataloguers of the Tri-piṭaka — for seeking authority for these later works. The cause for such inaccurate ascriptions is perhaps the fabulous fame of the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa who passed into a legendary figure when the controversial works were composed. This is indeed the fate of many great writers. As an alternate explanation for such wrong imputation, one might suggest that there was more than one Aśvaghoṣa and as such our Aśvaghoṣa (= the author of the four afore-said authentic kāvyas) must be distinguished from other Aśvaghoṣas.

After these preliminary and general discussions on the examination of the spurious works we may now mention below the names of these works adding some requisite details to them :—

Group I (= Works available in Sanskrit with or without the Tibetan and Chinese Translations) :

1) *Vajra-sūcī*[1] — The Sanskrit colophon ascribes this text to some siddhācārya Aśvaghoṣa ["kṛtir iyaṁ siddhā(' ')cāryā(')śvaghoṣa-pādānām iti"].

The corresponding Chinese version, the "Cin-kāṅ-can-lun"[2] [= Vajra-sūcī(-śāstra)], attributes the Sanskrit text to the Bodhisattva Fā-chan (or "Fa tch'eng" as in the Hōbōgirin Index; = Hōshō in Japanese) or Dharmayaśas [Nanjio, col. 288, no. 1303 and Appendix I, col. 373, no. 19; same as Dharmakīrtti (= the author of

1) See entry no. 5 c in the Select Bibliography, p. xvi.

2) The Hōbōgirin Index (under no. 1642) shows this work as the "Kin kang tcheou louen" (= Kongōshinron in Japanese transcription).

the Vāda-nyāya) ?]. The Chinese translation comprising nine leaves was made between 973 and 981 A. D. by Fā-thien (= Hōten in Japanese as in the Hōbōgirin Index; = Dharmadeva ?)[1] of the (Pe) Suṅ or the later (or Northern) Suṅ dynasty of the Cāo family (960-1127 A. D.).

This translation makes certain omissions and commissions, alterations and additions, and renders some passages obscure. It also bears the character of an elaborate and expository commentary.

Anyway, I-tsing does not refer to this work in his memoirs.

Besides, there is no parallel Tibetan translation in the Bstan-ḥgyur.

However, the Sanskrit Vajra-sūcī has been edited several times since its discovery in the early nineteenth century. This petty yet popular text has also been commented upon in Sanskrit (though adversely) and translated into English, German and Japanese.

Now, the Sanskrit Vajra-sūcī disputes the popular notion about Brāhmaṇahood and tries to establish the true Brāhmaṇa-lakṣaṇa[2]. What strikes us most is that the author of this small text quotes liberally from the Śruti, Manu-smṛti, Mahā-Bhārata, Hari-vaṁśa and Purāṇa — and not from any Buddhistic work like the Dhammapada — with a view to disproving the misconception of the pūrva-pakṣa and vindicating the uttara-pakṣa as well as the siddhānta-pakṣa Thus the author clearly exhibits his leaning to the Brāhmaṇistic

---

1) Nanjio (Appendix II, cols. 449-451, no. 159) informs us that Fā-thien was a śramaṇa of the Nālandā monastery of Magadha (in Central India) and translated numerous works in 973-1001 A.D. He changed his name into Fā-hhien (= Hōken in Japanese) in 982 A.D. in which year he received the title Chvān-ciāo-tā-sh' (Cwhān-° — sic ; or "Tch'ouan kiao ta che" = Dengyōdaishi in Japanese transcription) from the Emperor Thāi-tsuṅ (976-997 A.D.). He died in 1001 A.D. and his posthumous title was Hhüen-ciāo-shān-sh' (or "Hiuan kio fa che" as in the Hōbōgirin Index; = Genka-kuhōshi in Japanese transcription).

2) It is also interesting that the parable no. 77 of the Sūtrālaṅkāra (Huber's French translation, chapter 15, pp. 437-441), another controversial work ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa in the Chinese translation, deals with the refutation of the Hindu caste-system.

standpoint. It is therefore wrong to say that the Vajra-sūcī is a refutation of the four Vedas.

The arguments of the Vajra-sūcī are also found in the Guru's advice to Subhūti as depicted in the Kalpa-drumā(')vadāna-mālā, no. 10, vv. 89-281. It is probable that the Avadāna story utilised the Vajra-sūcī.

But what is more interesting is that the Buddhistic Vajra-sūcī finds its close parallel in the Hinduistic Vajra-sūcy-upaniṣad, a minor Upaniṣad which passes in the name of the celebrated Śaṅkarācārya. Both the works clarify the real significance of a correct Brāhmaṇa-lakṣaṇa.

It is not gainsaid that the names of some eminent mythological personages, which occur in the controversial Vajra-sūcī, are also met with in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. But this is merely a 'kāka-tālīya' coincidence because the context in the Vajra-sūcī is the unusual birth of the said persons while that in the B. and the S. is the moral degradation of some of them. Moreover, this casual agreement cannot be looked upon as an infallible criterion of the authenticity of the Vajra-sūcī because some of these stock names are found as well in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā and Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa's Harṣa-carita, and it is on this account only we are not certainly going to associate the two last-mentioned prose kāvyas with the name of Aśvaghoṣa.

Anyway, the Vajra-sūcī has nothing in common with the authentic works of the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa. So it is wrong to associate the Vajra-sūcī with our Aśvaghoṣa[1].

2) *Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā*[2] — The Sanskrit text of the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā has been restored from a Chinese transliteration and a Tibetan translation. The text is a collection of 29 stanzas composed in four classical metres. Of these four Srag-dharā occupies the first place having sixteen verses (nos. 1-13, 15-16 and 20) for its share while Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Vasanta-tilakā and Indra-vajrā cover eight (nos. 22-29), four (nos. 14, 17-18 and 21) and one (no. 19 only) verses respectively. Anyway, the restored text bears no colophon.

---

1) It is therefore nothing beyond a mere idle conjecture to say that the Vajra-sūcī was originally composed by Aśvaghoṣa and its later redaction was made by Dharmakīrtti.

2) See entry no. 6 d in the Select Bibliography, p. xvi.

The Chinese transliteration entitled the "Cien-chui-fān-tsān" (or Kien tch'ouai fan tsan ; = Kenchibonsan in Japanese transcription)[1] was made by Fā-thien (Dharmadeva ?) in 973-981 A. D. It consists of 10 leaves (Nanjio, col. 238, no. 1081).

The Tibetan translation under the name of the "gaṇḍiḥi bstod-pa thsigs-su bcad-pa" was made by Rgyal-baḥi sde (= Jayasena or Jinasena) and the Lo-tsā-ba (= anuvādaka) Dharma yon-tan (Dharmaguṇa). This translation finds its place in the Bstod-thsogs (= Stotrasaṅgraha) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (folio nos. 210ᵇ, 1 - 214ᵃ, 1 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 1/40 ; = Ka. 178a¹ - 181a² — Sendai Catalogue, no. 1149).

However, the Sanskrit text along with the Chinese transliteration and Tibetan translation was edited at first by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein in 1913[2]. Then in 1933 Johnston re-edited the Sanskrit text and rendered it into English.

Now, this poem, as the name implies, is a hymn in praise of the Gaṇḍī, the Buddhist monastery gong. The Gaṇḍī consists of a long symmetrically shaped piece of wood whence different sounds are produced by striking it with a short wooden club[3]. These sounds have been conveyed phonetically in this poem through some meaningless syllables like 'jhabhram', 'jhibhram', etc. which are supposed to carry some religious message for the Buddhists[4].

The first eleven verses of the poem depict the Buddha-namaskāra by way of a eulogy of the Buddha for his victory over Māra's host, and a prayer for the good (āśis) of the listeners.

Then come the description and function of the Gaṇḍī. The Gaṇḍī is said to have accompanied the Buddha when he descended to the earth from heaven (verse no. 23ᶜ). This gong has been symbolised as the 'dharma-dūtī' of the Dharma-rāja' (= the Buddha) [verse no. 12ᵈ] and the 'dharma-gaṇḍī' [verse no. 13ᵈ], and likened to a drum announcing vigorously the Buddha's victory ('jaya-

1) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1683.

2) Holstein's text has been followed in the subsequent discussions.

3) Holstein has depicted and described the specimen of the Gaṇḍī in his possession in his edition of this hymn.

4) Cf. Bauddhānāṁ śānti-hetoḥ pratiraṇati mahī rāvayantīva saṅgham [verse no. 16ᵈ]

ḍiṇḍimavat') over the heretics [verse no. 14]. The Gaṇḍī is described as placed on the top of a vihāra [verse no. 17a] and is thus compared to a rumbling cloud [verse no. 17b] and a sonorous drum of the gods [verse nos. 18c and 21c]. This gong is struck by the whole assembly of the bhikṣus [verse no. 19cd] and its loud sound vibrates in the diverse quarters [verse nos. 13d & 14cd]. The echo fills the earth [verse no. 16d]. The resonant Gaṇḍī is said to carry an earnest appeal to all beings [verse no. 19ab] like an affectionate mother calling unto her children out (at play) during the meal-time[1].

This monastery gong is full of efficacy. It dispels evil and ignorance [verse nos. 18d, 24d, 25d, 27cd & 28c]. It is meant for the peace and welfare of the benevolent Buddhists [verse nos. 16d, 25d, 27d, 28a & 29cd]. It promotes their religious feeling and protects them as well as the earth from all difficulties [verse nos. 20d, 23d, 26d, 27c & 28d]. It warns them against sins which bring damnation, and encourages them to indulge in the acts of piety which yield both heaven and emancipation [verse no. 22ab].

The Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā is important to the history of Buddhism in Kāśmīra inasmuch as it appears to contain some historical reference to the strong upsurge of the heretics in Kāśmīra[2] where Buddhism was on the very verge of extinction and this imminent crisis of Buddhism was averted by the Gaṇḍī. It is to commemorate this achievement of the monastery gong that it was struck at the time of the composition of this hymn. The author of the poem seems to refer to this memorable event as a fact of the past — possibly of the recent past. In any case, the nature of the reference does not enable us to infer infallibly that the hymn was composed in Kāśmīra. A mere mention of the name of the place is by no means an indubitable

---

1) Cf. māteva vatsalatayā subahir-gatāṁś ca
putrān samāhvayati bhojana-kāla-gaṇḍī . .
[verse no. 17cd]

2) Cf. Kaśmīre dhvaṁsa-śaṅkā-bhaya-cakita-janās tat-pratīkāra-hetoḥ.
kurvanty adyāpi yasyā dhvanim upaśamitā(')śeṣa-tīrthyā(')valepaṁ [verse no. 20bc]

The epithet "upaśamitā(')śeṣa-tīrthyā(')valepaṁ" is significant enough to exclude any possibility of political misrule.

'hetu' to arrive at that conclusion therefrom. Nevertheless this much is certain that the composer of the hymn was certainly aware of some Buddhist revival in Kāśmīra.

This poem is characterised by a pronounced tendency of Buddhistic propaganda. The usual deprecation of the Buddhist missionary against the heretics[1] has reached its height in the following verses :—

i) Brahmā mūrkha ivābhavat, sura-gurur garvaṁ jahau sarvathā, Śarvaḥ (Sarvaḥ — sic) kharva-matir babhūva, bhagavān Viṣṇuś ca tūṣṇīṁ gataḥ.
itthaṁ yad-guṇa-kīrtaneṣu vibudhā yātā hriyā mūkatāṁ
....
[verse no. 26abc]

ii) śrutvā yāṁ patitā mahī-tala-malaṁ Brahmādayaḥ svar-bhuvaḥ
[verse no. 29a]

iii) kṛtvā(')nya-tīrth[y]a-hṛdayāni vidārayantī . .
[verse no. 21d]

Nevertheless the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā depicts the altruistic character of the Gaṇḍī[2] and is thus a Mahā-yāna work.

Lastly, this small poem exhibits a highly facetious style. The hymnist has been conscious enough in combining the same and homogeneous letters and some onomatopoetic syllables for producing the studied effects of alliteration. Barring some stray cases[3] this ornate style has proved to be very artificial and in several places the intended jingling effect is marred by the laboriously worked out (pṛthag-yatna-

1) Cf. verse nos. 14, 16c, 20bc, 27ab and 28ab.

2) Cf. eṣā hi gaṇḍī raṇate nagānāṁ saṁbodhane deva-narā(')surāṇām. [verse no. 19ab]
... para-hita-prārambha-śuddhātmanāṁ Bauddhānām upaśāntaye sapadi sā saṁtāḍyatāṁ gaṇḍikā..[verse no. 29cd]

3) Cf. prauḍhā(')naṅgā(')ṅganānāṁ lalita-bhuja-latā-lāsa-līlāyad aṅgaiḥ. [verse no. 3b]
bhāva-snigdhair vidagdhaiḥ pracalita-lalitaiḥ sasmitair bhrū-vilāsaiḥ.
netrair Mārā(')ṅganānāṁ parigata-rabhasair lohitāntair aśāntair
. . .. [verse no. 6bc]

nirvartya) alliteration[1]. Sometimes the highly schematic combination of the curious conjuncts is difficult to pronounce properly in due succession[2].

After this account of the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā we now come to the question of its authorship. Admittedly the description of Māra's army in the namaskāra-ślokas of this hymn may find its parallel in the 13th canto of the B. But this is a mere chance coincidence because this Buddha-and-Māra scene is the common feature of all the biographies of the Buddha and this casual similarity in respect of a particular episode cannot thus be adduced in favour of the authorship of this hymn. Besides this paltry agreement there is nothing whatsoever in this small poem which can actually correspond with the well-known themes of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas.

Again, the historical reference to the resurgence of Buddhism in Kāśmīra, as we find in the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā, is lacking in Aśvaghoṣa's genuine works.

Further, the marked trend of propaganda which characterises the hymn is not countenanced by Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works where popular preaching preponderates.

---

1) Cf. ... Māra[-]gāgṛṅgagāgṛṅ-gāgāgṛṅgāgagāgṛṅ-ghana-ghaghanaghaghṛṅ[-]baddha.....
... dudupatidudubhir dūdudūbhir dudūbhiḥ
[verse no. 1abc; the hyphens indicating the compounds to be supplied in consideration of the syntactical sense.]
... kahakahakakahāhāhahīti prahāsair ... taṭitataṭitaṭāṭāṭiṭīti pralāpaiḥ.
kutkudbudbutkukūcitkuracikuharacit kiṁkarāṇāṁ ...
[verse no. 2abc]

2) Cf. kokaṇḍaṁrāmaraṇḍaṁ ... darpaṇāḍaṁraṇāḍan
ḍambaṇḍimbaṇḍaḍimbaṇḍuhaḍuhakaḍuhaṁstraṅgalastraṅgalastram.
jhabhrañjhibhrañjhajhibhraṅkhamukhamukhukhumāṅkhuḥ
khumāṅkhuḥ khumāṅkhuḥ [verse no. 11abc]
... jamijamiḍuḍumāriñjaḍinnāṇḍināḍeḍambaṇḍimbaṇḍaḍimbaṇḍabhaḍabhaḍuḍubhannāḍibhannāḍibhaṇḍam.
raṇḍiṁruṇḍiṁruruṇḍiṁyaralavakhakhamaṅkhaḥ khamaṅkhaḥ
khamaṅkhaḥ [verse no. 15abc]

Lastly, the style of the hymn is doubtlessly different from that of Aśvaghoṣa's undisputed kāvyas. It is not gainsaid that the anuprāsa in the wordings like "... lalita-bhuja-latā-lāsa-līlāyad-aṅgaiḥ" [verse no. 3^{b}] and "... lohitāntair aśāntair ..." [verse no. 6^{c}] of the hymn reminds us of the spontaneous anuprāsa in the B., 4/30^{ab} [srastāṁsa-komalālamba-mṛdu-bāhu-latā(')balā] and the yamaka in the B., 5/56^{c} (savilāsa ratānta-tāntam ...). But it is by no means possible to associate Aśvaghoṣa's name with the highly artificial alliterations like "Māra[-]gāgṛṅgagāgṛṅ ..", etc. already quoted above.

From the foregoing evidences we therefore conclude that the Gaṇḍī-stotra-gāthā is an apocryphal work, no doubt of a later date, which has been ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. It is only in the Tibetan translation that the Sanskrit original has been attributed to him. But this imputation cannot be justified in any way.

3) *Nairātmya-paripṛcchā*[1] — The Sanskrit text of this work was discovered in Nepal and edited for the first time with an accompanying French translation by Sylvain Lévi in 1928.

The name of this work is shown differently in the diverse textual traditions. Lévi's text is entitled the "Mahā-yāna-nirdeśe nairātmya-paripṛcchā". The Tibetan translation of this work gives the name as the "ḥphags-pa bdag med-pa dris-pa z'es bya-ba theg-pa chen-poḥi mdo" (= Ārya-nairātmya-paripṛcchā nāma mahā-yāna-sūtra). The first Chinese translation by Je tch'eng[2] [of the (Pe) Suṅ (or the later or Northern Suṅ) or Song (= Sō in Japanese) dynasty of the Cāo family (960-1127 A. D.) ; Je tch'eng = Nisshō (in Japanese) = Sūryayaśas], etc. shows the name as the "Ni k'ien tseu wen wou wo yi king"[3] [= "Nikenshimommugagikyō" (in Japanese transcription) = Nairātmya-paripṛcchā][4].

The second (?) Chinese translation (973-981 A D.) by Fa t'ien

---

1) See entry no. 7 c in the Select Bibliography, p. xvi.

2) Nanjio (Appendix II, cols. 456-457, no. 167) puts this name as Źih-chan.

3) Lévi spells this name with some difference as the "Ni k'ien tse wen wou ngo yi king" (= The Sūtra about the Nirgranthaputra's question regarding the sense of impersonality).

4) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1643.

or Fā-thien (of the same dynasty as Je tch'eng) [Fa t'ien = Hōten (in Japanese translation) = Dharmadeva][1] is entitled the "Wai tao wen cheng ta tch'eng fa wou wo yi king"[2] [= "Gedōmonshōdaijōhōmugagikyō" (in Japanese) = Nairātmya-paripṛcchā ; Śāli-stamb(h)a-sūtra][3].

However, the afore-said Tibetan translation finds its place in the Mdo-sde (= Sūtra-saṅgraha) section of the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur[4]. The colophon to this work informs us that the translation was made by the "rgya-gar-gyi mkhan-po" (= Bhāratīya upādhyāya) Kamalagupta along with the "z'us-chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba dge-sloṅ" (= mahā-saṁśodhaka anuvādaka bhikṣu) Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (= Ratnabhadra).

Against this single Tibetan translation there are as we have seen above, two Chinese translations. Je tch'eng's version, which attributes the text to Aśvaghoṣa, begins rather abruptly. On the contrary, Fa t'ien's rendering both begins and ends in the regular style of the Buddhistic sūtras

Now let us turn to the Sanskrit text for a proper appraisal of its underlying ideas. This work is professedly a Mahā-yāna catechism on the real nairātmya of all the saṁskṛta dharmas. This text draws a distinction between the paramārtha [= "stoṅ-pa" (of the Tibetan translation) = śūnya], the ultimate reality, and the saṁvṛti [= "kun-rdzob" (of the Tibetan translation) = āpāta-sattā], the delusive appea-

1) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 845.

2) Lévi shows this title with some variations as the "Wei tao wen cheng ta chang fa wou ngo yi king" (= The Sūtra about the heretic's question relating to the significance of impersonality in the noble Mahā-yāna religion).

3) Nanjio (col. 189, no. 818) shows this name as the "Wāi-tāo-wan-shaṅ-tā-shaṅ-fā-wu-wo-i-ciṅ" ["Ārya-mahā-yāna-sūtra on the meaning of the Anātma(tva) in (Sarva-)dharma, asked by a Tīrthaka" = Tīrthaka-pṛṣṭa-(sarva-)dharma-nairātmya-vyākaraṇārya-mahā-yāna-sūtra (?)>(Sarva-dharma-)nairātmya-(vyākaraṇa-tīrthaka-)paripṛcchā (nāma) ārya-mahā-yāna sūtra (?)]. This translation covers four leaves. This work bearing an elaborate title has been identified by Nanjio (Appendix II, cols. 449-450, no. 159) with the Śāli-sambhava-sūtra (?).

4) Sendai Catalogue, no. 173 [Ma. $5b^1 - 7b^4$].

rance. While the former stands for the highest absolute (= anuttarā bodhi = parama-pada) of Mahā-yāna metaphysics the latter means the relative empirical fact. The former refers to the inexplicable (= nirūha = ajñeya = anirvācya-sva-rūpa) third category (tṛtīya-koṭi), the nitya (= kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-rahita = utpāda-nirodha-nirmukta = asaṁskṛta = devoid of prāg-abhāva and pradhvaṁsābhāva) nirdvandva-daśā (the unpredicable stage bereft of all opposite properties = ātmā'nātmatvādi-viveka-vyatirikta), while the latter goes for the conditional (janya = anitya) truth of the phenomenal existence (vyāvahārika-sattā). The paramārtha is the unthinkable (acintya) single (advaita = śuddha) absolute (nirālaya = nirālamba) which is formless (nirākāra) and free from transformation (nirvikāra). It transcends the phenomenal world of multifarious appearances (lokottara = alaukika = niṣprapañca). It is void (śūnya = niḥsva-bhāva) like ākāśa. It is intangible (atīndriya) Suchness (tathatā-rūpa) and devoid of any attributes (nirupādhika = nirguṇa). It has been described as the highest bliss (śānta-nirvṛti) and the complete negation of the saṁvṛti (nirvāṇa). It is the bodhi-citta[1] which has to be meditated as the quintessence of prajñā-pāramitā. On the contrary, the saṁvṛti is pithless (asāra = niḥsāra) and illusory (māyā) like a bubble (budbuda), a dream (svapna), a reflection (pratibimbaka), magic (indrajāla), mirage (marīcikā) and foam (phena). It stands for the unstable (adhruva = kṣaṇa-bhaṅguraka) and evanescent (vikārin) phenomenal world (saṁsāra) of all the saṁskṛta-dharmas (aggregate products) which are governed by the pseudo-causal relation (anitya) and are soulless (nirātmaka = anātmaka). The world of unreal becomings (saṁsṛti) is a mere appearance (pratibhāsamātra). It is due to the false belief in the retribution of the deeds (karma-phala-kalpanā). It is essentially non-existent (kṛtrima) inasmuch as it is nothing more than a figment of imagination (citta-saṁkalpa = loka-dharma-

1) The bodhi-citta has also been eulogised in Śāntideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya and Bodhi-caryāvatāra. This bodhi-citta seems to correspond to the amala (or pariśuddha) and prabhāsvara citta of Sāramati's (circa 250 A. D.) Ratna-gotra-vibhāga Mahā-yānottara-tantra-śāstra (abbreviated as the Uttara-tantra) and Dharma-dhātv-aviśeṣatā-śāstra.

kalpanāmātra) of a void (gaganavat) mind resulting in the phenomenal world (prapañca-mātra-prayojanaka).

Now, the Mahā-yāna theory of tathatā as the essence of prajñā-pāramitā has little counterpart in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic texts. The subtlety of the Weltanschauung of later Mahā-yāna metaphysics is absent in Aśvaghoṣa's genuine works. Admittedly there are some references to the void (śūnya = asva) and soulless (nirātmaka) body (kāya) and the phenomenal world (jagat = loka) of the aggregates (sāmagryataḥ saṁbhavati pravṛttiḥ) conditioned by dependent origination (pratītya prabhavanti bhāvāḥ) in the S., 17/16-21. There is also an implication of the idea of śūnyatva (= vyāvahārika-sattā-vināśa = prakṛti-laya = the merger of the ajña kṣetra or kṣara-puruṣa or avyakta in the jña kṣetrajña or akṣara-puruṣa or jīvātman or sattva) in the seventh level of meditation [saṁjñā-saṁjñi-yukta (saṁjñā = kṣara-puruṣā'bhāva-saṁjñā ; saṁjñin = tadvat • akṣara-puruṣa = vijñāna-skandha) saptama dhyāna] termed "ananta ākiñcanya" (= avyakta-śūnyā daśā) by Arāḍa Kālāma in his exposition of the ancient Sāṁkhya-Yoga tenets to the Buddha in the B., 12/63ff. The above idea may also be traced in the criticism of the ātma-grāha in the Buddha's advice to Śāriputra (as well as Maudgalyāyana) in the Ś., C 4, obverse side and K IV, obverse side [reconstructed with the help of the fragments numbered (K) 23b, 50b and 112b]. But this idea of śūnyatā lacks the technical subtlety of the doctrine of the tṛtīya-koṭistha śūnya or paramārtha of the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā and the pañcama-koṭistha śūnya of Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika-vāda. Even the expounding of nairātmya in the Buddha's sermon to Śreṇya in the B., 16/72-94 follows a different line of argument where there is no mention of the technicalities of later Mahā-yāna. Further, Aśvaghoṣa does not display his awareness of the doctrines of prajñā-pāramitā and tathatā of later Mahā-yāna as exhibited in the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā (as also in the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra to be dealt with later on).

We therefore conclude that the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā is a spurious Mahā-yāna text ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa to secure a stamp of authority for this work. We must also note that it is only in Je tch'eng's Chinese translation that this text has been expressly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. But this claim cannot be supported in any way.

4) *Tri-daṇḍa-māla* — The Sanskrit text of the Tri-daṇḍa-mālā

was discovered by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in the monastery of Pökhang in Tibet in course of his search for Sanskrit MSS. conducted there.

The front page of the MS. gives also the alternate title as the Tri-daṇḍaka-mālā.

This MS. has been well preserved. It consists of 115 leaves of which the leaf no. 107 is missing.

The size of the leaves is 22 × 1¾ inches. There are 5 lines of written matter on each folio-side.

This Sanskrit text deals with the art of eloquence and contains practical lessons to the students of those days who wanted to become good speakers

Some extracts from this work have also been published by Sāṅ-kṛtyāyana in his report[1] on the MS.

Now, we learn from the colophon[2] to this text that its author was some Sarvāstivādin Sthavira Aśvaghoṣa. But it is extremely dubious whether this Aśvaghoṣa can be identified with the author of the four authentic kāvyas. This Aśvaghoṣa, so far as we can gather from the colophon, bears some sectarian appellations while our Aśvaghoṣa is not associated with any such attributes in the genuine colophons. Further, the particulars of the Tri-daṇḍa-mālā colophon do not agree with those found in the colophons to the authentic works. Another essential point of difference is that the typical matronymic of Aśvaghoṣa (viz., Suvarṇākṣiputra) is missing in the Tri-daṇḍa-mālā colophon. Moreover, the style of this work has little affinities with that of the authentic texts. It is also questionable that a text dealing with a paltry secular topic like the art of eloquence should be associated with the name of Aśvaghoṣa whom we already know to be an ardent missionary kavi. Furthermore, the authenticity of this petty text is not corroborated by any Chinese translation. Though the MS. has been discovered in Tibet yet no Tibetan translation of this text exists in the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and the Bstan-ḥgyur.

We therefore conclude that on all considerations the Tri-daṇḍa-mālā cannot be reckoned as a genuine text of Aśvaghoṣa.

---

1) The other details of this MS. have not been given by Sāṅkṛtyāyana.

2) samāptā ceyaṁ Tri-daṇḍa-mālā (.) kṛtir ācārya-sthavirā-(')śvaghoṣasya Śākya-bhikṣoḥ Sarvāstivādino mahā-vādinaḥ.

5) *Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra* — The Sanskrit text of the Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra along with its Tibetan[1] and Chinese[2] translations and the Tibetan translation of a commentary (originally in Sanskrit) by Dgaḥ byed sñan pa (= Nandipriya ?)[3] and an English translation has been published by Mr. D. R. S. Bailey in 1951. He has given an account of his collation of the

---

1) The Tibetan translation entitled the "Brgya. lṅa. bcu. pa. z'es. bya. baḥi bstod pa." (= Śata-pañcāśatka-nāma stotra ; °-pañtsā-śatika-° — sic) finds its place in the Bstod-thsogs (= Stotra-saṅgraha section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 129^{a}, 3-136^{b}, 1 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 9, no. 1/33 ; = Ka. 110a^{3} - 116a^{5} of the Sendai Catalogue, no. 1147). This translation was made by the Indian upādhyāya śrī-Śraddhākara-varman and the Lo-tsā-ba Śākya blo-gros (= Śākyamati).

There is another Tibetan version of this hymn as incorporated in Dignāga's Miśraka-stotra (Spel mar bstod pa) which has survived in the Tibetan translation (Bstan-ḥgyur, Snar thaṅ edn., Bstod-thsogs fols. 199^{b}-213^{a} ; = Sendai Catalogue, no. 1150) by Kumārakalaśa and the Lo-tsā-ba Bsod nams bzaṅ po.

2) The Chinese translation is named the << Yi-pāi-wu-shi-tsān-fo-suṅ >>(= Sārdha-śataka-Buddha-praśaṁsā-gāthā or Śata-pañcāśad-Buddha-stotra — Nanjio, col. 321, no. 1456 and Appendix II, cols. 434 & 440-442, no. 149) or the << Yi po wou che tsan fo song >> (= Ippyakugojūsambutsuju in Japanese transcription — Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1680). The Sanskrit title is shown in the latter index as the Śata-pañcāśatika-stotra.

However, this Chinese translation was made by I-tsiṅ or Yi tsing (= Gijō in Japanese), of the Li family of the Thāṅ dynasty (618-907 A. D.), in between 671 and 695 A. D. while staying in the Nālandā Vihāra in Central India. I-tsiṅ (635-713 A. D.) is said to have revised his translation in 708 A. D. He ascribes the Sanskrit text to Mātṛceṭa. Nanjio informs us that I-tsiṅ's translation covers 11 leaves.

3) This commentary also was translated into Tibetan by Śraddhā-kara-varman and Śākya blo-gros (= Śākyamati) who thus translated both the text and the commentary thereon (Bstan-ḥgyur, Snar thaṅ edn., Bstod-thsogs, fols. 128b - 196b).

Sāṅkṛtyāyana-Jayaswal edition of the Sanskrit text[1] (based on a MS. of the Sa skya monastery library in Tibet) with the reproductions of the Touen-Houang, Jigdalik-Bai, Khora, Šorčuq and other fragments, which preserve some portion or other of the original poem, and with the afore-mentioned Tibetan and Chinese translations. He has also reproduced (in Appendix I) an expert transcript by Prof. E. Sieg of a bilingual Šorčuq fragment containing a portion of the Sanskrit text with its corresponding Kuchean translation. However, it is needless to recount the further details in the present context. So we turn to examine the authorship of the Sanskrit text.

The colophon to the Sanskrit text[2] clearly mentions the name of Mātṛceṭa[3] as the author of the stotra. This authorship is also corroborated by I-tsiṅ's Chinese translation of the hymn as well as by his memoirs. In Japanese the Sanskrit name of the author is transcribed as Mashiriseita[4] (< Mātṛceṭa). It is only in the colophon to the Tibetan translation that the Sanskrit text has been ascribed to Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa). This wrong attribution, as we have already seen, is due to the confused identification between Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa. Moreover, the style of this hymn lacks the subtle vicchittis of the ornate twists which grace the authentic texts of Aśvaghoṣa.

We therefore conclude that the Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra was composed by Mātṛceṭa — and not by Aśvaghoṣa.

Next we pass on to the other group of apocryphal works.

Group II (= Works available in the Tibetan or the Chinese Translation only or in both) :

The works falling under this group are not existing in their original Sanskrit. These translated works are noted underneath :—

1) *Śrī-Mahā-Kāla-tantra-Rudra-kalpa-mahā-śmaśāna-nāma-ṭīkā* (= dpal. nag-po. chen-poḥi rgyud. drag-poḥi brtag-pa dur-khrod chen-

---

1) This edition shows the alternate title of the text, viz., the Adhyardha-śataka. The other Sanskrit titles of this hymn have also been discussed by Bailey (Intro., pp. 26-27).

2) Adhyardha-śatakaṁ samāptaṁ (,) kṛtir ācārya-Mātṛceṭasya.

3) The name Mātṛceṭa is wrongly shown by some as Mātṛceta and even as Mātṛcetā (!).

4) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1680.

po. z'es. bya. baḥi ḥgrel-pa) — This work exists only in the Tibetan translation where the name of the translator is not mentioned. This translation occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (=Tantra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 183ᵃ, 7 - 250ᵇ, 4 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 125, no. 26/72; = Śa. 158a[2] - 214a[7] — Sendai Catalogue, no. 1753). This version seems to presuppose as its original a Sanskrit commentary on some Buddhistic Tantra text of later Mahā-yāna. The attribution of this Tantra-ṭīkā to Aśvaghoṣa is questionable because it will be anachronistic to associate a work of Tantra-yāna, a later offshoot of Mahā-yāna, with the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa. His authentic texts do not certainly deal with any Buddhistic Tantra cult. Further, there is no Chinese translation to help us check the validity of this ascription.

We therefore conclude that the above Tantra-ṭīkā is either a spurious work ascribed to our Aśvaghoṣa in order to seek a stamp of authority for it or its author Aśvaghoṣa must be said to be a person different from our Aśvaghoṣa.

2) *Vajra-yāna-mūlāpatti-saṅgraha* (= rdo-rje theg-pa rtsa-baḥi ltuṅ-ba bsdus-pa) — This work exists only in an anonymous Tibetan translation. It occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (=Tantra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 219ᵇ, 7 - 220ᵇ, 3 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 254 no. 48/135; = Zi. 179a[6] - 179b[5] — Sendai Catalogue, no. 2478). This translation ascribes the original Sanskrit text to Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa). There is no corresponding Chinese translation.

Anyway, the above work deals expressly with Vajra-yāna a later phase of Mahā-yāna, and as such it has nothing to do with our Aśvaghoṣa.

3) *Sthūlāpatti* (= ltuṅ-ba sbom-po) — This is also an anonymous Tibetan translation which finds its place in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (= Tantra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 220ᵇ, 3 - 221ᵃ, 5 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 254, no. 48/136; = Zi. 179b[5] - 180a[3] — Sendai Catalogue, no. 2479). The colophon to this translation gives the fuller title as the "Sthūlāpatti-saṅgraha" (= ltuṅ-ba sbom po bsdus-pa). There is no corresponding Chinese version of this work.

However, this Tantra work has been attributed to Aśvaghoṣa in the Tibetan version. But this ascription has no justification as the authentic works of Aśvaghoṣa do not exhibit his knowledge of the Buddhistic Tantra-yāna.

4) *Maṇi-dvīpa-mahā-kāruṇika-pañca-deva-stotra* (= nor-bu gliṅ-gi thugs-rje-chen-po lha lṅa-la bstod-pa) — This is also another anony-

nious Tibetan translation which occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (= Tantra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 124[a], 7 - 125[a], 3 — Cordier, vol. 2, p. 304, no. 68/35; = Nu. 107b[1] - 103a[3] — Sendai Catalogue, no. 2730). Originally the title was the "Maṇi-dīpa-°". There is no corresponding Chinese translation.

In any case, the Tibetan version mentions the name of Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa) as the author of the Sanskrit original. But it is questionable to associate this Tantra work with our Aśvaghoṣa.

5) *Saṁvṛti-bodhi-citta-bhāvanopadeśa-varṇa-saṅgraha* (= kun-rdzob byaṅ-chub.kyi sems bsgom-paḥi man-ṅag yi-ger bris-pa) — This work exists only in the Tibetan translation by the Indian mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Padmākaravarman and the z'u-chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba (mahā-saṁśodhaka) dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra). This translation occurs twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 15[b], 1 - 17[a], 7 and 156[b], 8 - 158[b], 4 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 317, no. 30/4 and p. 349, no. 33/55; = Ki. 13b[5] - 15a[6] and 130b[3] - 132a[7] — Sendai Catalogue, nos. 3911 and 4519). There is no parallel version in Chinese.

However, the Tibetan translation ascribes the Sanskrit original to Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa). But this attribution is not justifiable because the concept of the saṁvṛti-bodhi-citta, as we have already seen under the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā, has not been referred to in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works.

6) *Paramārtha-bodhi-citta-bhāvanā-krama-varṇa-saṅgraha* (= don-dam-pa byaṅ-chub.kyi sems bsgom-paḥi rim-pa yi-ger bris-pa) — This work, like the preceding one, is known only through the Tibetan translation by Padmākaravarman and Ratnabhadra. This translation is found twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan ḥgyur (fols. 17[a], 7 - 18[b], 7 and 155[b], 1 - 156[b], 8 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 317, no. 30/5 and pp. 348-349, no. 33/54; = Ki. 15a[6] - 16b[3] and 129a[5] - 130b[3] — Sendai Catalogue, nos. 3912 and 4518). There is no corresponding translation in Chinese.

However, the Tibetan translation attributes the Sanskrit original to Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa). But this ascription is objectionable inasmuch as the idea of the paramārtha-bodhi-citta, which we find here as also in the afore-mentioned Nairātmya-paripṛcchā, is absent in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works.

7) *Aṣṭākṣaṇa-kathā* (= mi-khom-pa brgyad.kyi gtam) — This work also is available only in the Tibetan translation by the Indian

mkhan-po (upādhyāya) śrī-Ajitabhadra or Ajitaśrībhadra and the z'u chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba (mahā-saṁśodhaka) dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Śākya ḥod (Śākyaprabha). This translation occurs twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 124ᵃ, 1–127ᵇ, 1 and 210ᵃ, 7 - 214ᵃ, 2 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 346, no. 33/46 and p. 424, no. 94/12 ; = Ge. 175a⁴ - 178a⁷ and 102b³ - 105b³ — Sendai Catalogue, nos. 4167 and 4510). The Tibetan title is also rendered back into Sanskrit as the "Aṣṭa-vighna-kathā" (vighna = akṣaṇa). There is however no parallel translation in Chinese.

Anyway, the Tibetan translation ascribes the Sanskrit original to Rta-dbyaṅs (= Aśvaghoṣa). But the nature of this work has nothing to do with the author of the authentic works.

8) *Pariṇamanā-saṅgraha*[1] (= bsṅo-ba śin-tu bsdus-pa) — This work exists only in its Tibetan translation by Dānaśīla. This version is found in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fol. 307ᵃ, 6-7 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 527, no. 136/36 ; = Ño. 319b² - 319b⁴ — Sendai Catalogue, Sna-thsogs (= Upadeśa-saṅgraha) section, no. 4390). There is no corresponding translation in Chinese.

However, the Tibetan translation ascribes the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa. But it seems that this puerile work, which consists of some two or three lines of upadeśa only on a single folio-side in the Tibetan translation, has been attributed to the great author Aśvaghoṣa for securing a stamp of authority in its favour. Further, there is no Chinese version to check the validity of the attribution.

9) *Guru-pañcāśikā* — This work is known through the following Tibetan and Chinese translations :—

The Tibetan version named the "bla-ma lṅa-bcu-pa" was made by the Indian upādhyāya Padmākaravarman and the dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (Ratnabhadra). It occurs in the Rgyud-ḥgrel (= Tantra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 242ᵇ, 7 - 245ᵃ, 3 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 84, no. 72/17 ; = Thsu. 10a² - 12a² — Sendai Catalogue, no. 3721).

The Chinese translation entitled the "Sh'-sh'-fā-wu-shi-suṅ" (Fifty verses on the law or rules for serving a teacher = Guru-sevā-

---

1) This title has been shown with a slight difference as the "Pariṇamana-°" in the Sendai Catalogue, no. 4390.

dharma-pañcāśad-gāthā)[1] or the "Che che fa wou che song" (= Jishi-hōgojūju in Japanese tıanscription)[2] was made by Z'ih-chan[3] or Je tch'eng (= Nisshō in Japanese ; = Sūryayaśas), etc. Nanjio shows the entry under the Sūtra-piṭaka and informs us that this translation covers four leaves.

However, both these translations ascribe the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa. But it is stıiking that the Tibetan translation is counted as a Tantra work while the Chinese rendering is treated as a Sūtra work. We refrain from drawing any conclusion out of these problematic premises.

10) *Śoka-vinodana* — This work is known through the Tibetan and Chinese translations as follows :—

The Tibetan version entitled the "mya-ṅan bsal-ba" was made by the Indian mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Ajitaśrībhadra and the z'u-chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba (mahā-saṁśodhaka) dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Śākya ḥod (Śākyaprabha). It is found twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 109^b, 6 - 111^a, 1 and 273^a, 7 - 275^a, 6 — Cordier, vol. 3, pp. 345-346, no. 33/41 and p. 426, no. 94/22 ; = Ṅe. $33a^2$ - $34a^3$ and $90b^2$ - $92a^2$ — Sendai Catalogue, nos. 4177 and 4505).

The corresponding Chinese translation named the "Fo-shwo-ciē-yiu-ciṅ" [Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on alleviating sorrow or grief = (Buddha-bhāṣita-)śoka-vināśa(-sūtra)][4] or the "Kiai yeou king" (= Geukyō in Japanese transcription)[5] was made by Fā-thien or Fa t'ien (= Hōten in Japanese ;= Dharmadeva ?)[6] in 973-981 A. D. Nanjio informs us that this translation covers four leaves.

---

1) Nanjio, col. 238, no. 1080 and Appendix II, cols. 456-457, no. 167.

2) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1637.

3) He lived between 1004 and 1058 A. D. and belonged, as already shown before, to the later Suṅ dynasty (960-1127 A. D.).

4) Nanjio, col. 196, no. 861 and Appendix II, cols. 449-451, no. 159.

5) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 804.

6) As we have already seen before, Fā-thien belonged to the later Suṅ dynasty (960-1127 A. D.).

Now, it is only in the Tibetan version that the Sanskrit original has been ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. The Chinese translation is silent on this point. Under these circumstances we desist from drawing any definite conclusion on the authenticity of the original. So long as the Sanskrit text is not brought to light we are not given to undertake profitably any categorical assessment in this matter.

11) *Daśā(')kuśala-karma-patha-nirdeśa*[1] — This work exists only in the following Tibetan and Chinese translations :—

The Tibetan translation entitled the "mi-dge-ba bcuḥi las-kyi lam bstan-pa" was made by the Indian mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Ajitaśrībhadra and the z'u-chen-gyi lo-tsā-ba (mahā-saṁśodhaka) dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Śākya ḥod (Śākyaprabha). It occurs twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 105ᵃ, 4 – 106ᵃ, 5 and 275ᵃ, 6 – 276ᵇ, 2 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 345, no. 33/39 and p. 426, no. 94/23 ; = Ṅe. 34b³ – 35b³ and 86a³ - 87a⁴ — Sendai Catalogue, nos. 4178 and 4503).

The parallel translation in Chinese named the "Shi-pu-shān-yeh-tāo-ciṅ " (Daśa-duṣṭa-karma-mārga-sūtra)[2] or the "Che pou chan ye tao king" (= Jūfuzengōdōkyō in Japanese transcription)[3] was made by Z'ih-chan or Je tch'eng (= Nisshō in Japanese ; = Sūryayaśas ?)[4], etc. Nanjio informs us that this translation covers two leaves.

However, both these versions attribute the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa. But in the absence of the Sanskrit text itself we are not

---

1) It has to be distinguished from the Daśa-kuśala-karma-patha-nirdeśa (= dge-ba bcuḥi las-kyi lam bstan-pa) of the slob-dpon (ācārya) bram-ze (Brāhmaṇa) btsun-pa (bhadanta) chos-ldan (dhārmika) Rab.ḥbyor. dbyaṅs (Subhūtighoṣa). This work is known through the Tibetan rendering by the Indian mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Buddhākaravarman and the lo-tsā-ba (anuvādaka) dge-sloṅ (bhikṣu) Chos-kyi śes. rab (Dharmaprajña). This translation occurs twice in the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 106ᵃ, 6 – 109ᵇ, 6 and 269ᵃ, 5 – 273ᵃ, 7 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 345, no. 33/40 and p. 426, no. 94/21).

2) Nanjio, col. 308, no. 1379 and Appendix II, cols. 456-457, no. 167.

3) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 727.

4) He is said to have flourished between 1004 and 1058 A. D. As already shown before, he belonged to the later Suṅ dynasty (960-1127 A. D.).

in a position to make a proper appraisal of this petty work and do justice to it. We must be alive to the fact that ascription as found in some translation or accepted in a scribal tradition is not always an infallible criterion of authenticity. In a controversial case the surer index is no doubt the stylistic peculiarity which is common to Aśvaghoṣa's authentic works.

12) *Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā*[1] — This work is known through the following Tibetan and Chinese translations :—

The Tibetan version entitled the Sad-dharma-smṛty-upasthāna-kārikā (= dam-paḥi chos dran-pa ñe. bar. bz'ag. paḥi thsig.-leḥur byas-pa)[2], or the °-upasthāna-ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā (= °ñe..bar bz'ag-paḥi ḥgro-ba drug-gi thsig leḥur byas-pa) as in the colophon to this translation, was made by the Indian mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Dharmākara and the z'u.chen.gyi lo-tsā-ba (mahā-saṁśodhaka) Devendrarakṣita (of Rtsaṅs). This translation is found twice in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (fols. 103^b, 5 – 105^a, 4 and 276^b, 3 – 281^a, 7 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 345, no. 33/33 and p. 427, no 94/24 ; = Ne. 35b^3 - 39a^7 and 82a^3 – 86a^3 — Sendai Catalogue, nos 4179 and 4502). It is divided into six sections. The Sanskrit text has been ascribed to Chos-ldan rab-ḥbyor dbyaṅs (Dhārmika-Subhūtighoṣa).

There are two[3] Chinese translations of this work. The first one named the "Liu-tāo-ciē-tho-ciṅ" (Sūtra of the Gāthās on the

---

1) See entry no. 10 in the Select Bibliography, p. xvii.

2) The Sendai Catalogue (under nos. 4179 and 4502) shows this title with a slight difference as the " . ...gz'ag-paḥi ......".

3) The Sendai Catalogue (under nos. 4179 and 4502) refers also to another Chinese translation entitled the "Tā-yuṅ-phu-sā-fan-pieh-yeh-pāo-lüēh-ciṅ" (= Sūtra on the fruits of karman briefly explained by the Bodhi-sattva Āryaśūra = Ārya-śūra-bodhi-sattva-nirdeśa-karma-phala-saṅkṣipta-sūtra (Mahā-śūra-° — sic) — Nanjio, col. 301, no. 1349 and Appendix II, col. 416, no. 80). This rendering was made in 434 A. D. by Saṅghavarman (< Saṅ-ciē-poh-mo in Chinese transcription ; = Cuṅ-khāi in Chinese translation) of the earlier Suṅ dynasty of the Liu family (420-479 A. D.). Nanjio informs us that this translation covers twelve leaves.

However, this version ascribes the Sanskrit original to Āryaśūra — and not to Aśvaghoṣa.

six paths = Ṣaḍ-bhava-gāthā-sūtra)[1] was made by Fā-thien (Dharma-deva ?) in 973-981 A. D.[2] Nanjio informs us that this translation covers eight leaves. This version does not mention the name of the author of the Sanskrit original.

The second Chinese translation named the "Lieou ts'iu louen houei king"[3] (= Rokushurinnekyō in Japanese transcription; = Ṣaḍ gati-kārikā)[4] was made by Je tch'eng[5] (= Nisshō in Japanese; = Sūryayaśas)[6], etc. This translation ascribes the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa.

However, this work treats of the retribution of karman and describes the six statuses of existence (gati) resulting from the different types of karman. These six strata are as follows :—

1) Naraka-gati; 2) Tiryag-yoni-gati; 3) Preta-gati; 4) Asura-gati; 5) Manuṣya-gati and 6) Deva-gati[7].

In this context we might mention en passant that the anonymous Pāli text Pañca-gati-dīpanaṁ[8] deals with the five gatis only and omits the Asura-gati mentioned in the above list.

Now, turning to the question of the authenticity of the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā we observe that this work too has been unjustifiably associated with the name of Aśvaghoṣa. No definite conclusion can be arrived at from the different translations which do not show any uniformity of ascription. As we have already seen above,

---

1) Nanjio, col. 189, no. 821 and Appendix II, col. 450, no. 159.

2) As shown earlier, Fā-thien belonged to the later Suṅ dynasty (960-1127 A. D.).

3) This title has been shown otherwise by Lévi as the "Lou tao louen hoai king".

4) Hōbōgirin Index, no 726.

5) Lévi shows this name differently as Je tch'ang.

6) As shown earlier, Je tch'eng belonged to the later Suṅ dynasty (960-1127 A. D.).

7) These six gatis have also been referred to in the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra to be dealt with later on.

8) This text was edited by M. Léon Feer on the basis of a single MS.

Je tch'eng is the only person to attribute the Sanskrit text to Aśvaghoṣa. On the contrary, the original text has been ascribed to Dhārmika-Subhūtighoṣa by Dharmākara and Devendrarakṣita, and to Āryaśūra by Saṅghavarman. Fā-thien is silent on this point.

Further, we know from the B., 14/7-48[1] and the S., 11/62ab[2] that Aśvaghoṣa, like the author of the afore-said Pañca-gati-dīpanaṁ, mentions five gatis only[3].

We therefore conclude that the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā cannot be a genuine work of Aśvaghoṣa.

13) *Mahā-yāna-bhūmi-guhya-vācā-mūla-śāstra* — This work is known only through the Chinese translation named the "Tā-tsuṅ-ti-hhüen-wan-pan-lun" (Nanjio, col. 287, no. 1299). This title is also shown differently as the "Ta tsong ti hiuan wen pen louen" (= Dai-shūjigemmonhonron in Japanese transcription — Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1669). This Chinese version was made by "Po-lo-mo-tho" or "Po lo mo t'o" (in Chinese transcription = Haramatsuda in Japanese transcription ; < Paramārtha ; = "Can-ti" or "Tchen ti" in Chinese translation = Shindai in Japanese translation) in 557-569 A. D. under the Chan family of the Chan dynasty (557-589 A. D.)[4]. Paramārtha (500-569 A. D) was originally a Brāhmaṇa of Ujjayinī in Western India and went to China in 545 A. D. Nanjio informs us that this version occurs in the Abhidharma-piṭaka and consists of forty chapters covering eight fasciculi. There is no corresponding translation in Tibetan.

However, Paramārtha's translation attributes the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa. But this work on Mahā-yāna Abhidharma cannot be ascribed justifiably to Aśvaghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa, as we have already discussed earlier, belonged to the transitional period between Hīna-yāna and Mahā-yāna. He cannot be called rightly the founder or even a leader of Mahā-yāna.

---

1) B., 14/11-20 (Naraka-gati), 21-26 (Tiryag-yoni-gati), 27-30 (Preta-gati), 31-34 (Manuṣya-gati) and 35-44 (Deva-gati).

2) .... jagad idaṁ
saṁsāre bhrāmyamāṇaṁ divi nṛṣu narake tiryak-pitṛṣu ca.

3) We will see later on that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra (chapter 1, story 2, p. 19) also refers to these 5 gatis.

4) Nanjio, Appendix II, cols. 423-424, nos. 104-105.

14) *Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra*[1] — Suzuki tells us that the Sanskrit text of this work existed at the time when the Chêng-yüan Catalogue was compiled in between 785 and 804 A. D. by Yüan-chao, a Buddhist priest of the Tang dynasty (618-907 A. D.). But neither any copy of this late 8th century Sanskrit original nor any copy of the archetype has been brought to light as yet and as such our knowledge of this supposedly once existing text has to be based on the two Chinese translations by Paramārtha and Sikṣānanda. Suzuki also informs us that these two versions follow two textual recensions which have some minor deviations only.

Anyway, in the absence of the original the Sanskrit title given to the work in question is apparently a Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese title, viz., the "Tā-shañ-chi-sin-lun"[2] or "Ta tch'eng k'i sin louen"[3] (= "Daijōkishinron" in Japanese transcription).

However, of the two afore-said Chinese translations the first was done in 553 A. D by the Buddhist missionary Paramārtha[4] (500-569 A. D.) under the Liāñ dynasty (502-557 A. D.) of the Siāo family[5] with the aid of the interpreters and scholars headed by Chi-chi.

Suzuki says that the Sanskrit text followed by Paramārtha was taken from Ujjayinī to China.

Anyway, this translation consists of 2 fasciculi[6].

It is popular in China and Japan.

This version has been retranslated into English by Timothy Richard.

The second Chinese translation was made in between 695 and 700 A. D.[7] by Śikṣānanda (65?-710 A. D.) under the Thāñ dynasty

---

1) See entry no. 11g in the Select Bibliography, p. xvii.

2) Nanjio, col. 274, nos 1249 and 1250.

3) Hōbōgirin Index, nos. 1666 and 1667.

4) Nanjio, Appendix II col. 423, no. 104 and Hōbōgirin Index, p. 148b.

5) Nanjio, Appendix II, col. 422.

6) Nanjio, col. 274, no. 1250 and Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1666.

7) Liebenthal informs us that this work was begun on the 6th September, 699 A. D. and Śikṣānanda was helped in his translation by Fa-tsang (643-712 A D.) in between 700 and 704 A.D.

of the Li family (618-907 A. D.)[1] His name has been shown differently in Chinese transcriptions as "C'-ci-chā-nān-tho"[2] or "Che k'i tch'a nan t'o"[3] (= "Sekosshananda" in Japanese transcription)[4] and "Shih-chā-nān-tho"[5] or "Che tch'a nan t'o"[6] (= "Jisshananda" in Japanese transcription)[7]. His name has been translated into Chinese as "Hhio-hhi"[8] or "Hio hi"[9], and into Japanese as "Gakki"[10]. Originally he had been a śramaṇa of Khotan or Khoten (< Kusutana < Kustana) in Central Asia.

Suzuki says that the Sanskrit text followed by Śikṣānanda was taken from Khotan to China.

However, Nanjio informs us that Śikṣānanda's translation has only one fasciculus consisting of 28 leaves[11].

It is this version that has been retranslated into English by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki.

Both the versions attribute the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa (= Memyō in Japanese translation)[12].

Now let us turn to the commentaries on the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra. These may be mentioned chronologically as follows :—

i) The "Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-shu" was composed most likely in between 581 and 587 A. D. by T'an-yen (516-588 A. D.) It is not complete. However, this work has been mentioned in a document stored in the Shōsōin dated the 751 A. D

ii) The "Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-shu" was composed by Hui-yüan (532-592 A. D.) or some one of his disciples.

iii) The "Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun i-chi" was composed by Fa-tsang (643-712 A. D.) in between 700 and 712 A. D. As shown

---

1) Nanjio, Appendix II, col. 434.
2) Nanjio, Appendix II, col 439, no 145.
3) Hōbōgirin Index, p. 141ᵃ.
4) Hōbōgirin Index, p. 141ᵃ.
5) Nanjio, Appendix II, col. 439, no. 145.
6) Hōbōgirin Index, p 141ᵃ.
7) „ „ , no 1667 and p. 141ᵃ.
8) Nanjio, Appendix II, col. 439, no. 145.
9) Hōbōgirin Index, p. 141ᵃ.
10) „ „ „ „ .
11) Nanjio, col. 274, no. 1249 and Hōbōgirin Index, no. 1667.
12) Hōbōgirin Index, nos. 1666 and 1667.

earlier, he helped Śikṣānanda in translating the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra.

iv) The "Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun kuang shih" and its abridged version entitled the "Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun lüeh shu" were composed by T'an-k'uang in between 700 and 725 A. D.

v) The "Ch'i-hsin lun shu" was composed by the Korean Yüan-hsiao in between 700 and 730 A. D.

Of these five commentaries that by T'an-yen is the oldest and that by Yüan-hsiao is the latest.

These commentaries are peculiarly interrelated with one another. Yüan-hsiao has been influenced on the one hand by T'an-yen through Hui-yüan while on the other by Fa-tsang and Śikṣānanda through T'an-k'uang.

The above commentaries, even the oldest one by T'an-yen, do not help us much in understanding the central theme of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra inasmuch as they introduce later theories to interpret their text.

Let us now make an attempt to delve deep into the heart of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra on the basis of the Paramārtha and Śikṣānanda versions as retranslated into English by Richard and Suzuki respectively

The Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra begins with an Opening Hymn and ends in a Closing Hymn and in between there are the following five sections :—

1. Reasons for writing the Book ;
2. The fundamental Doctrine of the Mahā-yāna Faith ;
3. Expositions of the Mahā-yāna Faith ;
4. The Practice of the Mahā-yāna Faith and
5. The Advantages of the Practice of the Mahā-yāna Faith.

The central theme of this work under consideration is the philosophy of Tathatā[1]. The term 'Tathatā' stands for the Highest Absolute of a Mahā-yāna school as represented by this work which is professedly an exposition of some such Buddhistic Sūtra text as deals with the doctrine of the Amitābha or Amitāyus Buddha and his

---

1) The term "Tathatā" is also known as "Bhūta-Tathatā" [= "True Suchness" (Bhūta = Satya) ; = "Chen-jū" in Chinese].

Buddha-kṣetra Sukhāvatī — probably the Amitāyus-sūtra or Sukhāvatī-vyūha[1]. This term has been translated variously as follows :—

1. Suchness
2. Thusness
3. Thatness
4. True Likeness
5. Absolute Reality
6. True Reality
7. Absolute State
8. Divine State
9. Absolute Truth
10. Absolute
11. True Essence
12. Infinite Essence
13. Absolute Nature
14. Eternal Nature
15. True Nature
16. Real Nature
17. True Real Nature
18. One Soul
19. One Eternal Soul
20. Eternal Soul
21. Supreme Soul
22. Divine Soul
23. True Soul
24. Universal Soul
25. All Soul
26. God
27. One Mind
28. Absolute Mind
29. Eternal Mind
30. Infinite Mind
31. Cosmic Mind
32. Pure Mind
33. Archetype
34. Eternal Archetype
35. True Model
36. Eternal Wisdom
37. Great Eternal
38. Cosmic Spirit
39 Cosmic Order and
40. Gesetzmässigkeit of the World.

Of these terms "Suchness" is rather widely known and so we would use this word conveniently in our subsequent discussions

"Suchness" is without any beginning and end (both anādi and ananta = prāg-abhāva-pradhvaṁsābhāvā'pratiyogin = nitya ; i. e., not janya or kārya or kṛtaka). It is free from transformations (avikārin) and all sorts of limitation (deśa-kālādy-anāliṅgita). It is not alloyed [= aparāmṛṣṭa ; = kevala = śuddha (pure)] with illusion (avidyā),

---

1) It is alleged that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is based on the Laṅkāvatāra. But we will see later on that this theory is not tenable.

It is also not correct to say that the Ārya-śrī-mālā-devī-siṁha-nāda-sūtra (shortened as the Ārya-śrī-mālā-sūtra) is the source of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra because neither any citation from the former work nor any mention thereof can be found in the latter.

which is bereft of any beginning (anādi) but endowed with an end (sāntā), and hence it ("Suchness") is thoughtless in so far as thought (citta-vikriyā) is caused by the innate powers of covering (āvaraṇa) and projection (vikṣepa) of avidyā. It is intangible (atīndriya) and so beyond the bounds of the causal relation and conditions (hetu-pratyaya) which govern the world of illusory "Erscheinungsformen". It is devoid of all kinds of duality (advaita = nirdvandva = kartṛ-karma-vaktṛ-vācyatvādi-bheda-rahita) It is thus neither comprehensible through imperfect and confused mentation (anirvācya-sva-rūpa = abuddhi-nirgrāhya) nor predicable in any way (koṭi-dvaya-vinirmukta = tṛtīya-koṭistha). It is complete by itself [pūrṇa or akhaṇḍa or siddha (= being); not sādhya (= becoming)]. Its eternal nature is replete with good qualities which are perpetually fixed in number without any addition or subtraction. At its very core lies the infinite stock of incalculable perfections [Pāramitās like Prajñā (Wisdom), Karuṇā (Compassion), etc.]. It is full of unfailing possibilities and thus potentially positive in character — and not merely negative (śūnya = vacuity = emptiness = catuṣ-koṭi-vinirmukta-daśā). It is equal to Nirvāṇa[1] [= << Niê-phân >>[2] in Chinese transcription ; = immeasurable and ineffable joys of divine rest = eternal peace]. It is not essentially different from its perpetual properties (nitya-dharmas).

Now, this Absolute Suchness assumes its innate power of self-affirmation (līlā) and condescends to the "Tathāgata-garbha" stage in which the original "Tathatā" becomes enveloped with avidyā (avidyopahita = sopādhika). This superimposed avidyā is the cause of all kinds of noumenal change in the surrounding world of relativity. The multiplicity of all forms of conditioned existence is also illusory (avidyā-vilasita). The three worlds, viz., Kāma-loka,

---

1) The term "Nirvāṇa" has been rendered roughly into Tibetan as "Mya-ṅan-'as ḥadas pa" [abbreviated as "Myaṅ-ḥadas" ; literally "having been delivered from pain" ; "ḥadas-pa" — perfect tense in the sense of bhūte kartari ktaḥ > verbal noun (napuṁsake bhāve ktaḥ) ?] which points out merely to the negative nature (saṁsāra-duḥkhā-"tyantika-nivṛtti) of "Nirvāṇa".

2) Nirvāṇa (Sanskrit) > nivvāṇa (MIA.) > nibbāna (MIA.) > * nippāna > * nīpāna > * nīpʰ āna > niê-phân (Chinese).

Rūpa-loka and Arūpa-loka (also called Kāma-dhātu, Rūpa-dhātu and Arūpa-dhātu respectively) are all products of this illusion The vicious cycle of births and deaths (saṁsāra) is due to illusion. Time and space are false. All sorts of activity (karman) and their retribution (phala) are unreal. The ideas of ego and possession ('aham' and 'mama') are caused by ignorance. In brief, unenlightenment (avidyā) enrobes the original pure nature (śuddha cid-aṁśa = encased "Tathatā") of all phenomena and living beings. In other words, the śuddha cid-aṁśa[1] within every material manifestation of the objective (jaḍa) world is essentially the same as that within every jīva, and the selfsame avidyā encircles the śuddha cid-aṁśa in each case. So the evanescent (kṣaṇika) and extraneous (vyavahāra-daśīmātra-sthitika) world is as unreal as the reflection on a mirror or shadow or mirage or dream, and the difference (bheda or pṛthaktva) in forms is nothing but a figment of imagination. In like manner the apparent distinction between one jīva and another is also due to the differing degrees of the defiling dross of avidyā. Thus, despite the diversity of the delusive "Vorstellung" there is still the same immanent "Suchness" which is one and indivisible. The very "Tathatā", which by itself is the transcendental truth, is also the hypostasis within all the jīvas and the false phenomena which appear in time and space.

This "Tathatā" has been equated to the "Dharma-kāya" of the Tri-kāya-vāda[2] and the Absolute Buddha of the Tri-ratna-vāda. Below this ultimate truth are the strata of the Tathāgata, Buddhas and Bodhi-sattvas. The Tathāgata (= the historical Buddha) and the other Buddhas of all time and clime are the perfect embodiments (= avatāras) of the sublime metaphysical Buddha (= "Tathatā") while the Bodhi-sattvas are the inspired saints who are not yet free from some element of avidyā. Further, the six

---

1) This śuddha cid-aṁśa of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra corresponds with the sattva-dhātu of Sāramati's Uttara-tantra and Dharma-dhātv-aviśeṣatā-śāstra to be touched upon later on.

2) The Tri-kāya-vāda is also found in the Samādhi-rāja and the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra. There is therefore no justification for supposing that this doctrine was expounded for the first time in the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra.

grades of beings (= gatis)[1], viz., i) Deva-gati, ii) Manuṣya-gati, iii) Asura-gati, iv) Preta-gati, v) Tiryag-yoni-gati and vi) Naraka-gati are all below the absolute stage of "Tathatā".

This "Tathatā" is full of infinite mercy (karuṇā) to all living beings (jīvas) which are in bondage. The inexhaustible store of blessings of the compassionate "Tathatā" is revealed to the living beings only through the loving influences of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. The unravelling of True Tathatā dispels illusion (avidyā) and the false notions (= avidyā-vijṛmbhita) of the external (vyavahāra-daśāmātra-sthitika) world. This deliverance from delusion and its diverse displays culminates eventually in the ultimate state of "Nirvāṇa", i. e., the union of the immanent śuddha cid-aṁśa (Microcosm) with the transcendental "Tathatā" (Macrocosm).

This final unification is accomplished through reasoned faith in "Tathatā". Neither through mere reasoning nor through contemplation alone can the goal be reached. Properly guided reason is necessary to understand the doctrinal details and eliminate the confused thoughts while fervent faith (śraddhā) in "Tathatā" and the process of meditation leading to the utmost beatitude is the mainstay.

This "Tathatā" is the merciful (bhūtānukampin) Messiah of the Mahā-yāna school that has been represented by the work in question and ardent surrender (śaraṇāgaṭi) unto this Redeemer is the only way to Nirvāṇa.

Thus, the aim of this Mahā-yāna creed is, as shown earlier, the Amitābha or Amitāyus Buddha and his Sukhāvatī Paradise[2]. All beings are entitled to enter the portals of this Paradise because they have an immanent potentiality for reaching the absolute state of Happiness. Besides, the Tathāgata and all other Buddhas not only cultivate their own salvation but also take the great vow of saving all beings throughout all future endless kalpas. This idea of a universal salvation vibrates with an optimistic promise.

---

1) The six gatis have already been dealt with before under the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā.

2) Suzuki informs us that the Sukhāvatī-vāda has given rise to the two Japanese sects, viz., the "Shin Shyū" (True Sect) and "Jōdō Shyū" (Pure Land Sect).

For this philanthropic outlook and the subtlety of metaphysics this Mahā-yāna[1] or Advanced School (= a sect following some earlier form of Yogācāra or Vijñāna-vāda) claims a higher status than the Mādhyamika-mata or the Middle School (= Śūnya-vāda; Śūnya = Catuṣ-koṭi-vinirmukta or Pañcama-koṭistha Unpredicable Absolute) and the two Hīna-yāna or Lower Schools of Buddhism, viz., the Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna (= Path of Personal Emancipation; = Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika Schools?) and the Śrāvaka-yāna (= Path of the Neophytes or Ordinary Laity), and the ninety-five classes of heretics.

This is no doubt an undesirable excursion into a sectarian propaganda in a work which is virtually an attempt at a synthesis between the Śūnya-vāda and the Vijñāna-vāda. The eternal nature of "Tathatā" (= the Unpredicable Absolute) is not merely śūnya (or niṣprapañca or vyāvahārika-sattā-rahita) but pūrṇa (or full of infinite pāramitās).

Further, the monotheistic concept of the transcendent and immanent "Tathatā", which sounds so unusual in a Buddhistic work, appears to have been influenced by the monistic philosophy of the avicālin and kūṭastha Para-Brahman of the Hinduistic Upaniṣads.

Besides, the idea of the Tathāgata and all other Buddhas as the perfect incarnations of "Tathatā" bears no doubt the stamp of the Hinduistic avatāra-vāda.

Moreover, the very concept of bhakti or devotion to the Buddha in the Tri-ratna-vāda[2] corroborates the above contention.

---

1) The word 'yāna' is karaṇa-sādhana, i. e., derived in the karaṇa-vācya (yānty anena Buddhā'nugā iti yānaṁ mārgaḥ; upāya iti yāvat; = path or means of attaining to the stage of the Highest Absolute). It thus stands for a system or school of philosophy or process of upāsana pursued by the devotees of the Buddha. It is translated popularly as a 'vehicle' but this rendering is erroneous inasmuch as the word 'vehicle' (though karaṇa-sādhana in this case also) conveys the passive character of the upāsakas. Likewise the word 'yāna' should not be looked upon as bhāva-sādhana so as to mean a 'journey' or 'voyage' because in this case the sense-of the agent is being eclipsed by that of the verb.

2) The Tri-ratna-vāda means a harmonious combination of i) the Buddha [= Nirvāṇa - nirupādhika reality; = upeya or

[Contd.]

Anyway, the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is a work on the theory and practice of Sukhāvatī mysticism of some humanitarian Mahā-yāna school composed in the form of catechism in the terse sūtra style.

This esoteric concept has its parallels in the ideas of the Padmottara-Buddha of the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sūtra, the Bodhi-sattva Mañjuśrī of the Gaṇḍa-vyūha (= Avataṁsaka-sūtra in Chinese), and the Bodhi-sattva Avalokiteśvara of the Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka and the [Avalokiteśvara-guṇa-]kāraṇḍa-vyūha.

This philosophy of "Tathatā" of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is also similar to the concept of the "Tathatā-rūpa Paramārtha" of the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā already discussed above. Both the works agree to the extent that the Highest Absolute is inexpressible (anirvācya-sva-rūpa) and unpredicable (nirdvandva = koṭi-dvaya-vinirmukta = tṛtīya-koṭistha) and its quintessence is the stock of pāramitās. Further, the world (saṁsṛti = saṁvṛti = āpāta-sattā = vyāvahārika-sattā) is a mere figment of imagination (citta-saṁkalpamātra). But the two works differ widely in some salient points. Firstly, the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra lays professedly a special emphasis on the bhakti-kāṇḍa (devotional aspect) while the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā gives prominence to the jñāna-kāṇḍa (metaphysical aspect). Secondly, in the former the Absolute is not only transcendental but also immanent whereas in the latter the Reality is merely transcendental. Thirdly, in the former the Absolute is represented more as pūrṇa than as śūnya while in the latter the Reality is shown just the other way. Fourthly, in the former the Absolute is depicted as the benevolent Saviour whereas in the latter there is no counterpart to this "Messiasglaube". Fifthly, the idea of Tathāgata-garbha as the sopādhika stage of "Tathatā" as we find in the former is absent in the latter. Sixthly,

---

[Contd.]

phala or end ; = bhakti-kāṇḍa ; = aspect of religion proper], ii) Dharma [= Nirvāṇa-bīja ; = Buddha-sva-rūpa-pratipādaka sopādhika reality ; = upāya or means ; = jñāna-kāṇḍa ; aspect of metaphysics] and iii) Saṅgha [= Nirvāṇecchu jīva > religious practices and altruism [niṣkāma karman) ; = karma-kāṇḍa ; = aspect of ethics].

in the former the Tathāgata (= the historical Buddha) and all other Buddhas are shown as the perfect incarnations of the Absolute while in the latter there is no corresponding idea. Lastly, there is in the former no mention of the bodhi-citta[1] which has been equated with the "Tathatā-rūpa Paramārtha" in the latter.

After this relative assessment we pass on to the comparison of the theoretical position of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra with that of the [Sad-dharma-]Laṅkāvatāra[-sūtra]. There is no dubiety about the fact that both these works depict some earlier stage of the Vijñāna-vāda. The idea of Tathāgata-garbha (= sopādhika stage of nirupādhika "Tathata") of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra may find its parallel in the concept of the Ālaya-vijñāna of the Laṅkāvatāra. But there is still some subtle distinction between these two ideas in so far as Tathāgata-garbha of the former work is the depository of good thoughts only while the Ālaya-vijñāna of the latter work is the storage of both good and bad thoughts, and all kinds of karman-seeds. It is therefore not correct to say that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is a systematic development and exposition of the principal teachings of the Laṅkāvatāra.

However, this purity of Tathāgata-garbha of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is akin to that of the Ālaya-vijñāna of the Vijñāna-vāda proper. Despite this resemblance there is still a radical difference in the Weltanschauung between the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra and the Vijñāna-vāda proper. According to the former the material (jaḍa) world is nothing but a manufacture of the anādi but sāntā (= Tathatā-jñānamātra-nāśyā) avidyā enrobing Tathāgata-garbha while the pure Vijñāna-vāda looks upon the external world as vijñaptimātra. In other words, the world of the former is cit-sva-bhāva (having the śuddha cid-aṁśa within every

---

1) The bodhi-citta has also been eulogised in Śāntideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya and Bodhi caryāvatāra.

This bodhi-citta appears to correspond to the amala (or pariśuddha) and prabhāsvara citta of Sāramati's (circa 250 A. D.) Uttara-tantra (abbreviated from the fuller title, viz., the Ratna-gotra-vibhāga Mahā-yānottara-tantra-śāstra) and Dharma-dhātv-aviśeṣatā-śāstra.

material manifestation) whereas that of the latter is niḥ-sva-bhāva (having no self-substance).

Now we propose to determine the theoretical position of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra in relation to Sāramati's[1] Ratna-gotra-vibhāga Mahā-yānottara-tantra-śāstra[2] and Dharma-dhātv-aviśeṣatā-śāstra[3]. Sāramati is traditionally said to have been a denizen of Central India and his date is fixed at about 250 A. D. His two works, like the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, represent a system of Mahā-yāna philosophy which serves as a half-way house between the Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda and the Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda. That is to say, both Sāramati and the author of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra belong to the same transitional period. Besides, according to both the Highest Absolute is not only transcendent but also immanent. Thus, the teaching of both stands in sharp contrast with the Mādhyamikas' theory of the transcendental Śūnya. Again, according to both the Absolute Reality is acting like a benevolent Saviour. Further, both have the same Weltanschauung. Both are of the same opinion that the Highest Being („das höchste Sein")[4] has a decidedly positive character. Both also agree to the extent that the illusory (avidyā-janya) defilements (malas) are falsely ascribed to the Absolute whose eternally pure nature cannot be affected with any alien element (āgantuka upādhimātra). Moreover, both also opine that the permanent properties (nitya guṇas) of "Tathatā" are not separable from "Tathatā" itself. Furthermore,

---

1) According to some this name is Sthiramati.

2) The title is often shortened as the Uttara-tantra.

This work is ascribed to Asaṅga (circa 315-390 A. D.) by the Tibetan tradition. Some scholars attribute the text to Maitreya (circa 300 A. D.) and the commentary to Asaṅga.

3) The name of this work is nothing but a Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese title. This work is extant only in its Chinese translation.

4) The term "Tathatā" (Transcendental Suchness = „Soheit") is also explained by Sāramati as the Dhātu, Paramārtha-dhātu, Dharma-dhātu, Buddha-dhātu, Buddhatva, Buddhatva-bīja, Paramārtha-kāya, Dharma-kāya, Ārya-satya and Nirvāṇa.

both hold that the human Buddha is only an incarnation of the metaphysical "Tathatā".

But notwithstanding these points of semblance there is still some difference. The Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is, as we have already seen beforehand, an exposition of some Buddhistic Sūtra text of the Sukhāvatī sect while Sāramati's two afore-said works betray the influence of the Ārya-śrī-mālā-sūtra.

Moreover, the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra does not refer to the amala and prabhāsvara bodhi-citta[1] which is eulogised in Sāramati's two works.

From the foregoing data it is clear that the theory of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra stands very close to that of Sāramati's two works. One might even be tempted to think that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra belonged to the same early Yogācāra school as Sāramati's two works.

Thus we find that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra has struck out a new path of Mahā-yāna monism which is neither pure Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda nor pure Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda. This synthesis has been worked out under the ātma-vāda of the Hinduistic Upaniṣads.

After this aperçu of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra and comparative estimate of its philosophy we now pass on to consider the question of its date.

From the above conspectus it is evident that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra stands theoretically in between the Śūnya-vāda and the full-blown Vijñāna-vāda. This work, as we have seen earlier, not only refers to the Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda but also refutes it. It is also notable that the vijñapti-vāda of the Yogācāra school has neither been mentioned nor discarded in this work. This doctrinal position gives no doubt a clear clue to the date of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra which may thus be placed in between 250 and 300 A D.[2] It would be wrong to describe this work as the

---

1) This bodhi-citta, as we have seen above, has also been extolled in the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā and other works.

2) It would not be far from the truth if we were to place the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra closer in date to Sāramati's (circa 250 A. D.) Uttara-tantra and Dharma-dhātv-aviśeṣatā-śāstra. [Contd.]

first attempt at systematising the Mahā-yāna metaphysics and ascribe an earlier date to it.

Having determined the date of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra we propose to treat of the problem of its authorship. From the foregoing evaluation of this work it is obvious that its author was a profound metaphysician who contributed to the doctrine of the Amitābha or Amitāyus Buddha and his Sukhāvatī, and expounded the philosophy of Tathatā. Nevertheless the available data do not allow us to suppose that this author was a Mahā-yāna priest. Nor are we in a position to take it for granted that he was the founder, or at least a leader, of this system of philosophy.

Anyway, what strikes us most is the fact that the author of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, which is so far-famed in China and which is studied deeply in the schools and monasteries of Japan, should never be alluded to or quoted in any Sanskrit text or commentary on Buddhism or even in any Chinese or Tibetan translations of Buddhistic works.

The name of this author is not mentioned at the end of Paramārtha's and Śikṣānanda's Chinese versions which do not appear to contain any colophons at all.

Further, there is no Tibetan translation of the work to be of any aid in this matter.

Moreover, no copy of the Sanskrit original in any of its two aforementioned textual recensions has been found as yet to help us lift the veil of this mystery.

It is the Chinese tradition which alone attributes the Sanskrit original to Aśvaghoṣa. But this tradition is contradicted by the statement in a biography of Hsüan-Tsang [in the Hsü-Kao-sêng-chuan (composed in between 645 and 667 A. D.), Chüan IV, p. 27b][1] that

[Contd.]

The Laṅkāvatāra, which is also so near in doctrinal position to the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, appears to have belonged to the same transitional period between the Śūnya-vāda and the Vijñāna-vāda. In the Laṅkāvatāra the name of Nāgārjuna is referred to by way of prophecy. But there is no mention of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra though the Mādhyamika-mata has been referred to and refuted in this work.

1) J. Nobel, SB(K)PAWB., Philoso.-hist. Kl., Nr. XX, 1927, pp. 230-231, f.-n. 1.

the Sanskrit text was a translation by Hsüan-Tsang from some Chinese original and that he gave his work a wide publicity in India.

Besides, Takakusu tells us that an earlier catalogue of the Chinese Tri-piṭaka does not associate this work with the name of Aśvaghoṣa.

A consideration of these mutually incompatible external evidences has led some scholars to go to the extent that it is only the Chinese versions which exist while the theory of some Sanskrit original is no better than a myth.

In any case, the traditional ascription of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra to our Aśvaghoṣa is cancelled conclusively when we take into consideration the internal evidences of his four authentic kāvyas and judge in their light the present problematic work. Firstly, the typical colophons to the S., Ś. and B. have no counterpart in this work. Secondly, Aśvaghoṣa, as we have seen beforehand, seems to have belonged to some Mahā-sāṅghika sect which was prevalent in the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna[1]. Though essentially a Hīna-yāna preacher-kavi he shows some rudiments of the Mahā-yāna which was rising during the early years of the Christian era. This trend of a synthesis has made him popular with both the yānas or schools alike. It is true that his four ornate kāvyas bear clear testimony to an altruistic outlook and Buddha-bhakti which became so heightened in the later Mahā-yāna. Nevertheless his kāvyas portray the Lebenswandel and teachings of the mortal Śākya-muni, the superman Buddha of history. His devotion is to the hallowed memory of the human Buddha. In his

---

1) Aśvaghoṣa uses the word 'yogācāraḥ' (yoge Sugatānumate yoga-viṣaye ācāro 'bhyāso yasya sa iti vyadhikaraṇo bahuvrīhiḥ) in the S., 14/19 to mean nothing more than 'a Buddhist monk given to the practice of yoga' (yogācāra = yogācārin = yogābhyāsin). Similarly the word 'yoga-vidhi' (= yogasya vidhir ācāro 'bhyāsa iti ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣaḥ), which occurs in the S., 16/92, implies 'the practice of yoga' only. But the word 'yoga-vidhi' (= yoga-viṣayako vidhiḥ śāstram iti śāka-pārthivādivat madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhārayaḥ ; yad vā, yogasya vidhiś caryeti ṣaṣṭhī-samāsaḥ) in the B., 1/45[ab] clearly refers to the Hinduistic Yoga-śāstra and the occult practice according to that school of philosophy. Anyway, all these have nothing to do with the technical sense of the Vijñāna-vāda.

kāvyas he uses his historical imagination in depicting the partly historical and partly legendary biography and teachings of this Buddha as accepted by his sect. In brief, he is concerned with the historical Buddha only — and not with any metaphysical Buddha-ideas of full-blown Mahā-yāna.

This Buddha of Aśvaghoṣa's sect must be distinguished from the ideated Buddhas of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools. Aśvaghoṣa does not exhibit any knowledge of the Pañcama-koṭistha Absolute of the Śūnya-vāda. The Chinese tradition that depicts Aśvaghoṣa as the teacher of Nāgārjuna, the first codifier of the Śūnya-vāda, has also no historical basis. We have already discussed under the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā that the word 'śūnya' in Aśvaghoṣa's S. (to be considered along with the parallel expressions in the B. and Ś.) implies 'ananta ākiñcanya' or vyāvahārika-sattā-nāśamātra (= realisation of unreality of the nāma-rūpa or outward world). Again, Aśvaghoṣa's four authentic works do not betray any trace of his awareness of the theory of Bhūta-Tathatā (= the Amitābha or Amitāyus Buddha reigning in the Buddha-realm Sukhāvatī) of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra. Further, Aśvaghoṣa cannot be claimed to have known the technicalities like Tathāgata-garbha (= the avidyopahita stage of Tathatā), Pāramitā-vāda, Tri-kāya-vāda and Tri-ratna-vāda. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa does not certainly treat of the Buddha as a perfect incarnation of Bhūta-Tathatā. His more or less historical kāvyas depict the different aspects of the biography of only one Buddha, i. e., the historical Sarvārthasiddha — and not the innumerable Buddhaṣ of highly developed Mahā-yāna. Furthermore, we have already seen under the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā above that Aśvaghoṣa gives the details of 5 gatis only (omitting the Asura-gati)[1] while the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śastra (in unison with the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā) refers to 6 gatis (including indeed the Asura-gati in the group).

Thus the thought-content of the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra has nothing in common with that of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic writings. Strictly speaking, we do not even know the name of the actual author of this disputable Mahā-yāna work. It seems likely that this

---

1) We will see later on that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra (chapter 1, story 2, p. 19) also refers to the 5 gatis.

unknown man suppressed his real name and passed his work purposely in the renowned name of Aśvaghoṣa only to secure a stamp of authority for his own work. To be sure, this anonymous author was different from our Aśvaghoṣa.

Even if we were to suppose that this unknown author also was named Aśvaghoṣa then he would have to be distinguished carefully from our Aśvaghoṣa. It may not be altogether improbable that our Aśvaghoṣa (circa 100 A. D.) was identified confusedly with his namesake Aśvaghoṣa II (circa 3rd century A. D.) by the traditional cataloguers of the Chinese Tri-piṭaka.

We therefore conclude that the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra is an apocryphal work by some post-Aśvaghoṣan anonymous author of undisclosed identity.

15) *Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra* — Now we come to the last of the apocryphal works, viz., the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. This work, which has come down to us in Chinese, is linked up so inextricably with Kumāralāta's [kalpanā-maṇḍitikā or kalpanālaṅkṛtikā] Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti that we propose to give an account of these two works in due succession before we take up the question of their mutual relationship and authenticity.

1. *Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra* — The Sanskrit title[1] of this work can be deduced indubitably from its Chinese transcription, viz., "Su-t(a)-lo-a-lang-kia-lo-śa-si-t'(ē)-lo"[2].

This Sanskrit title appears to have been rendered variously in Chinese as the "Tā-cvāṅ-yen-ciṅ-lun"[3] (= Mahālaṅkāra-sūtra-śāstra)[4], "Ta tchouang yen louen king"[5] (= "Daishōgonrongyō"

---

1) We will see later on that this Sanskrit title is a mere equivalent of Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

2) The guttural nasal in the "a-la*ng*-kia-lo" portion of the Chinese transcription points out clearly to the para-savarṇa ñambhāva (°laṅkā°) instead of the anusvāra (°laṁkā°) in the Sanskrit title. So the former spelling has been adopted in these discussions though both the nasals would be permissible according to Sanskrit grammar.

3) Lüders shows this title as "Ta-čuang-yen-king-lun".

4) Nanjio, col. 261, no. 1182 and Appendix II, cols. 406-408, no. 59.

5) Hōbōgirin Index, no. 201.

the interpretation of the two expressions "Alaṅkāra-sūtra-śāstra" and "Alaṅkāra-śāstra-sūtra". Let us expound them as follows :—

i) Alaṅkāra[-bhūṣitāni] sūtrāṇi [śāka-(priya-)pārthivādivat madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ] iti Alaṅkāra-sūtrāṇi ; tad-ātmakaṁ śāstram [madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ] iti Alaṅkāra-sūtra-śāstram. This explanation agrees well with that of the Sanskrit title in Chinese transcription which may be shown as Sūtrāṇām alaṅkāraḥ [ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa-samāsaḥ] iti Sūtrālaṅkāraḥ [> Alaṅkṛta-sūtrāṇi through the dictum "kṛd-abhihito bhāvo dravyavat prakāśate" (or "bhāvānayane dravyānayanam")] ; tad-ātmakaṁ śāstram [madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ] iti Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstram.

ii) śāstrāntargatāni sūtrāṇi [madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ] iti śāstra-sūtrāṇi ; Alaṅkāra[-bhūṣitāni] śāstra-sūtrāṇi [madhyama-pada-lopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ] iti Alaṅkāra-śāstra-sūtrāṇi. Strictly speaking, this title has been due to the misplacement of the words "sūtra" and "śāstra". Thus the two expressions convey virtually the same idea as the Sanskrit title[1].

From the foregoing data it is therefore pertinent to say that in every case the word "alaṅkāra" points out to the ornate technique of composition. To be precise, the term "alaṅkāra" may be derived here either as karaṇa-sādhana (alaṅkriyate 'nenety alaṅkāra iti karaṇa-vācye ghañ) to mean the rhetorical figures like upamā, rūpaka, etc., or as bhāva-sādhana (alaṅkaraṇam alaṅkāra iti bhāve ghañ) to imply kāvya-gata-doṣa-guṇa-hānādāne which ensure the beauty of a composition. Though the exact nature of the alaṅkāra employed in the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra cannot be determined properly from the not-too-dependable Chinese translation still the secular charms of a wide range of characters and scenes are easily discernible to the readers[2].

This secular technique was intended no doubt to give an

1) We will see later on that the corresponding work [kalpanā-maṇḍitikā or kalpanālaṅkṛtikā] Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti also means essentially the same thing.

2) It has to be noted in the present context that the preserved fragments of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti exhibit some traces of the rhetorical tricks. The adjectival work "kalpanā-maṇḍitikā" or "kalpanā-'laṅkṛtikā", which qualifies the substantive Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, also points out to the creative imagination of Kumāralāta.

attractive garb to the numerous "sūtras" (> kathā-sūtras)[1] or stories illustrating some morals[2].

However, the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra, as we have seen before, is available to us in the Chinese version by Kumārajīva[3]. His name has been transcribed variously in Chinese as "Kieou mo lo k'i p'o" (> "Kumaragiba" in Japanese transcription)[4] or "Ciu-mo-lo-chi-pho"[5]. The full name in its transcriptions also appears to have been shortened differently in Chinese as "Kieou mo lo che"[6] (>"Kumarajū" in

---

1) The word "sūtra", as we have seen above, corresponds to the word "dṛṣṭānta" in Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

2) Attempts have been made to expound the expression "Sūtrā-'laṅkāraḥ" as Sūtrasya (= Bauddha-śāstra-viśeṣasya) Alaṅkāraḥ (= mūla-granthopaskārako dṛṣṭānta-dvāreṇa vyākhyāna-granthaḥ) [ṣaṣṭhī-samāsaḥ] so as to mean that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra is a commentary pendant on some Sūtra text just like Dharmasoma's Udānālaṅkāra, a metrical exposition in Kuchean on the Udāna-varga (of which ṭīkā some fragments have been unearthed in course of the German Turfan Expeditions). The commentary has been likened to an ornament in so far as it adorns the dry morals by way of illustrative tales.

It is also alleged that Subandhu's reference to alaṅkāra-bhūṣitā (= ṭīkā-maṇḍitā) Bauddha-saṅgīti (= Bauddha-sūtra-grantha) in the Vāsavadattā indicates in a generic way the relative statuses between a saṅgīti (= sūtra) and its alaṅkāra (= ṭīkā). But this explanation does not suit the present case because the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra appears to be an ornate dharma-kāvya (like Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā) and not a commentary of some Sūtra text.

Equally equivocal is also the theory that some Sūtrālaṅkāra in Sanskrit may be traceable in three leaves of an old birch-bark MS. discovered in the Qyzyl ruins in Central Asia. It has been suggested that this work is an anonymous commentary on a Sūtra text (probably by Aśvaghoṣa ?). But this theory also is based on too flimsy materials to allow us arrive at any confirmed conclusion.

3) Nanjio, col. 261, no. 1182 and Appendix II, cols. 406-408, no. 59, and Hōbōgirin Index, no. 201.

4) Hōbōgirin Index, op. cit.

5) Nanjio, op. cit.

6) Hōbōgirin Index, op. cit.

Japanese)[1] or "Ciu-mo-lo-shi"[2] and "Lo che"[3] (> "Rajū" in Japanese)[4].

Anyway, the name Kumārajīva has been translated into Chinese as "Thuṅ-sheu"[5] or "T'ong cheou" (> "Dōju" in Japanese transcription)[6].

However, Kumārajīva (344-413 A. D.) was born at Koutcha or Kucha (= Kucā) as the son of an Indian-father named "Ciu-mo-lo-yen" (< Kumārāyaṇa ?) and a Kuchean princess named Jīvā. It is palpable that his name consists of a combination of the names of his parents.

Now, Kumārajīva translated the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra into Chinese in 405 A. D. or so under the Heu-tshin (or the Latter Tshin dynasty) of the Yāo family (384-417 A. D.).

This Chinese version has been retranslated into French by M. Ed. Huber.[7]

Anyway, the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra, as we already know, is a book of ornate parables. In this collection we find both old tales retold and fresh stories fabricated. The recast old stuff comprises the traditional common stock [like the Śibi (> "Chi-p'i" in Chinese transcription) saga][8], legendary lore [like the reference to the story of Rambhā (> "Lan-p'o" in Chinese transcription) and Sthūlaśiras][9] and pious semi-legendary anecdotes of historical characters [like Nanda (> "Nan-t'o" in Chinese transcription[10], Maurya (> "Meou-li" in

---

1) Kumārajīva > * ˀjīv[ᵃ] (through apocope) > * ˀjīu (through samprasāraṇa) > * ˀjyu (through yaṇ-sandhi) > * ˀjju (through assimilation) > ˀjū (through simplification of the conjunct and compensatory lengthening ?).

2) Nanjio, op. cit.

3) Hōbōgirin Index, op. cit.

4) Kumārajīva > Kumarajū > Rajū (through aphaeresis).

5) Nanjio, op. cit.

6) Hōbōgirin Index, op. cit.

7) Huber's edition has been followed in our discussions,

8) Ch. 12, story 64, p. 330 ff.

9) Ch. 4, story 20, p. 115 [= Tuyoq MS. of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, fragment no. VI, reverse side, 1. 3 (Lüders, p. 205)]. Cf. S., 7/36.

10) Ch. 3, story 15, p. 84 ff.

Chinese transcription) Aśoka[1], Cīna-sthāna(-rāja) (< "Tchen-t'an" in Chinese transcription) or Deva-putra Kaniṣka (> "Ki-ni-tch'a" or "Kia-ni-tch'a" in Chinese transcription) of the Kuṣaṇa (> "Kiu-cha" in Chinese transcription) race[2] and Rudradāman (> "Lou-teou-to-mo" in Chinese transcription)[3]]. The new (i. e., kavi-saṁrambha-gocara) narratives deal democratically with the weal and woe of the commonalty[4]. In any case the aim of the author is to impart some befitting moral to the readers.

However, the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra is complete in 90 such stories which have been arranged into 15 chapters. But this grouping into chapters is extremely unsystematic and the translator Kumārajīva is apparently responsible for this[5]. The following chart will clarify the relative position of the chapters and the Erzählungen and the pages (in Huber's edition) apportioned to them.

---

1) Ch. 3, story 16, p. 90 ff. ; ch. 5, story 27, p. 138 ff ; ch. 5, story 30, p. 150 ff. and ch. 9, story 55, p. 273 ff.

2) Ch. 3, story 14, p. 80 ff. and ch. 5, story 31, p. 158 ff. [The corresponding text Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti (Qyzyl MS., folio no. *111, obverse side, 1. 5 — Lüders, p. 153) still preserves the syllabic remnants of the name "(Kuṣaṇa- ?)kula-tilaka Kaṇiṣka".]

3) Ch. 15, story 77, p. 437.

4) Further details of these innovations will be given later on.

5) We will see later on that the 90 tales of the corresponding Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti are divided into 9 daśatīs or decades. This seems to have been the original classification. The Avadāna-śataka has followed the same principle.

A. Chapters	B. Erzählungen	C. Pages (in Huber's edition)
1.	Introductory verses + 1-3	1-30
2.	4-10	30-62
3.	11-16	62-96
4.	17-22	96-123
5.	23-40	123-186
6.	41-44	186-213
7.	45-50	213-246
8.	51-54	246-273
9.	55-57	273-287
10.	58-60	287-307
11.	61-63	308-330
12.	64-65	330-355
13.	66-67	355-386
14.	68-70	386-416
15.	71-90	416-463

A perusal of this table will suffice to show that no uniform principle of division has been adopted by Kumārajīva. A rough average of 6 stories per chapter (90 ÷ 15 = 6) would be too mechanical to present any precise and satisfactory picture. The minimum number of stories forming a chapter is 2[1] while the maximum number is 20[2].

However, the first 80 narratives terminate in some morals. But this usual procedure appears to have been abandoned in the last decade of the work which is peculiarly short and bereft of the customary morals. This strange phenomenon tempts the readers to doubt the authenticity of the last 10 stories. It has also been suggested that these stories belonged originally to some other work but Kumārajīva jumbled them up with the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. But the remnants of the corresponding Erzählungen in the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti settle indubitably the genuineness of the last decade of stories in the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra.

---

1) Cf. chapter 12 [= stories 64-65 = pp. 330-355 (= 26 pages in all)] and ch. 13 [= stories 66-67 = pp. 355-386 (= 32 pages in all)].

2) Cf. chapter 15 [= stories 71-90 = pp. 416-463 (= 48 pages in all)].

Now, these 90 stories have been composed mainly in prose interspersed occasionally with verses. Judging from Kumārajīva's version it would appear that the proportion allotted to poetry is rather meagre[1].

Anyway, this mixture of prose and poetry in a single śravya-kāvya[2] reminds the readers of Ārya-Śūra's similar work Jātaka-mālā.

Again, the treatment of the narrative matter in the Sūtrā-'laṅkāra-śāstra[3] is after the manner of the Jātakas and Avadānas.

The said 90 narratives, as we have noted above, were intended to inculcate some morals upon the minds of the readers. This ethical theme passes like a common cord through the entire work. We often notice an unmistakable trend of Buddhistic propaganda. There are references to 96 heretic sects[4], 95 sorts of heresies[5] and 62 false views[6]. Besides, the Sāṅkhya(> "Seng-k'ia" in Chinese transcription)[7], Vaiśeṣika (> "Wei-che-che" in Chinese transcription)[8], Śaiva[9] and Jaina[10] views have been examined from the Buddhistic perspective. The names of Arāḍa Kālāma (> "A-lan-kia-lan" in Chinese transcription) and [Rāmaputra] Udra[ka] (> "Yo-t'eou-lan" in Chinese transcription) are also mentioned[11]. Further,

1) A comparison with the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti would reveal the fact that Kumārajīva has not observed any fixed rule in his rendering. He has even taken the liberty of translating Sanskrit verses into Chinese prose.

2) It is remarkable that this mixture took place prior to the beginning of the 5th century A. D. when Kumārajīva flourished and long before the first recognition of the nomenclature "campū" by Daṇḍin (ca. 7th century A. D.) in his Kāvyādarśa, $1/31^{cd}$.

3) The racy verve of Kumārajīva's version does not enable us to form any precise idea of the ornate style and fancy metres (like Mandākrāntā, Suvadanā, etc.) which we find in the Sanskrit text of Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

4) Chapter 1, story 2, p. 12.

5) Ch. 3, story 11, p. 63.

6) Ch. 5, story 30, p. 154.

7) Ch. 1, story 2, p. 10 ff.

8) Ch. 1, story 2, p. 10 ff.

9) Ch. 1, story 1, p. 2 ff.

10) Ch. 5, story 31, p. 158 ff., etc.

11) Ch. 10, story 58, p. 298.

conversion appears to be a favourite topic of these stories. Moreover, there are references to the three Ratnas (= Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha)[1], three Yānas (= Śrāvaka-yāna, Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna and Bodhi-sattva-yāna or Mahā-yāna)[2] and five Gatis[3]. Again, the eulogy of the Sarvāsti-vāda (> Sautrāntika-mata ?) in the introductory verses in chapter 1 shows a predilection of the author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra[4] for this particular school of Hīna-yāna philosophy[5]. But beside this doctrinal standpoint there are evidences of Mahā-yāna altruism and Buddha-bhakti[6]. Thus the Sanskrit original of Kumārajīva's version seems to have belonged to the transitional period between Hīna-yāna and Mahā-yāna[7].

Anyway, the dry dogmas have been covered cleverly with lavish secular elements and this popular sandwich has been catered for the readers by the missionary author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra These volatile elements make the tales all the more captivating. The author of these stories exhibits clear traces of his acquaintance with a wide range of literature. Besides the Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic doctrinal tenets referred to above there are references to the four Vedas (> "Wei-t'o" in Chinese transcription)[8], Rāmāyaṇa (> "Lo-mo-yen" in Chinese transcription)[9], [Mahā-]Bhārata

---

1) Ch. 2, story 4, p. 33 ; ch. 2, story 10, p. 59, etc.

2) Ch. 1, story 3, pp 29-30.

3) Ch. 1, story 2, p. 19. These Gatis have already been dealt with before under the Ṣaḍ-gati-kārikā and the Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra.

4) It is notable that Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti also belongs to the Sautrāntika school.

5) It is interesting that the Divyāvadāna, which has borrowed the Aśoka-Upagupta legends from the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, belongs to the Sanskrit Vinaya-piṭaka of the Sarvāsti-vāda school.

6) Cf. chapter 9, story 57, p. 283 ff. and ch. 14, story 68, p. 386 ff. [corresponding to the Tuyoq MS. of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, fragment designated IX (Lüders, p. 206) where the name Mahā-prajā-pati (°-patī — sic) Gautamī is still traceable].

7) We will see later on that Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti also belongs to the same transitional period.

8) Ch. 5, story 23, p. 125.

9) Ch. 5, story 24, p. 126.

(> "P'o-lo-t'a" in Chinese transcription)[1], Manu-saṁhitā[2], Śabda-śāstra (= Vyākaraṇa-śāstra)[3], Alaṅkāra-śāstra[4], Kāma-śāstra[5], 64 arts[6], painting[7], scriptology[8], etc. There are also references to some anonymous biography of the Buddha[9].

Besides this wide range of culture[10] the Sūtralaṅkāra-śāstra shows a remarkable command over depicting varied characters from different strata of the society[11]. In the kaleidoscope we meet with characters like the king, queen, prince, merchant, jeweller, physician, eunach, slave, servant, labourer, elephant-driver, caṇḍāla, criminal, artisan, blacksmith, magician, washerman, butcher, thief, brigand, courtesan, cowherd, Buddhist monk and naked nirgrantha (= Jaina mendicant). In this panorama there are both higher and lower characters of almost every walk of life. There is indeed enough scope for innovations[12] in the Sūtralaṅkāra-śāstra and it is quite natural to expect

1) Ch. 5, story 24, p. 126.

2) Ch. 15, story 77, pp. 439-440. The passage in question deals with the refutation of the popular notion of Brāhmaṇahood and determination of the real Brāhmaṇa-lakṣaṇa. As we know, the same topic has been treated of in the Vajra-sūcī.

3) Ch. 11, story 61, p. 311.

4) Ch. 5, story 30, p. 157 and ch. 11, story 61, p. 311.

5) Ch. 11, story 61, p. 311.

6) Ch. 4, story 20, p. 105.

7) Ch. 14, story 68, p. 397.

8) Ch. 11, story 61, p. 311.

9) Ch. 6, story 43, p. 192 ; ch. 7, story 47, p. 222 and ch. 11, story 62, p. 314.

10) This Purāṇa-like versatility reminds the readers of the Lalitavistara.

11) This democratic outlook finds its parallel in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāra-carita, Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanī-mata, Kṣemendra's Samayamātṛkā and the Prakaraṇa type of Sanskrit drama.

12) The corresponding text Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti appears also to refer to these innovations [cf. "sva-kalpanā(')laṅkṛto = smābhir = evam = abhidhīyamānaḥ śobheta" — Tuyoq MS., fragment no. V, reverse side, l. 5 (Lüders, p. 204) ; = Huber, chapter 4, story 20, p. 105].

that the author of this work left no stone unturned to grapple this opportunity.

Thus we find that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra in Kumārajīva's Chinese version is a literary document of enormous importance from the standpoints of philosophy, history, geography, sociology, economics and general culture[1].

After this brief appraisal of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra we now propose to take up the question of the authorship and date of this work. Kumārajīva's version shows no colophons containing the name of the author. It is only the Chinese tradition that ascribes the work to Aśvaghoṣa[2]. But this imputation is contradicted by the internal evidences furnished by the work itself. Thus the names of Kaniṣka (between 78 and 150 A. D.) and Rudradāman (ca. 150 A. D.) are found in the parables[3] as characters of the past. This fact indicates undoubtedly that the Sanskrit original of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra could not have been composed before the middle of the 2nd century A. D. Again, of the three references to some anonymous biography of the Buddha[4] one does not find its exact counterpart in Aśvaghoṣa's B. It seems probable that the Sarvāstivādin (or rather Sautrāntika ?) author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra might have followed some such biography of the Buddha as belonged to his school. Anyway, one thing is certain that the author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra must have been different from our Aśvaghoṣa (ca. 100 A. D.) who, as we have seen, was contemporaneous with Kaniṣka. In other words, Aśva-

---

1) We will also consider later on the merits and demerits of Kumārajīva's version in relation to the Sanskrit text of Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

2) I-tsing has adhered to this traditional view.

3) Ch. 3, story 14, p. 80 ff. and ch. 5, story 31, p. 158 ff. (Kaniṣka), and ch. 15, story 77, p. 437 (Rudradāman).

4) Ch. 6, story 43 [named "The Buddha converts a person of a lower caste"], p. 192 [agreeing with the B., 10/1-9] ; ch. 7, story 47 [entitled "The conversion of Upāli"], p. 222 [tallying with the B., 16/21-48 and 19/1-2] and ch 11, story 62 [called "The Buddha and the maidservant of Anāthapiṇḍada"], p. 314 [cf. the B., 20/56-58 and Schulze, p. 215, nos. 1672-1675 where the corresponding details are wanting though these details are found in the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti (Qyzyl MS., fol. 196, reverse side, ll. 3-5 — Lüders, p. 178)].

ghoṣa cannot be claimed to have been the author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra which appears to have been composed during the period between 150 and 200 A. D.[1]

After this account of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra we now turn to examine the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

2. [*Kalpanā-maṇḍitikā* or *kalpanālaṅkṛtikā*] *Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti* — The actual title of this Sanskrit text is "Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti" which is a feminine substantive qualified by the adjective "kalpanā-maṇḍitika' or its equivalent "kalpanālaṅkṛtikā"[2]. The main title[3] has been translated into Tibetan as "Dpeḥi phreṅ-ba" (= "Dṛṣṭānta-mālya' which has been corrected eventually to "°-mālā")[4]. Thus neither of the two adjectives can have any claim to be the principal title.

---

1) We will see later on that Kumāralāta's "Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti' appears to have been the Sanskrit original of Kumārajīva's Chinese version. It will also be clear that there never existed any hypothetical Sanskrit text named the "Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra" by Aśvaghoṣa The name "Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra" will be proved to be a mere synonym of the title "Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti".

2) The compound word "kalpanā-maṇḍitikā" [kalpanā-maṇḍita (in the masculine gender) > °taka (also masculine with svārthe -kan) > °tikā (in the feminine gender according to Pāṇini's rule "pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasyā'ta id āpy asupaḥ" — 7/3/44)] or its synonym "kalpanālaṅkṛtikā" [kalpanālaṅkṛta > °kṛtaka > °kṛtikā] is an adjective because its second member is a past participial adjective (ktā'nta viśeṣaṇa).

3) It is not justifiable to fancy some such new word like "kathā" or "ākhyāyikā" as the substantive to be construed with the viśeṣaṇas "Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti" and "kalpanā-maṇḍitikā" (or "kalpanālaṅkṛtikā") because this explanation is cancelled by the corresponding Tibetan title and the word "Dṛṣṭānta" itself means "kathā-sūtra" (as we have seen above in connection with the interpretation of the title "Sūtrā-'laṅkāra-śāstra").

4) Cordier, vol. 3, no. 94/41, p. 432 and Sendai Catalogue, p. 640[a], no. 4196.

Anyway, the chief title and its viśeṣaṇa can be gathered from the remains of three colophons[1] found in the Qyzyl MS. of the work[2].

However, the main title taken together with its attribute would mean << A Series [= "paṅkti" (corresponding to "mālya" or "mālā" of the Tibetan title) referring to the wide extent of 90 stories divided into 9 equal decades] of Stories [illustrating some morals ; = "dṛṣṭāntas" (agreeing with "sūtras" or kathā-sūtras of the Sūtrā-'laṅkāra-śāstra)] ornamented with (poetic) imagination [= 'kalpanā-maṇḍitikā" or "kalpanālaṅkṛtikā" (corresponding to "alaṅkāra" of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra)] >>. This explanation thus accords well with that of the title Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra.

Now, the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is known to us through two textual traditions adhered to in the two MSS. noted underneath.

a) *Qyzyl MS.* — The first textual tradition is represented by the Qyzyl MS. of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. The fragments of this MS. were discovered in the "red-domed cave-temple" in the Qyzyl area[3] in Eastern Turkestan.

The fragments belonged originally to a palm-leaf MS. These remnants (like those of the Ś.) appear to have been written with reed-pen and ink.

The fragments are mostly quite small in size and as such we are thankful to Frau Prof. Else Lüders for having accomplished the painstaking task of a creditable restoration. The pieces were put together befittingly with an eye to their shape, outer features and thought-content. In this way 204 pieces could yield 98 incomplete

---

1) Folio * 111, obverse side, 11. 3-4 [Lüders, p. 153 ; = the sectional colophon to the 3rd decade of stories (i. e., at the end of story 30)] ; fol. 19(* 2), obverse side, 11. 2-3 [Lüders, p. 176 ; = the sectional colophon to the 6th decade of stories (i. e., at the end of story 60)] ; and fol. * 308, reverse side, 11. 1-2 [Lüders, p 190 ; = the final colophon at the close of the 9th decade of stories (i. e., after story 90)].

2) The few fragments of the Tuyoq MS. do not show any colophon containing the requisite particulars. An account of the two MSS. follows shortly.

3) Some particulars of this cave-temple have been given beforehand under the Ś.

leaves. But there remained still 189 smaller pieces which could not be arranged properly. They are said to contain a few letters only.

However, from a study of the reconstructed folios and the smaller fragments it is possible to calculate approximately the total number of the folios at 308

The restored folios appear to be of oval shape. Often the two ends of these folios are mutilated lamentably[1]. Nevertheless the original length of the leaves may be estimated approximately at 33.5 cm. Likewise the width varies between 4.3 cm. and 2.8 cm. Accordingly the number of lines per folio-side varies between 3 and 5.

A glance at these lines can detect the typical letter-forms of the Gupta era. A thorough comparison with the epigraphic records of the early Christian era and the Bower MS. discovered in Kucā and written during the period between 350 and 375 A. D. reveals the fact that the written characters of the folios in question are of the North-western type of Gupta script.

The pagination in each preserved case is found invariably on the left margin of the obverse side[2].

There are some punctuation marks and gaps necessitated by sense[3].

We find still traces of interlinear writings in some of the above leaves. Similar writings are also noticeable on some folio-margins. But these characters are definitely by a different hand and thus these folios betray the features of a palimpsest[4].

The string-hole begins at 5.5 cm. from the left leaf-border. The diameter of the hole is a little more than 1 cm.

There are two cover-plates intended originally for the good preservation of the MS. This is why the last reverse side is found in a fair condition.

However, the Northwestern Gupta script indicates that this

---

1) It is regretted that the corresponding portions in Kumārajīva's rather free rendering cannot be treated as a dependable aid in determining the defective text.

2) Lüders has placed an asterisk before a tentative figure where the original cipher is either illegible or lost.

3) As we have seen before, the Ś. fragments also exhibit similar traits.

4) As we have seen above, the Ś. MSS. are also palimpsests.

Qyzyl MS. was written at first in Northwestern India[1] and brought later on to Eastern Turkestān.

A scrutiny of the said external features shows justifiably that this MS. was written during the period between 300 and 350 A. D. — a period some 150 years later than the Ś. fragments. We therefore conclude that this MS. of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti gives us specimens of the second oldest type of Brāhmī script.

b) *Tuyoq MS.* — The second textual tradition of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is borne out by the Tuyoq MS. The few remnants of this MS. were discovered at Tuyoq about 15 km. towards the east of Idiqut-Schähri in Eastern Turkestan.

This is a paper MS. of which 3 almost complete folios and 10 fragments (and possibly 6 other very small pieces) have been preserved.

The length of these folios is 29.2 cm. while the width may be calculated approximately at 7.7 cm.

There are 6 lines of written matter on each folio-side.

The script resembles that used in Northern India in about the 9th century A. D.

The pagination appears on the reverse sides. The numerical figures are sometimes mutilated or badly damaged.

A few punctuation marks have been used irregularly. We find sometimes a point or a small perpendicular stroke but seldom 2 daṇḍas.

The string-hole is found on the left folio-side at 4.5 cm. from the border.

The use of paper indicates that the MS. was written probably by an Indian monk who migrated from Northern India to Eastern Turkestan.

There are numerous scribal errors. The distinction between the character for the dentolabial "v" and that for the bilabial "b" has not been observed. These errors cannot be attributed entirely to the carelessness of the scribe. The deviations from the correct spellings might also be due to his regional speech habit. Besides, these orthographical features suggest a second textual tradition of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

---

1) Should we surmise that this MS. was written at Takṣaśilā in Northwestern India where the author Kumāralāta lived ?

The remnants of this Tuyoq MS. are in a bad state of preservation. Sometimes syllables are torn off or illegible.

The date of these MS. remains may be placed approximately in the 9th century A. D.

In this connection we will have to consider another important feature of this MS. Along with the afore-said fragments some other fragments were also unearthed at Tuyoq. A thorough study of the new fragments reveals the fact that the new folios are of the same size as the previous ones. Admittedly the difference in width is in millimetres. The number of lines per folio-side is the same. The script is essentially similar with the only distinction that the text of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is found to be rather closely written The scribe is also the same person. It is therefore evident that all the fragments, both previous and new, constitute one single MS But what strikes us most is the fact that in all these we do not find the same text. We rather discover some portions of three different texts by three distinct authors. To be precise, the MS. begins with Mātṛceṭa's Varārha-varṇa[1] (= Catuḥ-śataka) which covers approximately folios 1 to 26 or 27. Next comes Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā which may be calculated to be spread over folios 27 or 28 to 252 or 253. Lastly, Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti begins possibly from folio 254 and is preserved up to folio [4](* 2)[2] only. Obviously we are here concerned with the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti of which a little portion only has survived.

Now, the remains of this Tuyoq MS. contain the portions of stories 4, 20 and 67, which have their counterparts in the Qyzyl MS. fragments, and also 11-15, 19, 25-26, and 68-70 which have nothing corresponding in the Qyzyl MS. The Tuyoq folios designated I and VIII and the Qyzyl folios numbered 30 and 233 supplement one another. In those cases where the two sets of fragments embody the same textual portion there is still some difference in readings. These deviations may be attributed partly to the scribal carelessness and partly to the two textual traditions.

Anyway, the fragments of the two afore-said MSS. have not preserved much of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. What we have today is only the lesser portion of the big text which, as we know from

---

1) Should we correct this title to "Varṇārha-varṇa[-stotra] ?

Kumārajīva's corresponding version, must have been complete in 90 stories. Thus for a thorough study of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti text we have to collate the two MSS. as far as feasible and consult at the same time the corresponding account in free Chinese rendering that we find in the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. In other words, the two textual traditions borne out by the above two MSS. and the Chinese work Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra run pari passu and as such these three must be considered together for proper verification and correction, reasonable restoration and interpretation. But it must be admitted on all hands that this process of a mutual check-up is possible only in respect of the lesser portion of the Sanskrit original while for the remaining lost portion we are left to the mercy of the Chinese version[1].

Besides this Chinese version there is the Tibetan translation entitled the "Dpeḥi phreṅ-ba" (= "Dṛṣṭānta-mālya" ; corrected eventually to "°-mālā"). This translation occurs in the Mdo-ḥgrel (= Sūtra-vṛtti) section of the Bstan-ḥgyur (folio nos. 415ᵇ, 5 – 419ᵃ, 6 — Cordier, vol. 3, p. 432, no. 94/41 ; = Sendai Catalogue, p. 640ᵇ, no. 4196). This rendering was done by Mkhan-po (upādhyāya) Dharmaśrībhadra of India and Lo-tsā-ba (= anuvādaka) Ban-de (= vandya) Thsul-khrims yon-tan (= Śīlaguṇa), and revised by Dge-sloṅ (= bhikṣu) Rin-chen bzaṅ-po (= Ratnabhadra). But the name of the author has not been mentioned in this translation.

After this primary inquiry into the two textual traditions and their two textual aids we now turn to encounter the remaining aspects of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

The akṣara remnants of the sectional colophon to the 9th and last decade of stories and the concluding colophon to the entire text Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti (as preserved in the Qyzyl MS. remains)[2] make it clear that this work (like the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra) must have been complete in 90 stories. The cipher for 9 in the 9th sectional colophon and the syllabic remains of the other two colophons

---

1) We propose to reserve our further observations on Kumārajīva's version for the subsequent discussions on the authorship of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra.

2) Cf. folio * 308, reverse side, ll. 1-2 (Lüders, p. 190) : bh(ik)ṣ(os)=T(ākṣaśilakas)y(a) (ārya-) ...... (samā)ptā 9 II samāptā ca kalpanā-maṇḍitikā Dṛṣṭ(ānta-)......

to the 3rd and 6th decades of parables[1] prove decisively that the 90 narratives were divided equally into 9 decades (90 = 10×9). This division into the decades[2] appears to have been abandoned arbitrarily by Kumārajīva in the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra which, as we have seen above, is divided unsystematically into 15 chapters of unequal length.

Anyway, the remains of the above colophons of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti settle indisputably the question of the authorship of this Sanskrit text. We know it for certain that this work was composed by Kumāralāta and our conclusion remains unshakable even though the Tuyoq MS fragments do not lend any direct support to us and the Tibetan "Dṛṣṭānta-mālā" happens to be anonymous[3].

Now, the name "Kumāralāta" has been transcribed phonetically in Chinese as "Keu-muā-lā-lā-tā"[4]. The Chinese translation of the

---

1) Cf. folio * 111, obverse side, ll. 3-4 (Lüders, p. 153) : (ity= ārya-Kau)m(ā)ralā(tāyāṁ) . . kalpanā-maṇḍitikā(yāṁ) ......paṅktyāṁ (paṁ° — sic) tṛtīyā (tri° — sic) da(śatī samāptā 3 II ⊙ II) ;

and fol. 19(* 2), obverse side, ll. 2-3 (Lüders, p. 176) : (ity=ā)rya-Kaumāralātāyāṁ kalpanālaṁ(kṛt)i(kāyāṁ) ...... (ṣaṣṭhī daśa)t(ī) samāptā 6 II ⊙ II

It is regrettable that the Tuyoq MS. fragments have not preserved any colophon.

2) This arrangement reminds the readers of the same method of classification adopted in the Avadāna-śataka.

3) We have seen above that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra has no colophon whatsoever and it is the Chinese tradition that has ascribed wrongly the original of this work to Aśvaghoṣa. We will see a little later that the Sanskrit original of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra is nothing else than Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti.

4) This transcribed form of the name has been abbreviated to "Kjiəu-muā-(lā-)lā-tā" or "Kjiu-muā-(lā-)lā-tā" [= *"Kumā(ra)-lāta" ; due to haplology or scribal error] and shortened further beyond easy recognition to "Kjiəu-muā" [= * Kumā ; through still more simplification]. The former abbreviated form has been restored erroneously to "Kumārata" (to mean "the chief of the princes" ?) and further Sanskritised (!) to "Kumārada".

name, as given by Hsüan-Tsang, is "T'ung-šou"[1].

The corresponding Tibetan translation, as given by Tāranātha, is "Gz'on-nu-len"[2].

However, the name "Kumāralāta" ending in "lāta" sounds somewhat uncommon[3]. The analogous names like "Brahmarāta", "Viṣṇu-°" "Soma-°", "Vasu-°", "Deva-°", "Bhagavad-°", "Jaya-°", "Kṛti-°", "Kīrtti-°", etc. have the word "rāta" for their second member[4]. The words "lāta" and rāta" are derived from two different roots having two opposite senses. The former is derived from √ lā, to receive (lā ādāne iti ādādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ), while the latter is traced to √rā, to give (rā dāne iti ādādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) Both the roots are however followed by the same past participial suffix -[k]ta- in the karma-vācya. Thus the word "lāta" means "ātta" [(he who has been) received] whereas the word "rāta" signifies "datta" [(he who has been) given]. Therefore, the name "Kumāra-

---

1) This Chinese translation was once rendered back into Sanskrit as "Kumāralabdha". Now that we know the original name of the author from the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti colophons the conjectural restoration has no value whatsoever.

2) This Tibetan translation was once restored into Sanskrit as "Kumāralābha" and "Kumāradhara" which now prove to be erroneous in the light of the original name Kumāralāta.

3)This unusual name reminds the readers of the similar name "Śrīlāta" [= "Ši-li-lo-to" (in Chinese transcription" = "Šēng-šou" (in Chinese translation) = "Dpal-len" (in Tibetan translation by Tāranātha)] which has been restored wrongly as "Śrīlabha", "Śrilābha" and "Śrīlabdha". Śrīlāta, as Hsüan-Tsang tells us in the Ayodhyā-vivaraṇa section of his Memoirs, was a Sautrāntika ācārya.

4) There are also similar words ending in "datta" in the masculine gender and "dattā" in the feminine like "Brahmadatta", "Viṣṇudatta", "Nārāyaṇadatta", "Haridatta", "Vaṭeśvaradatta", "Śrīpatidatta" "Kṛṣṇadatta", Śrīdatta", "Śaṅkhadatta", "Ādityadatta", "Bhānudatta' "Ravidatta", "Mihiradatta", "Prabhākaradatta", "Divākaradatta", "Aruṇadatta", "Śivadatta", "Bhavadatta", "Haradatta", "Gaṅgādatta" "Somadatta", "Kumāradatta", "Bhagīrathadatta", "Indradatta" "Vāsavadattā", "Naravāhanadatta", "Alakadatta", "Bhagadatta",

[Contd.]

lāta" is to be explained[1] as "(he who has been) received from (i. e., through the grace of) Kumāra (= Kārttikeya)" [Kumārāt (= Kārttikeyāt) lātaḥ (= āttaḥ) iti pañcamī-samāsaḥ]. Similarly the names "Brahmarāta", etc. have to be expounded as "(he who has been) given by Brahman" [Brahmaṇā rāta iti tṛtīyā-samāsaḥ], etc.

Now, to proceed with the point in question, the name "Kumāralāta" cannot be claimed with any justification to have originated from the hypothetical form * "Kumārarāta"[2]. The two names, as we know, are different from each other in respect of their formations and meanings. The two must be treated separately and it will not be correct to explain away the former name as derived from the latter one through dissimilation. Further, the Tibetan √len-pa (to receive) accords well in both sound and sense with the Sanskrit √lā (to receive)[3], and as such the Tibetan translation "Gz'on-nu-len"

[Contd.]
"Vasudatta", "Vasukalpadatta", "Amaradatta", "Devadatta", "Yajñadatta", "Amṛtadatta", "Dharmadatta", "Suvratadatta", "Abhayadatta", "Kalyāṇadatta", "Dhanadatta", "Kāmadatta", "Kāmadattā", "Mātṛdatta", "Naradatta", "Veṇīdatta", "Vīradatta", "Gopadatta", 'Svāmidatta", "Aśokadatta", "Aśokadattā", "Dharmāśokadatta", "Saṁgrāmadatta", "Jayadatta", "Harṣadatta", "Viśākhadatta", "(Meghadatta >) Meghadiṇṇa", "(Ghoṣadatta >) ·Ghoṣadiṇṇa", "Vajradatta", "Ujjvaladatta", "Prakāśadatta", "Samudradatta", "Sāgaradattā", "Sindhudattā", "Taraṅgadattā" "Kumbhadatta" "Kumbhadia", "Puṣpadatta", "Laṅgadatta (Lavaṅga°?)", "Cārudatta", "Cāḷudatta", "Kalpadatta", "Siṁhadatta", "(Vṛṣabhadatta >) Vaṣabhadatta", "Vaṣabhadia", "(Bhaviṣyadatta > Bhavissaatta > Bhavisayatta >), Bhavisatta", etc.

1) Let us ignore for the present the grammatical siddhānta "vākyena saṁjñā-'navagamād avigraho nitya-samāsaḥ".

2) Likewise the name "Śrīlāta" cannot owe its origin to * "Śrīrāta".

3) In this context it is curious to note that the Tibetan word "po-ta-la" in the sense of 'a port' has been borrowed from the Sanskrit word "potala" [= pota -(ship) + √ lā (to receive) + -(k)a- (primary suffix in the .kartṛ-vācya) — upapada-tatpuruṣa-samāsa ; = that which receives (i. e., shelters) the ships = a harbour], and here too the final syllable "la" (implying no doubt the agent of receiving) is significantly common to both the words.

conforms to the name "Kumāralāta". Thus the name "Kumāralāta" is confirmed.

However, Kumāralāta, as far as we can gather from the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti colophons cited above, was a bhikṣu residing at Takṣaśilā in Northwestern India. He is mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang (in the Takṣaśilā-vivaraṇa section of the Memoirs) as the founder of the Sautrāntika school. Some fragments of a Sanskrit grammar by Kumāralāta show that he was also a grammarian. That he could write lucid Classical Sanskrit is proved amply by the extant fragments of the 2 MSS. of his Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. His language is essentially Sanskrit though vernacular influences are quite palpable in certain cases. His Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is in the form of a Sanskrit gadya-kāvya[1] where prose holds the predominant position and is interspersed with verses[2] composed in ornate metres like Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, Suvadanā, Mandākrāntā, Āryā, etc.[3] The stories begin with some introductory prose formula like "tad yathā'nuśrūyate", etc. These features remind the readers of Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā where too the prose portion preponderates over the occasional stanzas and the narratives are introduced with similar customary prose sentences. However, Kumāralāta's style is ornate yet simple. He adopted a secular technique for Buddhistic propaganda. It is evident that he employed his creative imagination to embellish his kāvya[4]. It is therefore

1) The Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti foreshadows the later campū-kāvya first noted in Daṇḍin's (ca. 7th century A. D.) Kāvyādarśa (1/31[cd]).

2) It is interesting that in the corresponding Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra also we notice the same preponderance of prose over poetry. But a close comparison of the parallel passages between the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti and the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra reveals the fact that Kumārajīva has not followed any fixed principle in his Chinese translation. He has often rendered Sanskrit poetry into Chinese prose. He has also changed prose into poetry. Under these circumstances we cannot expect any dependable data from Kumārajīva's rather free rendering.

3) It is curious that 2 Prākṛta verses in Āryā metre occur in the midst of Sanskrit verses.

4) Cf. "…. sva-kalpanālaṅkṛto=smābhir-evam=abhidhīyamānaḥ śobheta" [Tuyoq MS., fol. designated V, reverse side, l. 5 (Lüders, p. 204)].

no wonder that he has been eulogised by Hsüan-Tsang's disciple K'ouei-ki as a "Master of parables".

That Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti once proved to be a standard work of Buddhistic pious tales is evinced clearly by the enormous influence it exercised upon the text of the Divyāvadāna[1]. The Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti also seems to have influenced the Tantrākhyāyikā.

The Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, like the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra discussed above, is obviously a Sautrāntika collection of Buddhistic parables. There are also some rudiments of the rising Mahā-yāna. Thus the doctrinal standpoint lies between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna. Besides this transitional status the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti mentions the name of Kaniṣka[2] whose date may be placed during the period between 78 and 150 A. D. It is therefore plausible to say that Kumāralāta flourished during the period between 150 and 200 A. D. This date is further confirmed by his imitation of Aśvaghoṣa's (ca. 100 A. D.) style[3]. It is most likely that Aśvaghoṣa and Kumāralāta were not much remote from each other in date.

After this individual evaluation of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra and the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti we now take up the question of their mutual relationship before we pass our final judgment on the authorship of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. The path of this relative assessment has been paved already by Lüders who has edited the extant textual portions of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti from the surviving folios (with both preserved and tentative folio-numbers) of the Qyzyl and Tuyoq MSS., and has given as far as practicable the corresponding numbers of the stories, pages and lines in Huber's French retranslation of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. From these cross references we can deduce

1) Lüders has shown in details the mutual relationship among the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Aśoka-rāja-sūtra (= "A-yü-wang-king"), Aśoka-rājāvadāna (= "A-yü-wang-č'uan" in its shorter and expanded versions), Saṁyuktāgama version of the Aśoka-Upagupta legend and Divyāvadāna.

2) Cf. "..... (ku)la-(t)ila(k)[e ?] (Ka)ṇi(ṣk)e ....." [Qyzyl MS., folio * 111, obverse side, l. 5 (Lüders, p. 153) ; = Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra, ch. 5, story 31, p. 158].

3) The details of this topic will be given in Chapter III dealing with Aśvaghoṣa's style and influence on the posterity.

the fact that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra and the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti are closely correlated to each other. Both are Sautrāntika collections of parables. Both run up to the 90th story. Both have the same topics of the stories. Both are overladen with lavish secular charms. From these data we arrive at the natural conclusion that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra cannot be essentially different from the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. In other words, Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is the Sanskrit original of Kumārajīva's Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra in Chinese. The title [kalpanā-maṇḍitikā or kalpanālaṅkṛtikā] Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti has been compressed inexactly by Kumārajīva into the title Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. This postulate of the basic identity of the two works is in the least affected by the deviations which are chiefly due to Kumārajīva's faulty translation. His free rendering is marred by omissions and commissions. He has also made additions and alterations. At times he has abridged his original. Sometimes the sentences of the original text have been misplaced in his translation. Moreover, he has not been much careful in the transcription of Sanskrit names into Chinese. A consideration of these data shows that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra cannot be looked upon as a faithful reproduction of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti and Kumārajīva is mainly to blame for this. Might we also suggest that he followed a different recension of the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti ? Anyway the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra is nothing but a loose Chinese version by Kumārajīva of Kumāralāta's Sanskrit work Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti. Aśvaghoṣa has nothing to do with either work. It is therefore not correct to say that Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is nothing but a revised Sautrāntika redaction of Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra the supposed original of Kumārajīva's Chinese version. It is alleged that the hypothetical original of the extant Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra in Chinese was composed actually by Aśvaghoṣa. This Sanskrit original is supposed to have been lost in course of time and could not have been translated into Chinese (?)[1]. This work

---

1) If this be so then whose work did Kumārajīva translate into Chinese ? According to this curious theory he cannot be claimed to have translated Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. The only alternative that remains is that Kumārajīva has translated nothing else than Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti — the pertinent conclusion that we have arrived at.

is said to have been confused later on with Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti which being a refashioned version of Aśvaghoṣa's lost Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra is different from its original. But this misleading mythical theory cannot be acceptable in any way. Firstly, the whole hypothesis has for its basis the questionable Chinese tradition that Aśvaghoṣa was the author of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. But there is no colophon at the end of Kumārajīva's Chinese version to corroborate the traditional ascription. Further, it is sheer anachronism to attribute to Aśvaghoṣa (ca. 100 A. D.) a post-Kaniṣkan text which was composed most likely in the latter half of the 2nd century A. D. Secondly, the supposition of a lost and untranslated Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra in Sanskrit irrespective of Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is nothing but an undue compromise of fact with fiction. This hypothesis is vitiated by both asambhava-doṣa and gaurava-doṣa. Lastly, Kumāralāta employed his creative imagination to beautify his composition, and as such he has every claim to originality[1]. His Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti cannot be termed an adaptation of some fictitious Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra. This much is no doubt true that Kumāralāta's (ca. 150-200 A. D.) work betrays the influence of Aśvaghoṣa's (ca. 100 A. D.) authentic kāvyas[2]. But there is no justification for the absurd statement that Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti imitated Aśvaghoṣa's Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra.

We therefore conclude that Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti is undoubtedly the Sanskrit original which Kumārajīva translated freely into Chinese under the inexact title "Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra". Thus the two works are essentially identical and our Aśvaghoṣa has nothing to do with the Sanskrit original of the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra (i. e., the Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti). Is it due to the Chinese tradition confusedly identifying Aśvaghoṣa with Kumāralāta that the Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra has been ascribed incorrectly to Aśvaghoṣa ?

So far we have examined in detail the various spurious works in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan, and refuted their claim to authenticity.

1) Cf. "........ sva-kalpanālaṅkṛto = smābhir = evam = abhidhīyamānaḥ śobheta" [Tuyoq MS, folio designated V, reverse side, 1. 5 (Lüders, p. 204)].

2) Some parallel passages will be cited in Chapter III dealing with Aśvaghoṣa's style and influence on the posterity.

In this context it is also necessary before we close this chapter to call in question the authorship of a few stray verses which have been cited by some later writers in the name of Aśvaghoṣa but which cannot be traced in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas[1]. These problematic verses occur in some works on Sanskrit poetics and in several anthologies of later date. We need not recapitulate here those dubious instances which have been noted already in detail by the learned editors of the Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya and the Subhāṣita-ratna-koṣa (by Vidyākara). So we propose to examine here the single citation which escaped the notice of these scholars. This quotation, which is found in Ratnaśrījñāna's (ca. 10th century A. D.) Ratna-śrī on Daṇḍin's Kāvya-lakṣaṇa (= Kāvyādarśa), 1/105 (p. 61) runs as follows :—

"yathoktam ācāryā(')śvaghoṣeṇa (?) —

'ālasyaṁ yadi na bhavej jagaty anarthaḥ ko vidvān iha na bhaved dhaneśvaro vā /

ālasy[ā]d avanir iyaṁ sasāgarā [hi] saṁpūrṇā nara-paśubhiś ca nirdhanaiś ca //' "

This verse in Praharṣiṇī metre with the minor restorations by the editors of the Ratnaśrī commentary cannot be traced in Aśvaghoṣa's genuine works.

Thus in all these cases the ascription to our Aśvaghoṣa is absolutely baseless. It might be that these verses were composed by some post-Aśvaghoṣan poetasters of undisclosed actual name and identity who passed their own writings in the name of Aśvaghoṣa only to secure authority for these. The other alternative is that these writers also bore the same name "Aśvaghoṣa". But our Aśvaghoṣa must be distinguished from his later namesakes.

Besides these questionable quotations there are also some poetical songs which are referred to by I-tsing (Takakusu, p. 165) as a collection of sacred texts compiled by Aśvaghoṣa[2] and chanted at

1) We need not consider here those cases of the authentic quotations from the B. and the S., and the numerous later adaptations from these two kāvyas that have been dealt with above.

2) Does I-tsing refer to the Buddha-stotras as we find in the S., canto 18 and the B., canto 27, or to some collection of apophthegms of Aśvaghoṣa ?

the Buddhist sanctuaries of India. The nature of this reference is too vague to allow us form any precise idea of these songs and their authorship.

From the foregoing discussions we thus come to the conclusion that the B., S., Ś. and R. are the four authentic works which must have been composed by the single author Aśvaghoṣa and that he has nothing to do with the numerous apocryphal works in Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. We would therefore restrict our subsequent discussions to the afore-said four genuine works only.

CHAPTER III

AŚVAGHOṢA'S LANGUAGE AND STYLE

In the previous chapter we have given a concise conspectus of the externalities of Aśvaghoṣa's four authentic kāvyas. We now propose to make an intensive investigation into some fascinating niceties of his Sprachgut and style and as such our present enquiry has to be directed as far as possible to the extant portions of the authentic texts[1]. Admittedly it is neither practicable nor advisable to take up for discussion every minute point with regard to the Sprachstoffe and Stilistik and so some glaring specimens will suffice to offer some fair idea in respect of both. However, with these preliminary remarks we pass on to divide the present chapter into two broad sections for the facilitation of the subsequent discussions.

I. *Language*

As we already know, Aśvaghoṣa composed two ornate Mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., one Prakaraṇa, the Ś., and one Nāṭaka, the R. Of these four the first two are Śravya-kāvyas in Sanskrit while the last two[2] are Dṛśya-kāvyas of the Miśra type where both Sanskrit and Prākṛtas are used. However, for the sake of a comparative assessment of the linguistic materials in respect of both Sanskrit and its different dialects we propose to deal with them conveniently under two separate sub-sections.

A. *Sanskrit*

The linguistic data about Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit are to be culled from the B. and the S. and the remnants of the speeches of the Sanskrit-speaking characters, both male and female [viz., the Buddha, his virtues, Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrtti — all assuming female roles, his disciples, Kauṇḍinya, Upādhyāya (= Aśvajit ?), a Sanskrit-speaking

---

1) We will see presently in course of our discussion that translations of the Sanskrit originals are often misleading and cannot thus be always looked upon as an infallible guide in the precise interpretation of linguistic and rhetorical technicalities.

2) Strictly speaking, the preserved portions of the Ś. only exhibit the Miśra features whereas the extant citation from the R. is in Sanskrit.

Buddhist Śramaṇa[1], Śāriputra (alias Somadatta ?), Maudgalyāyana, Dhānañjaya (a scribal error for Dhanañjaya), a Tāpa(sa)[2] and a Brāhmaṇa], in the Ś. For a comparative estimate it is therefore necessary to treat these texts together in our following discussion.

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit is on the whole classical. It imbibes a narrative simplicity from the two Great National Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. Its manner of presentment is sober. It is elegant and moderately ornate. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit exhibits the characteristics of the early classical period which may be assigned roughly to the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era and when ornate Sanskrit was passing more or less through an amorphous stage of pristine experiments in order to attain the state of perfection. At this uncrystallized stage the Kunst-Sanskrit of a preacher-kavi like Aśvaghoṣa was intended for a direct appeal to the mass and so comparatively free from artificial mannerism which marred to a large extent the real kāvya element in the later decadent period. However, Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit is on an average correct. But there are some instances of Epic flexibility and dialectal influence. Besides, there are ample examples of Aśvaghoṣa's Spracheigenheiten and some of these even verge on pedantry. There are no doubt several cases of genuine error which, as we will see a little later, are mostly due to the scribes, translators and editors.

Anyway, the above observations may now be substantiated with the help of appropriate citations from the B., S. and Ś. Let us at first take up some normal examples of Aśvaghoṣa's Sprachgebrauch and then switch on to consider the peculiarities. To begin with, Aśvaghoṣa's normal usage may be exemplified as follows :—

a) puruṣo yadi jānīta mātsaryasyedṛśaṁ phalam (°laṁ — sic) .
sarvathā Śibivad dadyāc charīrāvayavān api . .
[B., 14/30]

---

1) This Śramaṇa, who appears to introduce Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana to the Buddha engaged in conversation with Kauṇḍinya towards the close of the Ś. [fragments numbered (K) 54, 55 (?) and 56 (to be taken together along with their subsequent restorations by Lüders)], has to be distinguished from another Śramaṇa (= Ājīvika ?) speaking an indeterminate type of Prākṛta [fragment(s) numbered (K) 40 (& 29 to be read along with its later restorations)].

2) Ś., frg. no. (K) 34.

b) nirjitya Māraṁ yudhi durnivāram
adyāsi loke raṇa-śīrṣa-śūraḥ.
śūro 'py aśūraḥ sa hi veditavyo
doṣair amitrair iva hanyate yaḥ..
[S., 18/28]

c) Buddhiḥ — tathā tat (;) api ca —
nityaṁ sa supta (i)va yasya na buddhir asti (.)
nityaṁ sa matta iva yo dhṛti-viprahīṇa(ḥ)..
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, l. 4]

Now let us turn to examine the afore-mentioned peculiarities under the following heads[1] :—

1. *Phonology*

a) babhūva sa hi saṁvegaḥ śreyasas tasya vṛddhaye.
dhātur edhir ivākhyāte paṭhito 'kṣara-cintakaiḥ..
[S., 12/9]

Here we find a reference to Pāṇini's "ety-edhaty-ūṭhsu" (6/1/89) which enjoins "vṛddhi" of the initial vowel "e" of the root edh(a) [edh(a) vṛddhāv iti bhauvādika ātmanepadī seṭ dhātuḥ] in euphonic combination with the final "a" or "ā" of the preceding word [-a/-ā + e(dha) > -ai(dha)]. The word "vṛddhi" in the verse under consideration has been used both in the laukika (vṛddhiḥ = upacayaḥ) and vyākaraṇa-śāstrīya (ād-aij-lakṣaṇā vṛddhiḥ) senses to fit in with the upameya (saṁvegaḥ) and the upamāna (edhiḥ), and the verse is thus an illustration of abhaṅga-śleṣānuprāṇitā vākyagā (samāsagā vā) pūrṇopamā (avarṇāt para-sthita edhater ed yathā guṇa-para-rūpāpavādena ād-aij-lakṣaṇāṁ vṛddhiṁ bhajate tathā saṁsārā'nityatvān nirvedo 'pi bhāryā'psaro-nivartanena kalyāṇa-buddher upacayaṁ ghaṭayitum īṣṭa iti nirgalitārthaḥ)[2].

b) gato 'rya-putro (metri causa ?) hy apunar-nivṛttaye ....
[B., 8/34c]

1) Examples under each heading may be multiplied at pleasure.

2) The verse in question is an instance of Aśvaghoṣa's incidental indulgence in pedantry. Such display of technical knowledge will be dealt with under Apratītatva-doṣa in the second section of this chapter.

c) [saśiṣ]y[e] tyakta-varkkale .
[B., 16/36ᵇ in Weller's Sanskrit text ; = 16/38 in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations]

"Vark(k)a-la" is the intermediate form between "varka-ra" and "valka-la".

d) Dhānaṁ [a scribal error for "Dhanaṁ" (< Dhanaṁjaya)] — ārttha-siddhaye [a scribal error for "arttha-°"][1) ....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, 1. 2]

e) ......ṣv ā(r)tth(e)ṣu [a scribal error for "artthesu"][2) pravarttamānaḥ .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 21a, 1. 1]

f) ..... (pr)a(t)īg(ṛ)hītāmiṣas(ya) [a scribal error for "prati°"] ...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 51b, 1. 2]

g) ..... mannyamānas[3) tuṣṇī(m)[4) [scribal errors for "manya°" and "tū°"] .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 10b, 1. 4]

---

1 & 2) The optional reduplication of "th" [and the subsequent deaspiration of the first member of the reduplication into "t" (r-th > r-th-th > r-t-th)] immediately following the cacuminal liquid "r" in the conjunct "rtth" has already been noted under the orthographical peculiarities of the "K" fragments in Chapter II above.

3) The reduplication of "n" in "mannya°" is apparently due to the unusual stress laid by the scribe on the initial vowel "a" (in "ma"). This abnormal stress affecting the orthography may be explained away as his individual speech-habit or a zonal practice adhered to by him.

4) The irregular shortening in "u" of "tu" before the immediately succeeding conjunct "ṣṇīm" appears to have been due to the scribal habit of observing the law of morae in spelling Sanskrit words. But this is no doubt an M.I.A. feature instanced also by his writing "..... yenāvaptaṁ (for °vā°) ......" [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 2], "..... yugapat sandhyambuda (for "sandhyā°") iva ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 2], etc.

h) ..... mano-buddhis tasmiṁnn[1] [a scribal error for "tasminn"] aham .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 2]

i) ..... śṛṇvam[2] [a scribal error for "śṛṇvan"] puṣ(p)ā.....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, 1. 3]

j) kiṁ [an editorial error for "kim"][3] v imā nāvagacchanti
[B., 4/56ᵃ]

k) "hite cānupravartanam . vyasane ..... mitra-lakṣaṇam .." [B., 4/64ᵇᶜᵈ] beside "..... gacchati nāntarikṣaṁ . diśaṁ ..... śāntiṁ .." [S., 16/28ᵇᶜᵈ][4]

1) The insertion of the additional nasal "ṁ" (besides the regular reduplication of the final nasal "n" due to the stress intended to be laid on the immediately preceding padāntastha short vowel "i" which is thus rendered prosodially heavy) in "tasmiṁnn" is not warranted in euphonic combination (ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam — Pāṇini, 8/3/32). This aberration in spelling appears to have been caused by the defective pronunciation of the scribe.

2) Here we meet with a misapplication of the accepted law of para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva in the change of the final "n" (= dental nasal) of the preceding word into "m" (= bilabial nasal) due to assimilation with the initial "p" (= bilabial non-nasal inaspirate surd) of the next word. This is also an instance of the scribe's incorrect pronunciation of Sanskrit sounds affecting his orthography.

3) Pāṇini's rule "maya uño vo vā" (8/3/33) sanctions either "[ki]m v i[mā] ......" or "[ki]m u i[mā] ......". Of these two alternatives we choose the former because the latter would spoil the śloka metre. In no case "[ki]m u i[mā] ...." can yield "[ki]ṁ v i[mā] ....." because "v" itself being asiddha (vasya parabhāvi-sūtra-vihitatvāt) cannot change "m" into "ṁ" (anusvārasya pūrvabhāvi-sūtra-vihitatvāt) according to Pāṇini's "mo 'nusvāraḥ" (8/3/23). However, this case of solecism cannot be attributed to the kavi Aśvaghoṣa inasmuch as the editor Johnston is solely responsible for introducing the improper reading.

4) Vāmana's "nityaṁ saṁhitaika-padavat pādeṣv ardhāntavarjam" [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 5/1/2] clearly enjoins that external sandhi (like internal sandhi) is compulsory within a hemistich

[Contd.]

2. *Morphology*

a) tataḥ ..... bhaga(vā)ṁ [a Hybrid Sanskrit form for "bhagavān"][1] ...

[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 4]

b) Dhānaṁ — gatāsi Somadattassa [a scribal error for "Somadattasya"][2] śvaśura-kulam (°laṁ — sic)[3]

[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13a, 1. 3]

c) ..... ruroda dadhyau vilalāpa cāsakṛt .
... dhṛtiṁ na sasmāra cakāra no hriyam ..

[B., 8/70]

This verse shows five finite verb-forms in liṭ.[4]

d) ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau
babhrāma tasthau vilalāpa dadhyau .
cakāra roṣaṁ vicakāra mālyaṁ
cakarta vaktraṁ vicakarṣa vastram (vastraṁ — sic)[5] ..

[S., 6/34]

[Contd.]
and that there cannot be any external sandhi between 'b' and 'c' of a verse. Moreover, Pāṇini's "mo 'nusvāraḥ" (8/3/23) does not allow the change of "m" into "ṁ" at the end of a sentence or any hemistich because no other consonant follows this final "m" before the daṇḍa sign. It appears from the citations from Aśvaghoṣa given above that Johnston has followed the said principles of sandhi in his edition of the B. and deviated from them while editing the S.

1) The irregular form in -vāṁ of masculine -vat-stems in the nominative singular is in vogue in Hybrid Sanskrit literature.

2) This error has to be attributed to the inadvertence of the scribe.

3) We have already discussed under Phonology that "ṁ" is not allowed at the end of a sentence or a hemistich. The error is no doubt due to the negligence of the scribe.

4) A study of Aśvaghoṣa reveals the fact that he has a predilection for the use of the verb-forms in liṭ (perfect preterite). His next preference goes to luṅ (aorist). There is thus a dearth of the verb-forms in laṅ (imperfect preterite).

5) See note 3 supra.

This verse contains twelve finite verb-forms in liṭ[1].

e) dhṛtyendriyāśvāṁś capalān vijigye
bandhūṁś ca paurāṁś ca guṇair jigāya . . [B., 2/34[cd]]

This hemistich exhibits that the root ji (ji jri abhibhave iti bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ), which, by nature, admits of the active conjugational endings, switches on to the middle endings when the upasarga vi- is prefixed to it (vi-parābhyāṁ jeḥ — Pāṇini, 1/3/19).

f) śame 'bhireme virarāma pāpād
bheje damaṁ saṁvibabhāja sādhūn . . [B., 2/33[cd]]

The third quarter (in the second hemistich) cited here illustrates that the same root ram (ramu krīḍāyām iti bhauvādika ātmanepadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) changes its upagraha (ātmanepada > parasmaipada) when the upasarga vi- is prefixed to it (vy-āṅ-paribhyo ramaḥ — Pāṇini, 1/3/83). Again, the last quarter in the quotation shows the same root bhaj (bhaja sevāyām iti bhauvādika ubhayapadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) in both active and middle verb-forms in liṭ third person singular irrespective of any upasarga.

g) praṇatān anujagrāha vijagrāha kula-dviṣaḥ .
āpannān parijagrāha nijagrāhā 'sthitān pathi .. [S., 2/10]

Here the same verb-form "jagrāha" in liṭ has been used four times in the four quarters to yield four distinct meanings under the influence of the four different upasargas.

h) [atha (tato ?) Buddha]sya māhātmyaṁ
niśāmya [sa visiṣmiye].
[B., 16/32[ab] in Weller's Sanskrit text ; = 16/34 in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations]

The verb-form visiṣmiye (vi + √ smi + liṭ e) is derived from the ṣopadeśa root ṣmi(ṅ)[2] which has its initial "ṣ" changed at first into "s" (dhātv-ādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ — Pāṇini, 6/1/64) and thus after reduplication and simplification of the abhyāsa we get "si-smi".

1) It is remarkable that the alternate arrangement of -a-forms and -au-forms in liṭ ṇal of the different roots obviously aims at producing a spontaneous (apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya) rhythmic effect.

2) Ṣmiṅ īṣad-dhasane iti bhauvādika ātmanepadī aniṭ dhātuḥ. Ṅ-ittvād ātmanepadam .

Then the ādeśa-sakāra (ādeśa-pratyayayoḥ — Pāṇini, 8/3/59) of the second member of the reduplication is cerebralized after the "i" (iṇ-koḥ — Pāṇini, 8/3/57) of the abhyāsa.

i) nṛ-varaḥ saṁjahṛṣe visismiye ca . [B., 5/21ᵇ] ; visismiye tatra janas tadānīṁ ... [B., 10/3ᶜ] ; tasmiṁs tathā yāti visismiyāte . [B., 6/64ᵇ] and śrī-prāptau na visismiye . [S., 2/2ᵇ]

In all these excerpts the irregular use of the sigma in ⁰smi⁰ must be attributed to the ignorant scribes because Aśvaghoṣa himself gives us the correct form with the cacuminal sibilant (ṣ) in ⁰ṣmi⁰ in the B., 16/32ᵇ cited above[1].

j) ...... saṁvardhayām ātmajavad babhūva . . [B., 2/19ᵈ] ; ...... divyair viśeṣair mahayāṁ ca cakruḥ . . [B., 6/58ᵈ] and pratyarcayāṁ dharmabhṛto babhūva ...... [B., 7/9ᶜ]

In these three excerpts from the B. the three composite verb-forms in the periphrastic perfect tense violate[2] Pāṇini's "kṛñ cā 'nuprayujyate liṭi" (3/1/40) inasmuch as in each case the ām-anta first member is not immediately followed by the auxiliary liḍ-anta kṛñ. In the first instance an adverb intervenes while in the second an indeclinable and in the third a case (kāraka)[3].

k) avendravad, divy ava śaśvad arkavad, guṇair ava,
śreya ihāva, gām ava .
avāyur, āryair ava, sat-sutān ava, śriyaś ca rājann ava
dharmam ātmanaḥ . . [B., 11/70]

In this verse the same verb-form "ava" in loṭ -hi has been used nine times in nine different senses, viz., i) kānti, ii) dīpti, iii) prīti, iv) icchā, v) rakṣaṇa, vi) avāpti, vii) vṛddhi, viii) āliṅgana and ix) yācana.

---

1) Admittedly there are some loose verb-forms of the root smi in liṭ with this sigma (i. e., ⁰smi⁰) in the pre-classical literature.

2) It is notable that Aśvaghoṣa gives us also the regular verb-forms like nimantrayāmāsa (B., 1/52ᶜ), grāhayāmāsa (B., 12/111ᵈ), vimohayāmāsa (S., 5/14ᶜ), janayāṁbabhūva (S., 7/26ᵈ), etc.

3) A critical examination in details of the problems about the periphrastic perfect tense from the standpoints of Sanskrit grammar and comparative philology has been attempted by the present writer in his research paper entitled "Aśvaghoṣādi-kāvye liṭ-prayoga-vivekaḥ" published in the Viśva-Saṁskṛtam, vol. I, part 4, pp. 307-317, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, August, 1964.

The common root is av(a) rakṣaṇa-gati-kānti-prīti-tṛpty-avagama-praveśa-śravaṇa-svāmy-artha-yācana-kriyecchā-dīpty-avāpty-āliṅgana-hiṁsā"dāna-bhaya-vṛddhiṣu (bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī seṭ dhātuḥ)[1].

l) yatra sma mīyate Brahma kaiścit kaścin (kaiś⁰ — sic) na mīyate
kāle nimīyate somo na cākāle pramīyate .. [S., 1/15][2]

In this verse the same passive verb-form "mīyate" has been used purposely in four different senses in the four quarters. In 'a' the root is "mā(ṅ) māne śabde ca" (jauhotyādika ātmanepadī aniṭ sakarmako dhātuḥ; māna = jñāna > śravaṇa, manana and nididhyāsana; śabda = adhyayana and japa), in 'b' "mī(ñ) hiṁsāyām" (kry-ādi-gaṇīya ubhayapadī seṭ dhātuḥ) used transitively (hiṁsā = vadha), in 'c' "mā māne" (ādādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ sakarmako dhātuḥ; māna = parimāpaṇa), and in 'd' (as in 'b') "mī(ñ) hiṁsāyām" used intransitively (hiṁsā = maraṇa). The word "kaiścit" is the common anukta agent in all the four cases.

m) nā 'dhyaiṣṭa duḥkhāya parasya vidyāṁ
jñānaṁ śivaṁ yat tu tad adhyagīṣṭa . [B., 2/35^{ab}]

This first hemistich of the verse serves to illustrate that the same root (adhi- +) i(ṅ) adhyayane (ādādika ātmanepadī aniṭ dhātuḥ; nityam adhi-pūrvaḥ) is substituted optionally by the form gā(ṅ) in luṅ ("gāṅ liṭi" and "vibhāṣā luṅ-lṛṅoḥ" — Pāṇini, 2/4/49-50) and so the two resultant forms in the ṅ-it ta-vibhakti (gāṅ-kuṭādibhyo 'ñ-ṇ-in ṅ-it — Pāṇini, 1/2/1) are "adhyaiṣṭa" (adhi-i-ta > adhi-āṭ-i-sic-ta > adhi-ā-i-s-ta > adhy-ā-e-ṣ-ṭa > adhy-ai-ṣ-ṭa) and "adhyagīṣṭa" (adhi-i-ta > adhi-āṭ-i-sic-ta > adhi-aṭ-gā-sic-ta > adhi-a-gā-s-ta > adhy-a-gī-ṣ-ṭa).

n) avardhiṣṭa guṇaiḥ śaśvad avṛdhan mitra-saṁpadā .
avartiṣṭa ca vṛddheṣu nā 'vṛtad garhite pathi .. [S., 2/26]

Here the first hemistich gives the two optional verb-forms of the same root vṛdh(u) vṛddhau (bhauvādika ātmanepadī seṭ dhātuḥ) in luṅ -ta while the second hemistich shows the two alternative verb-

1) Such pedantic parade of the knowledge of the grammatical technicalities has to be looked upon as apratītatva-doṣa to be dealt with under "Style".

2) This verse bears close resemblance to the S., 2/35-36 to be cited and commented upon a little later.

forms of the same root vṛt(u) vartane (bhauvādika ātmanepadī seṭ dhātuḥ) in luṅ -ta. Both the roots assume optionally the active terminations in aorist (vṛdbhyaḥ sya-sanoḥ — Pāṇini, 1/3/92).

o) vṛttenā 'jihladat prajāḥ .. [S., 2/30[a]]

Here the verb-form "ajihladat" as derived from the root hlād(ī) avyakte śabde, sukhe ca (bhauvādika ātmanepadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) in causative reduplicated aorist is one of the almost schematic (prakaraṇa-gata) illustrations of luṅ of ṇij-anta roots in the S., Canto II[1].

p) aśrāntaḥ samaye yajvā yajña-bhūmim amīmapat .
pālanāc ca dvijān Brahma nirudvignān[2] amīmapat ..
gurubhir vidhivat kāle saumyaḥ somam amīmapat .
tapasā tejasā caiva dviṣat-sainyam amīmapat ..
[S., 2/35-36][3]

In this couple of verses the same verb-form "amīmapat" in causative reduplicated aorist has been placed at the end of each hemistich for the sake of yamana or rhyming (yuk-pādānta-gata inter-

1) It is striking that Bhāmaha cites the word "ajihladat" as an instance of the śabda-doṣa (to be precise, padāṁśa-doṣa) termed śruti-kaṣṭatva [yathā 'jihladad ity-ādi śruti-kaṣṭaṁ ca tad viduḥ . na tad icchanti kṛtino ...... — Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/53[abc]]. Does Bhāmaha dig at Aśvaghoṣa's usage ?

However, other illustrations of śruti-kaṣṭatva-doṣa (or °-kaṭutva-°) will be given under "Style".

2) This irregular compound word should be corrected to "nirudvegān" because the upasarga "nir" as the first member does not enter into a Bahu-vrīhi compound with a viśeṣaṇa as the second member. To explain the word "udvigna" as a viśeṣya with the help of Pāṇini's "napuṁsake bhāve ktaḥ" (3/3/114) would be an artificial and unsatisfactory solution.

However, other cases of solecism (cyuta-saṁskāratva-doṣa) will be shown under "Style".

3) These verses showing the use of the causative verb-form "amīmapat" in different meanings correspond to the S., 1/15 (already cited above) which illustrates similarly the non-causative verb-form "mīyate". The particulars of the roots concerned and their suitable senses have been discussed in detail in that context.

hemistich yamaka)[1]. The first verb-form is derived from the ādādika root mā (= māna = parimāpaṇa), the second from the jauhotyādika root mā(ṅ) (= both māna and śabda), the third from the ādādika root mā (= māna = parimāpaṇa) and the fourth from the kry-ādi-gaṇīya mī(ñ) (= hiṁsā).

q) ··· deyā'mbubhis tarṣam acecchidiṣṭa (acechi° — sic)[2].
... dviḍ-darpam udvṛttam abebhidiṣṭa .. [B., 2/40[bd]]

Here a yuk-pādānta-gata anuprāsa has been attempted through the two verb-forms in luṅ -ta (middle iṣ-aorist) of two yaṅ-anta secondary roots, viz., chid(ir) dvaidhīkaraṇe (raudhādika ubhayapadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) and bhid(ir) vidāraṇe (raudhādika ubhayapadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) respectively.

r) na cā 'vivakṣīd dviṣatām adharmaṁ
na cā 'vivakṣīd dhṛdayena manyum . . [B., 2/44[cd]]

Here a pādādi-gata yamaka between 'c' and 'd' has been aimed at through the repetition of the same verb-form "avivakṣīt" in iṣ-aorist of two sann-anta roots, viz., vac(a) paribhāṣaṇe (ādādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) and vah(a) prāpaṇe (bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ).

s) tenā 'pāyi yathākalpaṁ somaś ca yaśa eva ca . [S., 2/44[ab]]

In the first hemistich of the verse cited above there is an abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa of two tiṅ-prakṛtis (tense-stems)[3], viz., √pā (> piba iti ad-anta ādeśaḥ) pāne (bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) and √ pā rakṣaṇe (ādādikaḥ parasmaipadī aniṭ dhātuḥ) which

---

1) Other illustrations of yamaka will be given later on under "Style".

2) In the pada-sādhana-daśā the form must be "a-ce-c-chid-iṣ-ṭa" (< a-ce-j-chid-iṣ-ṭa < a-ce-d-chid-iṣ-ṭa < a-ce-t-chid-iṣ-ṭa < a-ce-tuk-chid-iṣ-ṭa < √chid-yaṅ-luṅ ta) through internal sandhi ("che ca" and "dīrghāt" — Pāṇini, 6/1/73 & 75). The augment tuk (> c) indicates that within the verb-form in question "ch" is doubled (and eventually deaspirated) after the long vowel "e" which is apparently intended to be stressed.

3) The same type of pun is also found in the verb-form "papau" in liṭ (ṇ)a(l) in "vedopadiṣṭaṁ samam ātmajaṁ ca somaṁ papau śānti-sukhaṁ ca hārdam . ." (B., 2/37[cd]).

However, other instances of śleṣa will be dealt with under "Style".

two yield the same verb-form — "apāyi" in middle aorist (luṅ -ta) in the transitive passive (karma-vācya).

t) yadi hy aheṣiṣyata bodhayan janaṁ
khuraiḥ kṣitau vā 'py akariṣyata dhvanim .
hanu-svanaṁ vā 'janayiṣyad uttamaṁ
na cā 'bhaviṣyan mama duḥkham īdṛśam . . [B., 8/41]

Each of the four quarters of this verse contains a verb-form in lṛṅ. The first two verb-forms are in the middle voice (lṛṅ -ta) while the last two are in the active (lṛṅ -d).

u) hata-tviṣo 'nyāḥ śithilāṁsa-bāhavaḥ
striyo viṣādena vicetanā iva .
na cukruśur nāśru jahur na śaśvasur
na celur āsur likhitā iva sthitāḥ . . [B., 8/25]

The printed text of Rājaśekhara's Kāvya-mīmāṁsā (5/10) appears to cite this verse anonymously with some wrong and negligible variations (already shown in Chapter II above) to show the preponderance of inflected forms, both declensional and conjugational, in the composition of a "nāmā"khyāta-kavi". Here we find nine declined forms and five verb-forms in a single verse. But to categorize Aśvaghoṣa as a "nāmā"khyāta-kavi" is a mere superficial criticism which only thinks in terms of the extraneous features of the kāvya-śarīra and does not go beyond that objective level of approach. Therefore, this estimate by Rājaśekhara undermines no doubt the true poetry of Aśvaghoṣa.

v) pṛcchemas tāva(t) — ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 57b, 1. 4]

The verb-form "pṛcchemas" appears to be a scribal error for 'pṛcchema" or "pṛcchāmas".

w) tair eva devaiḥ kṛta-buddhi-mohaḥ . . [B., 3/29d] ; viṣayebhyo vinivṛtta-rāga-doṣaḥ . . [B., 5/18d] ; janana-maraṇayor adṛṣṭa-pāro ...... [B., 5/84c], etc.

These are some of the permitted cases of sāpekṣa-samāsa according to the dictum "sāpekṣatve 'pi gamakatvāt samāsaḥ". In the first two instances the sāpekṣa words end in kāraka-vibhaktis while in the third the sāpekṣa word terminates in śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī.

x) upopaviśyā 'numataś ca tasya [B., 10/21c]

The repetition of the prefix "upa-" in the absolutive "upopaviśya" appears to serve the purpose of verse-filling. This dvir-ukti has to be explained in accordance with Pāṇini's "pra-sam-upodaḥ pāda-pūraṇe" (8/1/6) though this rule pertains to the Vedic usage only,

y) athoda-kalaśaṁ gṛhya [S., 1/28[a]] and vivardhayitvā pari pālayitvā [B., 11/30[b]]

The three absolutives in the above quotations violate Pāṇini's "samāse 'nañ-pūrve ktvo lyap" (7/1/37). Of these three the first (gṛhya) is a reminiscence of Epic flexibility and has several parallels in Hybrid Sanskrit (which even shows the form "gṛhyā") while the last two show the loose traits of Hybrid Sanskrit though some sporadic instances of similar usage are traceable in the Epics as well.

z) śramaṇaḥ kaścid uvāca maitrayā . . [S., 8/1[d]], maitropasaṁhāra-vidhir na kāryaḥ . rāgātmako muhyati maitrayā hi [S., 16/59[bc]], maitrā 'śubhā caiva bhavaty ayogaḥ [S., 16/63[b]], and ... .. sevyā ...... maitrī . ... praśamāya maitrī ...... [S., 16/62[bc]]

It is striking that Aśvaghoṣa uses the irregular form "maitrā" beside the correct form "maitrī" in the feminine of "maitrya". The prakriyā-daśā of the regular feminine form may be shown as follows :-

mitrasya karma bhāvo vā iti mitra + (ṣ)ya(ñ) = maitrya — Pāṇini's "guṇa-vacana-Brāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca" (5/1/124) ; maitrya + (ṅ)ī(ṣ) (ṣ-id-gaurādibhyaś ca — Pāṇini, 4/1/41) > maitra + ī (halas taddhitasya — Pāṇini, 6/4/150) > maitr + ī (yasyeti ca — Pāṇini, 6/4/148) = maitrī. The irregular form "maitrā" seems to be the Sanskritized version of the Pāli word "mettā".

3. *Semasiology*

a) dadau dvijebhyaḥ kṛśanaṁ ca gāś ca .. [B., 2/36[d]]

Here the word "kṛśana" appears to have been used in the sense of 'gold'. But this word occurs in the Vedic literature only and is not found in the Amara-koṣa among the synonyms of "suvarṇa"[1].

b) Lekharṣabhasyeva vapur dvitīyaṁ...... [B., 7/8[a]] and Saṁkrandano divam ivā 'nusṛto marudbhiḥ .. [S., 1/62[d]]

In these two citations the words "Lekharṣabha" and "Saṁkrandana" mean "Indra". These words occur in the Amara-koṣa, 1 (= Kāṇḍa)/1 < (= Varga)/42[a] & 44[a] [2].

1) It is a case of aprayuktatva-doṣa. Other instances of this flaw will be given under "Style".

2) These are also cases of aprayuktatva-doṣa. Similar illustrations will be shown under "Style".

c) Bhava iva Ṣaṇ-mukha-janmanā pratītaḥ . [B., 1/88[b]] and atheṣṭa-putraḥ parama-pratītaḥ [B., 2/47[a]]

The word "pratīta" in these two quotations has been used in the sense of "hṛṣṭa". This word is found in the Amara-koṣa, 3/3/82[a] [1].

d) idam idam iti harṣa-pūrṇa-vaktro bahu-vidha-puṣṭi-yaśaskaraṁ vyadhatta .. [B., 1/88[cd]]

The words "idam idam iti" show a vivid colloquial touch.

e) praveritās te bhuvi tasya mūrdhajā .. [B., 8/52[c]] ; priyo 'pi sann apriyavat praveritaḥ .. [B., 8/75[d]] and praverito lohita-candanākto haimo mahā-stambha ivā "babhāse .. [S., 18/20[cd]]

In these citations the past participial adjective "praverita" has been used in the sense of "nikṣipta" (= vikīrṇa > tyakta > patita). This word is a reminiscence of the Mahā-Bhārata usage. It is not found in the Amara-koṣa. Its derivation (pra + √ver + i + kta ?) poses a problem inasmuch as the root "ver" is not traceable in the standard Dhātu-pāṭha of the Pāṇini school. Is * √ver a secondary form of * √vir (svārtha-ṇy-anta caurādika dhātu with the radical vowel guṇated due to the addition of the ṇic-pratyaya), or a modified form of √vṛ (vṛñ āvaraṇe iti caurādika ubhayapadī seṭ dhātuḥ ; vṛ > * vir > * ver) ? Admittedly the presupposition of the former (* √vir nikṣepe) and the attachment of the new sense (nikṣepa) to the latter (√vṛñ āvaraṇe > nikṣepe ca ?) would lead to gaurava-doṣa. Again, the Lautwechsel from "(v)ṛ" to "(v)ir" [> "(v)er" through guṇation] instead of the regular vṛddhi from "(v)ṛ" to "(v)ār" in the causative is not warranted by Sanskrit grammar. Nevertheless it is necessary to take resort to either * √ vir or √ vṛ(ñ) for arriving at the iṣṭa form "ver" on the strength of Vāmana's illuminating observations "mili-klabi-kṣapi-prabhṛtīnāṁ dhātutvaṁ — dhātu-gaṇasyā 'samāpteḥ ..... vardhate dhātu-gaṇa iti hi śabdavida ācakṣate ." (Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra with the Svopajña-vṛtti, 5/2/2)[2].

1) This is too an example of aprayuktatva-doṣa.

2) The suggestion that the word "praverita" might have been derived from the root īr (pra + āṅ + √ īr + ṇic + kta) cannot explain satisfactorily the augmentation of "v" in the pada-sādhana-daśā. Similarly the derivation of the word in question from the root vel (velṛ calana iti bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī seṭ dhātuḥ) does not suit the required sense (praverita = nikṣipta) even if the Sanskritizing of "l" to "r" is allowed in the prakriyā-daśā.

f) sadbhiḥ sahīyā hi satāṁ samṛddhiḥ .. [B., 10/26d] and gṛha-vibhūtīr (a scribal error for °-vibhūtir ?) yyasya mitrais sahī(y)......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13a, 1. 2]

The word "sahīyā" is peculiar to Buddhistic Sanskrit. It is a viśeṣaṇa assuming the gender, case-ending and number of the viśeṣya it qualifies. The regular form would be "sahāyāḥ" (< saha + bhauvādika ātmanepadin √ aya, to go, or ādādika parasmaipadin √ iṇ, to go, + pac-ādy-ac in the kartṛ-vācya) and the necessary syntactical adjustments would be "santaḥ sahāyā hi satāṁ samṛddheḥ" and "°-vibhūtīnāṁ (or °-vibhūteḥ ?) yasya mitrāṇi sahāyāḥ". The change of "ā" (in "sahā°") into "ī" (in "sahī°") is irregular. Even the combination of "saha" with the daivādika ātmanepadin √ ī(ṅ) would yield the form "sahāya" (saha + √ ī + pac-ādy-ac > saha + e + a > saha + ay + a).

g) na tu kāme[1] (kāmān — sic)[2] manas tasya
kenacij jagṛhe dhṛtim (°tiḥ — sic)[3] .
triṣu kāleṣu sarveṣu
nipāto 'stir iva smṛtaḥ . . [S., 12/10]

1) A better reading would be "na kāmeṣu" because the plural in "kāmeṣu" (= upameya) would match with that in "(triṣu) kāleṣu" (= upamāna).

2) The reading "kāmāt" ("°mān" in euphonic combination with the initial bilabial nasal "m" of the immediately following word "manas") with the ablative in the sense of hetu ("because of passion" in Johnston's English translation, p. 68) does not suit the verse in question because it goes against "visasmāra priyāṁ bhāryām apsaro-darśanād yathā . tathā 'nityatayodvignas tatyājā 'psaraso 'pi saḥ .." [S., 12/7].

3) The reading "dhṛtiḥ" does not clarify the intended similarity of manaḥ-kartṛka-kāmādhikaraṇaka-dhṛti-karmaka-grahaṇā'bhāva (= āsakty-abhāva) with sattāmātra-samarpakā'sti-kartṛka-bhūtādi-kāla-trayādhikaraṇaka-dhṛti-karmaka-grahaṇā'bhāva (= anvayā'bhāva). In brief, "unaffectedness" (= dhṛti-grahaṇa-niṣedha) is the sādhāraṇa-dharma.

However, this aupamya has been misinterpreted by Johnston as "But steadfastness in respect of the past, present and future (!) did not grip his mind (dhṛti-kartṛka mano-grahaṇa !) ....." (p. 68).

Here the reference is to Pāṇini's "cā "dayo 'sattve" (1/4/57) according to which the word "asti" is not a tiṅ-anta pada (verb-form ; √as + laṭ tip) but a tiṅ-anta-pratirūpaka avyaya-pada (indeclinable) meaning sattāmātra irrespective of any temporal factor.

h) saced bhaves tvaṁ khalu dīrgha-sūtro ..... [S., 4/35[a]] ;
sacet praharṣaś cara dharmam ādṛtaḥ [S., 10/60[d]] and
ekena kalpena sacen na hanyāt ..... [S., 16/70[a]]

The indeclinable "sa-ced" (< sa + ca-id) with the redundant syllable "sa" placed before the usual combination "ced" (< ca-id ; = yadi) appears to be the Sanskritized form of Pāli "sa-ce". The superfluous "sa" is no doubt due to the back calculation from the indeclinable "na-ced" (< na + ca-id). In other words, the avyaya "sa-ced" seems to have been intended to give the affirmative counterpart of the corresponding negative combination "na-ced".

i) Dhṛtiḥ — tena hi sarvvā yeva (a scribal error for "eva") tāvad enaṁ vāsa-vṛkṣīkurmmaḥ .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 3]

The additional "y" in the indeclinable "y-eva" is obviously due to the dialectal pronunciation of the scribe. The augmentation of "y" is allowed in Pāli and Prākṛta[1].

j) ..... (bhava)t(i) na tāva (a scribal error for "tāvat") vyākaraṇasya kālaḥ .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 2]

The elision of the final "t" of the Sanskrit indeclinable "tāvat' is also due to the dialectal pronunciation of the scribe.

k) yo hy artha-dharmau paripīḍya kāmaḥ
syād dharma-kāmau paribhūya cārthaḥ .
kāmārthayoś coparameṇa dharmas
tyājyaḥ sa kṛtsno yadi kāṅkṣito 'rthaḥ .. [B., 10/29]

This verse shows the variety of Aśvaghoṣa's vocabulary and as such it may be looked upon as an instance of anavīkṛtatva-doṣa-parihāra.

1) It is also possible in Sanskrit to explain this "y" as substituting "ru" in euphonic combination (sarvvāḥ + eva > sarvvāy eva) on the strength of Pāṇini's rule "bho-bhago-agho-apūrvasya yo 'śi" (8/3/17). But the extant orthographical traits do not admit of this possibility.

l) anṛtaṁ jagāda na ca kaścid ṛtam api jajalpa nā 'priyam
(°yaṁ — sic) .
ślakṣṇam api ca na jagāv ahitaṁ hitam apy uvāca na ca
paiśunāya yat . . [S., 3/33]

This verse also exhibits Aśvaghoṣa's rich Wortschatz and is thus an example of anavīkṛtatva-doṣa-parihāra.

m) Manthāla-Gautamo bhikṣur Jaṅghayā vāra-mukhyayā .
piprīṣuś ca tad-arthā'rthaṁ vyasūn niraharat purā . .
[B., 4/17]

The word "bhikṣu" in 'a' is derived from the root bhikṣ(a) (bhauvādika ātmanepadī seṭ dhātuḥ) in combination with the primary suffix (kṛt-pratyaya) "-u-" in the sense of śīla on the authority of Pāṇini's rule "san-āśaṁsa-bhikṣa uḥ" (3/2/168). But this word has been derived erroneously by some scholars as $\sqrt{}$ bhaj + s(an) + u which would combine into "bibhakṣu" (instead of the iṣta form "bhikṣu") due to the reduplication of the root before the desiderative infix ($\sqrt{}$ bhaj + san + u > bhaj + bhaj + s + u > bha + bhaj + s + u > bhi + bhac + s + u > bi + bhak + ṣ + u).

n) .... bisa-puṣpa-komalau . ..... caraṇau gamiṣyataḥ . .
[B., 8/55[bd]]

In the samāsa-gatā luptopamā in "bisa-puṣpa-komalau" (bisa-puṣpe iva komalāv ity upamāna-karmadhāraya-samāse sādṛśya-vācakeva-śabda-lopāt) the upamāna-vācaka word is "bisa-puṣpa". This word occurs in a slightly different form as "bisa-prasūna"[1] in the Amarakoṣa (1/10/41[a]) among the synonyms of "padma".

However, the same simile has been repeated by Aśvaghoṣa in "padbhyāṁ priyāyā nalinopamābhyāṁ ....." in the S., 4/17[c]. This confirmation from the S. discards the misinterpretations in the Tibetan translation ("padmaḥi' rtsa'ba' ltar' ḥjam'", i. e., padmasya bisa-tantu-tulya-komalau — Weller's Tibetan text, 8/54[b], p. 118 and German retranslation, p. 70) and Chinese translation (Schulze's German retranslation, no. 602, S. 88). Johnston is misled in his English translation by the Tibetan version when he renders the verse in question as "His feet ...... tender as the fibre

---

1) It is interesting that Māgha uses the word "bisa-prasūna" in the sense of "padma" in "jakṣur bisaṁ dhṛta-vikāsi-bisa-prasūnāḥ ." [Śiśupāla-vadha, 5/28[b]].

of a lotus or a flower ...." (B., Part 2, p. 115). Even for the sake of argument the word 'or' has to be changed into 'and' to avert asambhava-doṣa because the dvandva-samāsa is in cā'rtha — and not in vā'rtha. Moreover, this dvandva-samāsa itself, which leads to mālopamā instead of upamā, cannot be justified because the compound word "bisa-puṣpa" means "bisa(-samutthita)-puṣpa" (śāka-pārthivādivat madhyama-pada-lopi-karmadhāraya-samāsa) — and not "bisa" (= lotus-stalk > lotus-stalk-fibre) and "puṣpa" (any flower other than a lotus ?) which would go against both lexicon and usage.

o) vāg-vāriṇā māṁ pariṣiñca tasmād
yāvan na dahye sa ivā 'bja-śatruḥ . [S., 10/53[ab]]

Here the word "Abja-śatruḥ" means the moon-god (Candraḥ) who is looked upon as a friend of the lilies (kumuda-bāndhavaḥ — candrodayasya kumuda-vikāsakatvāt > kumudinī-nāyakaḥ, the Lover of the Lilies, through nāyaka-nāyikā-vyavahāra-samāropa) and a foe of the lotuses (abjānāṁ padmānāṁ śatruḥ — candrodayasya padma-saṅkocakatvāt)[1]. The word "Abjāri" occurs in Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī among the synonyms of the moon ("hṛdyāṁśur aṁśur *abjārir* amṛtāṁśuḥ kalā-nidhiḥ . — 2/1/25[ab], p. 19, l. 51). The poetic fancy regarding the antagonism of the moon to the lotus[2] is also attested to by standard usage. Thus, Mammaṭa's example of the loka-prasiddhi-viruddhārthatva-doṣa contains the word "kamalātaṅka" (literally, a terror to the lotuses), which means the moon ("idaṁ te kenoktaṁ kathaya kamalātaṅka-vadane ... .." — Kāvya-prakāśa, Ch. 7).

Now, the citation from the S. under review appears to compare the passionate longing of Nanda for the enticing water-sprites with the infatuation of the well-known Abja-śatru for Bṛhaspati's wife. The same legend about the moon has been mentioned clearly by Aśvaghoṣa in his B., 4/75 (Bṛhaspater mahiṣyāṁ ca juhvatyāṁ juhvatāṁ varaḥ . Budhaṁ vibudha-karmāṇaṁ janayāmāsa

---

1) On the contrary, the sun is padma-bāndhava and kumuda-śatru.

2) Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā (" ...... dvija-rāja-viruddhatā paṅkajānāṁ ...... ", p. 11) describes the lotuses as opposed to the moon.

Candramāḥ . .) . Here Aśvaghoṣa refers obviously to the well-known Candra-Tārā episode[1] recorded in the Hari-vaṁśa and the Viṣṇu-purāṇa.

But the word "Abja-śatru" has been a problem to the scholars and some interesting explanations have been offered. Thus, according to some the rāgāgni-dāha of the Abja-śatru means the insatiable hunger of Rāhu for devouring up the moon out of wrath and vengeance. In this case the word "Abja" has been taken obviously in the sense of the moon (Abjasya samudra-manthana-samutthasya Candrasya śatrū ripū Rāhur ity arthaḥ). But this interpretation is not appropriate inasmuch as the word "rāga" (lust) does not mean "uparāga" (eclipse). Further, the "rāga" of Rāhu for Candra is out of the question (asambhava-doṣāpatteḥ).

Again, attempts have been made to explain away the problematic word "Abja-śatru" as a professional epithet for Śūrpaka the fisherman (abjānāṁ mīnānāṁ śatrū ripur jāliko dhīvara ity arthaḥ) whose passion for Kumudvatī has been referred to by Aśvaghoṣa in the B., 13/11[cd] [2] and the S., 8/44[b]. But this interpretation is artificial[3] and vague because the word "Abja-śatru" is not so unambiguous as the word "Mīna-ripu" in the B., 13/11[d] and the S., 8/44[b]. Moreover, the last two passages do not certainly refer to Śūrpaka's rāgāgni-dāha for Kumudvatī. They rather point out to Kumudvatī's condemned but unbridled longing for Śūrpaka. Lastly, the suggestion that the word "Abja-śatruḥ" should be corrected to "Abja-ketuḥ" so as to mean "the god of the fish-banner" (abjo mīnaḥ ketur yasya saḥ)[4], i. e., Kāma or Māra, is both unnecessary and unsuitable because

---

1) The Candra-Tārā story is also referred to in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā, Bāṇa's Kādambarī and Harṣa-carita, and Daṇḍin's Daśa-kumāra-carita.

2) The word "Sūryaka" in Cowell's text appears to be a scribal error for "Śūrpaka" (or rather "Sūrpaka" to correspond with the Tibetan "Sū· rba· ka") because the letter-forms for "p" and "y" are often confusing.

3) The Amara-koṣa does not show the word "abja" (= water-born) among the synonyms of "matsya".

4) The Amara-koṣa does not enter the word "abja" under "makara". Moreover, Kāma is Makara-ketana — and not Matsya-ketana.

he himself is the enticer — and not the enticed. Further, his dāha is Hara-kopāgni-kṛta — and not rāgāgni-kṛta.

p) tathāsya mandānila-megha-śabdaḥ
saudāminī-kuṇḍala-maṇḍitāṅgaḥ (°tābhraḥ — sic).
vināśma-varṣāśani-pāta-doṣaiḥ
kāle ca deśe pravavarṣa devaḥ . . [B., 2/7]

Here the syntactical sense is :—

mando vāri-bindu-bhara-mantharo 'nilo vāyuḥ (karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ) ; tat-samprkto megho lakṣaṇayā tad-garjanam eva śabdaḥ kaṇṭha-svano yasya saḥ (śāka-pārthivādivat samāsānantaraṁ rūpaka-garbho bahu-vrīhiḥ samāsaḥ), api ca, saudāminī vidyud eva kuṇḍalaṁ karṇa-bhūṣaṇam[1] (mayūra-vyaṁsakādivat rūpaka-karmadhārayaḥ samāsaḥ) ; tena maṇḍitaṁ bhūṣitam aṅgaṁ karṇa-dvayaṁ yasya saḥ (tṛtīyā-samāsānantaraṁ samānādhikaraṇa-pado bahu-vrīhiḥ samāsaḥ) ; evaṁbhūto devaḥ Parjanya-daivatam aśma-varṣāṇi aśani-pātāś ca śilā-vṛṣṭayo vajra-sampātāś ca ; ta eva doṣā utpātās tair vinā pravavarṣa vṛṣṭi-bindūn pātayāmāsa. The verse is an illustration of sāṅga-rūpaka. Admittedly the word "devaḥ" in 'd' is the upamāna of the defective aṅgibhūta rūpaka of which no corresponding upameya has been mentioned (śabdopātta). We cannot have any abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa-mūlaka rūpaka in the word "devaḥ" (devaḥ Parjanya eva devo daivatam) because in śleṣa between prākaraṇika and aprākaraṇika the principal viśeṣya-padas cannot be śliṣṭa. Further, this śleṣa would entail artha-paunaruktya-doṣa in "megha" in 'a' [and "abhra" in 'b in Johnston's text]. So the word "devaḥ" must be looked upon as the upamāna in the sense of "daivatam". Again, the rūpaka in "saudāminī-kuṇḍala" in 'b' necessitates the upamāna word "aṅga" as in Cowell's text (even though the corresponding upameya has been irregularly nigīrṇa here). The extant Tibetan translation appears to have followed a different textual reading as follows :—

"glog.gi. (= vidyutaḥ) ḥphreṅ.ba. (= mālā) ḥkhyil.ba.yis (= paridhānena) ni. (= hi) brgyan.paḥi. (= maṇḍitaḥ) sprin (= abhraḥ)".

---

1) The same rūpaka has been used by Rabindranath Tagore as follows :—

"আঁধারিয়া ওড়ে শূন্যে ঝোড়ো এলোচুল ;
দুলে' উঠে বিদ্যুতের দুল ;"

q) sevārtham ādarśam ananya-citto (ādarśanam anya-citto — sic)
vibhūṣayantyā mama dhārayitvā .
bibharti so 'nyasya janasya taṁ cen
namo 'stu tasmai cala-sauhṛdāya . . [S., 6/18]

The first hemistich of this verse finds its close parallel in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, 1. 1 (...... avikkhittena hidayena ādaṁso dhārayitavvo ......). The words "avikkhittena" and "ādaṁso" of the Ś. confirm the reading "ādarśam ananya-citto" (as in H. Śāstrin's text) of the S. verse under consideration. Johnston's "ādarśanam anya-citto" is both artificial and contrary to sense[1].

r) mahatīṁ parivādinīṁ ca kācid vanitā 'liṅgya sakhīm iva prasuptā . [B., 5/55[ab]]

The first hemistich of the verse quoted above depicts a vākya-gatā (or samāsa-gatā) śrautī pūrṇopamā of which the parivādinī is the upameya and the sakhī the upamāna. The syllables "bz'in. du." of the Tibetan translation clearly confirm this simile. But Johnston's "...... as if it were her friend ......" (English translation, p. 72) leads to utprekṣā and thus misinterprets the text.

s) salile kṣitāv iva cacāra jalam iva viveśa medinīm (°nīṁ — sic) .
megha iva divi vavarṣa punaḥ punar ajvalan nava ivodito raviḥ .. [S., 3/23]

This verse finds its parallel in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 2 : — "...... toyavad gām praviśati ...... khe varṣaty ambu-dhārām jvalati ca ......". In both the citations the alaṅkāra is no doubt upamā. But the upamā in the S. verse is vākya-gatā (or samāsa-gatā) śrautī pūrṇā while that in the quotation from the Ś. fragment contains taddhita-gatā ārthī pūrṇā. However, Johnston's English translation (p. 17) of the first hemistich of the S. verse in question lands one wrongly on the utprekṣā ("...... on the water as if on dry land, ... the earth as if it were water, ...").

t) dīptyā ca dhairyeṇa ca yo rarāja
bālo ravir bhūmim ivāvatīrṇaḥ . [B., 1/12[ab]]

---

1) A detailed discussion for the determination of the reasonably correct reading of the S., 6/18[a] has been done by the present writer in his article entitled "Aśvaghoṣa's Saundara-Nanda, VI, 18" in the Jñāna(-)muktāvalī (= Nobel Festschrift), New Delhi, 1959, pp. 42-47.

In the hemistich quoted above the alaṅkāra is utprekṣā. The corresponding Tibetan translation also appears to corroborate this figure of speech as follows :- "ñi.ma. (= raviḥ) gz'on. nu. (= bālaḥ) sa. la. (= bhū nim) mṅon.par. (= sākṣāt) babs.pa. (= avatīrṇaḥ) bz'in (= iva)". But Johnston's "...... he appeared like the young sun come down to earth, ..." (English translation, p. 4) is undoubtedly a misinterpretation inasmuch as it points out to upamā.

u) babhrāje śāntayā lakṣmyā dharmo vigrahavān iva . .
[S., 2/56[cd]]

Here also the alaṅkāra is utprekṣā[1]. But Johnston renders the passage wrongly in terms of upamā as "..... shone .... like the Law of Righteousness in bodily form" (English translation, p. 13).

4. *Syntax*

The Satzstellung in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is usually simple. This simplicity is in consonance with his popular and appealing style which he adopted as a preacher-kavi bent upon Buddhistic propaganda among the mass. Nevertheless there are sporadic cases in his writings where the syntactical construction poses a problem. At first we quote some normal instances from his kāvyas as follows :—

a) Sundopasundāv asurau yadartham
anyonya-vaira-prasṛtau vinaṣṭau .
sauhārda-viśleṣakareṣu teṣu
kāmeṣu kasyātmavato ratiḥ syāt . . [B., 11/32]

b) śrutvā tataḥ sad-vratam utsisṛkṣuṁ
bhāryāṁ didṛkṣuṁ bhavanaṁ vivikṣum (°kṣuṁ — sic).
Nandaṁ nirānandam apeta-dhairyam
abhyujjihīrṣur munir ājuhāva . . [S., 10/1]

c) nityaṁ sa supta (i)va yasya na buddhir asti
nityaṁ sa matta iva yo dhṛti-viprahīṇa(ḥ) .
.... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 4]

---

1) The same idea with similar wordings occurs also in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 1 as follows :— "..... sa puruṣa-vigraho dharmaḥ .....". But here the alaṅkāra is atiśayokti.

Now let us take up some examples of involved syntactical construction (kliṣṭatva-doṣa)[1] as follows :—

a) himāri-ketūdbhava-saṁbhavāntare
yathā dvijo yāti vimokṣayaṁs tanum .
himāri-śatru-kṣaya-śatru-ghātane
tathāntare yāhi vimokṣayan manaḥ . . [B., 11/71]

This verse is an illustration of pada-gata kliṣṭatva-doṣa[2]. The meaning seems to be like this —

hima = śaitya ; tad-ari = agni ; tat-ketu = dhūma ; tad-udbhava = megha ; tat-saṁbhava = vṛṣṭi ; dvija = araṇi-dvaya-jāta agni and tanu = rūpa ; again, hima = śaitya ; tad-ari = sūrya ; tac-chatru = tamas ; tat-kṣaya = tamaḥ-prahāṇa = ripu-praṇāśa. This verse is also an example of punar-uktavad-ābhāsa[3] from the standpoint of the later rhetoricians.

b) kāmasya pūrvaṁ hi vayaḥ śaravyaṁ
na śakyate rakṣitum indriyebhyaḥ . . [B., 10/38cd]

This verse is an instance of vākya-gata kliṣṭatva-doṣa.

Such examples may be multiplied at pleasure[4]. So we pass on to consider the specimens of the Prākṛtas as traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś.

1) Further examples of this doṣa will be shown under "Style".

2) Bhāmaha gives a similar instance of avācakatva-doṣa as follows :—

himāpahā'mitradharair vyāptaṁ vyomety avācakam .
sākṣād arūḍhaṁ vācye 'rthe nābhidhānaṁ pratīyate . .
[Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/41]

Does Bhāmaha dig at Aśvaghoṣa ?

However, Daṇḍin's "..... himāpahā'mitradharair vyāptaṁ vyomābhinandati . ." [Kāvyādarśa, 3/120] is an illustration of pārihārikī prahelikā.

3) Other instances of this alaṅkāra will be given under "Style".

4) Dr. Sukumar Sen's article on the language of the B. was published long ago ["On the Buddha(-)carita of Aśvaghoṣa" in IHQ., vol. 2, 1926, pp. 657ff.]. But his linguistic assessment was based on the data furnished by the unsatisfactory text edited by Cowell and as such some of his entries are now pointless in the light of Johnston's standard edition of the B.

B. *Prākṛtas*

Now we turn to the Prākṛta-Schatz of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś.[1] Dr. Lüders has already done the creditable job of editing the surviving fragments of the two manuscripts of this drama along with a detailed analysis of the varied linguistic features of the different types of Prākṛta allotted to the different strata of the dramatis personae. His kritische Beobachtungen on the different facets of the phonology (Lautwechsel in respect of the simple vowels and diphthongs, single consonants and consonantal clusters, and sandhi modifications), morphology (declension, conjugation, and primary and secondary suffixes), Wortschatz and Syntax with ample parallels from earlier and contemporary epigraphic records, Bhāsa's and Kālidāsa's dramas, and Prākṛta grammars of later date are worthy of his reputed thoroughness. It is needless to recapitulate them here in full details. So we propose to give only a critical survey in brief of the types of Prākṛta with particular stress on the salient features of each together with some glaring examples.

For the facilitation of our discussion the Prākṛta-Sprachgut may be divided into the following three categories :—

i) *Old Māgadhī*

The Duṣṭa[2] (corresponding to the Śakāra of Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa), who plays the role of the foil (pratināyaka) to the hero Śāriputra (alias Somadatta ?)[3], speaks a dialect which exhibits an old form of dramatic and grammatical Māgadhī. Its phonetic standard may be compared to that of the metrical Śutanukā

---

1) In our present discussions we leave aside the sporadic cases of dialectal influence on Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit which we have already considered under the foregoing sub-section.

2) The Duṣṭa answers to the conventional requirements of the Villain in a prakaraṇa. The same Duṣṭa has been termed the Śakāra later on in Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika because of his distinctive speech-habit.

3) We have already dealt with the question of this identity in Chapter II above.

inscription (circa 3rd century B. C.) in Aśokan script in the Jōgīmārā cave at Rāmgarh hill.

Anyway, some distinctive characteristics of Aśvaghoṣa's Old Māgadhī are set forth below :—

a) r > l [e. g., kāraṇāt > kālanā — frg. no. (K) 45b, l. 3] ;

b) ṣ & s > ś [e. g., dāsī-putra > dāśī-putta — frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 2] ;

c) dy > jj [e. g., adya > ajja — frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 2 ; but in the Classical Māgadhī of the later dramas and Prākṛta grammars the conjunct "dy" is changed into "yy"] ;

d) kṣ > kkh [e. g., paśya > dekkha[1] — frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 1 ; but in the Classical Māgadhī of later date the cluster "kṣ" is changed into "sk" and "hk" through metathesis] ;

e) ṣṭ & ṣṭh > ṭṭh [e. g., ... (i)ṣṭā (uncertain) > ...... (i)ṭṭhā — frg. no. (K) 22a, l. 2 ; but in later Māgadhī the conjuncts "ṣṭ" and "ṣṭh" are changed into "sṭ"] ;

f) hm > mbh[2] [e. g., (Brā)hmaṇāḥ > (Bam)bhaṇā[3] (with the loss of the final consonant) — frg. no. (K) 22b, l. 1 ; but in later Māgadhī (as also in later Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī) the form would be "Baṁhaṇā"][4] ;

g) Masculine °a-stem in the nominative singular, i. e., °a-s > °a-ḥ > °e [e. g., vṛttaḥ > vutte — frg. no. (K) 22a, l. 2] ; and

---

1) √dṛś > * √dṛkṣ > * √dikkh > * √dekkh.

2) The same treatment of this cluster will also be shown in some details under Aśvaghoṣa's Old Śaurasenī [(Vidū° —?) .... bambhaṇa-janassa ...... — frg. no. (K) 14a, l. 2 (= frg. nos. 14, 15 & 32 reconstructed together into one folio, reverse side, l. 3].

3) The word "Ba(m)bha(ṇa) ....." occurs also in the speech of the Duṣṭa in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 96a, l. 2.

4) Brāhmaṇa > Bāmhaṇa (through simplification of the initial cluster and metathesis in the second one) > Bāmᵇhaṇa > Bāmbhaṇa > Bambhaṇa (through shortening of the long vowel "ā" before the conjunct "mbh") > Baṁbhaṇa > Baṁbhana (Aśoka's Sopārā, Kālsī and Yerrāguḍi rock edicts) > Bābhana (in Aśoka's Kālsī, Dhauli Jaugaḍa rock edicts and Delhi-Toprā pillar edict).

h) asmad in the nominative singular, i. e., aham > ahakaṁ[1] [frg. no. (K) 22a, l. 2 ; but in later Māgadhī the forms would be ahake > hake (through aphaeresis)[2] > hage (through intervocalic sonantizing) > hagge (duplication due to stress on the first vowel "a")].

We refrain from citing copious illustrations in this professedly brief survey. Nevertheless it is quite palpable from this linguistic review that Aśvaghoṣa's Old Māgadhī presents an amorphous stage of the standard Māgadhī that we meet with in the classical dramas and Prākṛta grammars of later date. This Old Māgadhī is marked by the absence of the later features like sonantization of the intervocalic surd sound[3] [e. g., bhoti — frg. no. (K) 10a, l. 4], elision of intervocal consonants [e. g., Komudagandha — frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 1], and compensatory lengthening [e. g., kasya > (k)iśśa[4] (through dissimilation of the first vowel) — frg. no. (K) 45b, l. 3 ; but the form in later Māgadhī would be "kīśa"]. It is also striking that the final consonant of the original Sanskrit word is dropped in Old Māgadhī [e. g., tāvat > tāva — frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 1] as in Pāli. Moreover, both "ṇ" and "n" have been retained, [e. g., Brāhmaṇāḥ > (Bam)bhaṇā in frg. no. (K) 22b, l. 1 besides kāraṇāt > kālanā in frg. no. (K) 45b, l. 3].

ii) *Old Ardha-Māgadhī*

The role of inferior rank[5] whose name is found abbreviated in the

---

1) This word appears to have been changed further through aphaeresis into "hakam" in Aśoka's Kālsī, Dhauli, Jaugaḍa and Mānsehrā edicts.

2) This aphaeresis reminds us of the fact that the initial vowel of the original Sanskrit word (ahám) was unaccented.

3) Aśvaghoṣa's Old Ardha-Māgadhī (to be dealt with hereafter) also does not exhibit any specimen of this sonantization.

4) The corresponding Pāli form is "kissa".

5) Gobaṁ appears to be an attendant (ceṭa) on Somadatta (alias Śāriputra ?) from the Ś., frg. no. (K) 30b [including frg. nos. (K) 31, 42 & 105], ll. 2-3 as follows :—

...... soṭṭiya-kula-sabhāvasa ...... Somadattena ...... Gobaṁ° — ...... bhaṭṭi-dālake ......

Ś. as "Gobaṁ°" [1] appears to speak a dialect which combines the traits of Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. An unknown role[2] also is found to speak a little bit of this dialect in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 4[3]. This mixed dialect with its phonetic features more akin to Māgadhī than to Śaurasenī may be looked upon as a forerunner to the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jinistic Canons. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa's Old Ardha-Māgadhī was more inclined towards Māgadhī than the Ardha-Māgadhī of later date. The phonetic standard of this Old Ardha-Māgadhī may be compared to that of Aśoka's pillar inscriptions. Anyway, one thing is proved beyond doubt that Old Ardha-Māgadhī must have been in use about the beginning of the Christian era and this use is also attested by the Nāṭya-śastra and Bhāsa's Karṇa-bhāra. This Ardha-Māgadhī is not found used in the post-Bhāsa dramas. However, we may now turn to the chief characteristics of Aśvaghoṣa's Old Ardha-Māgadhī as follows :—

a) Lengthening of the short vowel before the taddhita suffix -ka(n)- [e. g., °-pāṇḍarakaṁ > °-paṇḍalākaṁ — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 4] ;

b) r > l[4] [e. g., karoti > kaleti — frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 2 ; but in the standard Ardha-Māgadhī of later date both "r" and "l" are found] ;

---

1) Is it an abbreviation from the full name Govardhana (Govardhana > Govaṁ° > Gobaṁ°) ?

2) It is alleged that some Tāpa(sa) is the speaker of this dialect But this Tāpa(sa) indubitably speaks Sanskrit as will be evident from the remains of the same fragment as follows :—

...... — Tāpa(saḥ) — ekan tu icchāmi bhaga(va) ...... yaḥ svastho 'dhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 34a, 1. 3 and b, 1. 1ff.]. Moreover, the surviving single syllable of Tāpa(sa)'s speech in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 48b, 1. 1 [Tāpa(saḥ) — ki......] is extremely indeterminate to give any idea of the language of the speaker.

3) ......(ṅ) kāhāma tti.

4) This feature of Old Ardha-Māgadhī is in common with Old Māgadhī (already shown above).

c) ś & ṣ > s[1] [e. g., kuśalavān > kusalavā — frg. no. (K) 30b, l. 3] ;

d) Masculine °a-stem in the nominative singular, i. e., °a-s > °a-ḥ > °e [2] [e. g., gacchan > * gacchamānaḥ > gacchamāne — frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 2] ;

e) Neuter °a-stem in the accusative plural, i. e., °āni > °ā [3] [e. g., puṣpāṇi > pupphā — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 3] ;

f) Feminine °ā-stem in the instrumental plural, i. e., °ābhis > °ābhiḥ > °āhi (without nasal) [e. g., °varṇṇikābhiḥ > °vannīkāhi — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 3] ;

g) Masculine °vat-stems in the nominative singular, i. e., °vān > °vā [e. g., kuśalavān > kusalavā — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 3 ; but in later Ardha-Māgadhī forms in °vaṁ and °vante are found] ;

h) √(ḍu)kṛ(ñ) + lṛṭ -syāmas, i. e., kariṣyāmaḥ[4] > kāhāma[5] — frg. no. (K) 34a, 1. 4 ; but in later Ardha-Māgadhī the form would be kāhāmo[6] ; and

i) √ bhuj(a) + tum(un), i. e., bhoktum[7] > bhuṁjitaye — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 4 ; but in later Ardha-Māgadhī the form would be bhuñjittae.

---

1) This feature of Old Ardha-Māgadhī is comparable to that of Old Śaurasenī (to be dealt with hereafter).

2) But in later Ardha-Māgadhī forms in both °e and °o are found.

3) This is a Vedic reminiscence in the MIA. dialects.

4) kariṣyāmaḥ > * karṣyāmaḥ (through syncope) > * kassāma (through assimilation and dentalisation) > * kāsāma (through compensatory lengthening) > kāhāma (through sonantization of the mahā-prāṇa sound "s" into "h").

5) Forms in °ma are also found in Pāli.

6) But forms in °ma occur in verse in Ardha-Māgadhī.

7) Strictly speaking, the indeclinable "bhoktum" ending in the infinitive suffix -tum(un) is only the corresponding form in Classical Sanskrit of the Old Ardha-Māgadhī word "bhuṁjitaye". The later form is virtually a remote descendant of the Vedic infinitive "bhoktave" ending in -tave [-tave(t), -tave(ṅ) and -tave(n)]. To [Contd.]

From this synopsis it is evident that Old Ardha-Māgadhī, like Old Māgadhī dealt with above, is marked by the elision of the final consonant of the original Sanskrit word in its derived form [e. g., kuśalavān > kusalavā — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 3]. Further, there is no loss of the intervocal consonant [e. g., °-pāṇḍarakaṁ > °-paṇḍalākaṁ — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 4] nor sonantization of the intervocal surd sound [e. g., karoti > kaleti — frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 2]. Lastly, Old Ardha-Māgadhī does not exhibit the cerebralization of "n" into "ṇ" [e. g., °varṇṇikābhiḥ > °vannīkāhi — frg. no. (K) 30b, 1. 3].

iii) *Old Śaurasenī*

The four roles, viz., the Gaṇikā (abbreviated in the Ś. fragments as "Gaṇi°") named Magadhavatī (abbreviated in the MSS. remains of the Ś. as "Maga°"), the heroine, the Vidūṣaka (contracted in the Ś. fragments as "Vidū°"), the Clown attached to Somadatta (alias Śāriputra ?), the hero, the role whose name is found abbreviated in the Ś. fragments as "Mādha°" (< Mādhava or Mādhavya ?), and the Ceṭikā (shortened in the Ś. fragments as "Ceṭi°"), the female attendant on the Gaṇikā, have been allotted a dialect which appears to be a precursor to the standard Śaurasenī of the later dramas and Prākṛta grammars. Moreover, the anonymous Prākṛta passages and the Prākṛta stage-directions are couched in Old Śaurasenī. The phonetic standard of this Old Śaurasenī may be compared to that of the Mathurā inscriptions akin to Sanskrit. However, the salient features of Aśvaghoṣa's Old Śaurasenī may now be recorded as follows :—

[Contd.]
be precise, the infinitive stem in the Vedic literature appears to have been declined in this case as a masculine u-stem in the dative singular. Then this Vedic "-tave" seems to have been changed into *"-tae" (through the elision of the intervocal "v") and further into "-(i)taye" (with the link-vowel "i" and ya-śruti) and at length into "-(i)ttae" [with the augment of the link-vowel "i" (which is intended to be stressed and which thus causes the duplication in "tt") and without the afore-said ya-śruti.

a) r > l [e. g., nirucchvāsam > nilussā(saṁ)[1] — frg. no. (K) 30a (reconstructed together with 31, 42 & 105), l. 2] ;

b) ś & ṣ > s [e. g, upadeśaḥ > upadeso — frg. no. (K) 14a, l. 2 (= frg. nos. K 14, 15 & 32 reconstructed into one folio, reverse side, l. 3) and mahiṣaṁ > mahisaṁ — frg. no. (K) 21a, l. 4] ;

c) hm > mbh[2] (also written "ṁmbh" — a defective spelling, or at best a scribal peculiarity) [e. g., Brāhmaṇa-° > Bambhaṇa-° (in the Vidū°'s speech) — frg. no. (K) 14a, l. 2 (= frg. nos. K 14, 15 & 32 reconstructed together into one folio, reverse side, l. 3) ; also Baṁmbhaṇa (in an anonymous Prākṛta speech) — frg. no. (K) 91a, l. 1 ; but in the standard Śaurasenī of the later dramas and Prākṛta grammars

---

1) This is the only available illustration in the Ś. fragments of a distinctive feature of Old Māgadhī and Old Ardha-Māgadhī trespassing into the realm of Old Śaurasenī which retains the use of "r". This retention according to the correct usage of Old Śaurasenī is also found in the same fragment [(K) 30a, l. 1] which has "··· (ni)r-ussāsaṁ ...". The unwarranted change of "r" into "l" should rather be attributed to the inadvertence of the scribe who after writing n(i)lussāsaṅ ..." (= Gobaṁ°'s speech ?) in Ardha-Māgadhī in the same fragment [(K) 30a, l. 2] wrote "nilussā(saṁ) ..." (= Vidū°'s speech) in Old Śaurasenī in the selfsame line. It has been suggested that this overlapping feature (ativyāpti-sthala) has been introduced deliberately by Aśvaghoṣa to depict a lively conversation in which the Vidū° quotes a word from Gobaṁ°'s speech. This witty mimicry (anukaraṇa) by the Vidū° can condone (doṣa-pratiprasava) solecism on the authority of the standard rhetoricians. Nevertheless it must be admitted on all hands that the change of "r" into "l" cannot be a correct distinctive feature of Old Śaurasenī.

2) Some details of the treatment of this consonantal cluster with parallels from Aśoka's edicts have been already given under Old Māgadhī.

(as well as in later Māgadhī and Māhārāṣṭrī) the form would be Bamhaṇa][1] ;

d) jñ, ṇy & ny > ññ [e. g., akṛtajña > akitañña — frg. no. (K) 30a (including frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105), 1. 2 ; puṇyānām > puññān(āṁ) — frg. no. (K) 10a, 1. 2 ; and anyam > añ(ñ)aṁ — frg. no. (K) 32a, 1. 2 (= frg. nos. K 14, 15 & 32 reconstructed together into one folio, obverse side, 1. 3) ; but in later Śaurasenī the conjuncts jñ, ṇy and ny are changed uniformly into ṇṇ[2]] ;

e) dy > (y)y[3] [e. g., jīrṇodyāna > j(iṇ)ṇu(yāna)[4] — frg no. (K) 66b, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the conjunct "dy" is changed into "jj" [5]] ;

f) ṣkr > kkh[6] [e. g., niṣkrāntāḥ > nikkhantā[7] — frg. no

1) Brāhmaṇa > Bāmhaṇa (Aśoka's Girnār rock edict and Bāsim inscription in Central India) > Bamhaṇa (Aśoka's Nāsik inscription in Western India, Udayagiri inscription in Eastern India and South Indian inscriptions) > Bamhana (Aśoka's South Indian inscriptions) > Baṁmhana (Asoka's Kuḍā inscription in Western India and South Indian inscriptions) > Bamaṇa (Ceylonese inscription of 2nd or 1st century B. C.). Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa's "Baṁmbhaṇa" appears to give us an intermediate form between "Bambhaṇa" and "Baṁbhaṇa" and corresponds to Aśoka's "Baṁmhana".

2) Aśvaghoṣa's "ññ" in Old Śaurasenī supplies us with the transitional form between Sanskrit "jñ - ṇy - ny" on the one hand and "ṇṇ" in later Śaurasenī on the other.

3) The same treatment of this cluster is also found in Pāli. Strictly speaking, "yy" of Pāli and Old Śaurasenī is the halfway house between Sanskrit "dy" and "jj" of later Śaurasenī.

4) The same word is also traceable in "(jiṇ)ṇuy(ā)n......" in the frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, 1. 1.

5) This change is also noticeable in other words in Aśvaghoṣa's Old Śaurasenī itself [e. g., adya > ajja — frg. no. (K) 27b, l. 1].

6) The same treatment of this cluster is also found in Māhārāṣṭrī and later Ardha-Māgadhī.

7) This word occurs also in the frg. no. (K) 45a, 1. 3 [(n)ik(kh)antā] and possibly in the frg. no. (K) 11a, 1. 2 [nikkha(ntā or °nto ?)].

(K) 13b, 1. 3 ; but in later Śaurasenī "ṣkr" is changed into "kk"] ;

g) kṣ > kkh [e.g., prekṣe > (* prekṣāmi >) pekkhāmi — frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 1. 3 ; but in later Śaurasenī (as well as in Māhārāṣṭrī and later Ardha-Māgadhī) the cluster "kṣ" is changed into "cch"] ;

h) °n + bh° > °ṁ + bh° > °m-bh°[1] (through para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva in euphonic combination)[2] [e.g., bhavān + bhaṇati > bhavāṁ bhaṇāti > bhavām bhaṇāti — frg. no. (K) 61b, 1. 2] ;

i) Masculine °a-stem in the nominative singular, i. e., °a-s > °a-ḥ > °o[3] [e. g., ādarśaḥ > ādaṁso — frg. no. (K) 8 reverse side, 1. 1] ;

j) Masculine °vat-stem in the nominative singular, i. e., °vat-s(u)

---

1) This kind of assimilation of the final "n" to the initial mute which immediately follows in external sandhi is also noticed in the Sanskrit usage of the Ś. fragments [e. g., "..... śṛṇvam (an incorrect spelling of the participle "śṛṇvan") puṣ(p)ā ..... " — frg. no. (K) 8 reverse side, 1. 3 already cited above under Sanskrit Phonology].

2) A similar case of assimilation in Old Śaurasenī is : "nanu kiṅ ....." > "naṅ kiṅ ....." [frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 1 ; nanu > * nan (through apocope) > naṅ (through assimilation)]. This para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva testifies to the speech-habit of the scribe.

3) The word "bubhukkhitoḥ" [frg. no. (K) 34b, 1. 2], which occurs most likely in the speech of the Vidū(ṣaka) engaged in conversation with some Sanskrit-speaking Tāpa(sa), appears to occupy an intermediate position in between the Sanskrit form "bubhukṣitaḥ" and the expected Old Śaurasenī form "bubhukkhito" The intermediate form which combines within itself the Old Śaurasenī treatment of the cluster "kṣ" into "kkh" along with the visarga peculiar to the Sanskrit form. The pseudo-Sanskrit word, which has been put into the mouth of the Vidū(ṣaka), happens to be intended to evoke laughter inasmuch as his speech is a parodical retort of the Sanskrit-speech of the Tāpa(sa) ["..... carāmy aparigrahaḥ ....." — frg. no. (K) 34b, 1. 1].

> °vān > °vāṁ [e. g., bhavān > bhavāṁ[1] (without the shortening of the long vowel "ā" before the immediately following anusvāra which renders this vowel prosodially heavy according to the law of morae) — frg. no. (K) 9a, 1. 3 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "bhavaṁ"] ;

k) Masculine or neuter sarva-nāman stem idam in the instrumental singular, i. e., idam + (ṭ)ā > anena > iminā (without cerebralization of "n") — frg. no. (K) 27b, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "imiṇā" (with cerebralization of "n") ;

l) Feminine sarva-nāman stem idam in the nominative singular, i. e., idam + s(u) > iyam > iy(aṁ)[2] — frg. no. (K) 103a, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "iaṁ" ;

m) The sarva-nāman stem yuṣmad in the nominative singular, i. e., yuṣmad + s(u) > tvam > tuvaṁ (through svara-bhakti) — frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 4 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "tumaṁ" ;

n) The sarva-nāman stem yuṣmad in the genitive singular, i. e., yuṣmad + (ṅ)as > tava > tava (i. e., the same word has been retained without any change) — frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 3 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "tuha" ;

o) The sarva-nāman stem yuṣmad in the genitive plural, i. e., yuṣmad + ām > yuṣmākam > * tuṣmākam > * tusmākaṃ > * tumsākaṁ (through metathesis) > tum(h)āk(aṁ) — frg. no. (K) 113b, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "tumhāṇaṁ" ;

p) The sarva-nāman stem asmad in the nominative plural, i. e., asmad + (j)as > vayam > vayaṁ[3] — frg. no. (K) 100a, 1, 1 ;

---

1) But the form "bhavām" (in external euphonic combination with "bhaṇāti") in frg. no. (K) 61b, 1. 2 ends in the bilabial nasal "m" (instead of the anusvāra) as a result of the para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva (already discussed above).

2) The same word has been preserved better as "iya(ṁ)" in frg. no. (K) 13a, 1. 3 (after reconstruction).

3) As a matter of fact, the word vayaṁ ending in "ṁ" occurs in the fragment in question as vayaṅ ending in "ṅ" as a result of the para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva in external sandhi with the initial "k" of the following word "(k)al(l)aṁ".

but in later Śaurasenī (as well as in Ardha-Māgadhī) the form would be "vaaṁ" ;

q) The root ā(ṅ)-√lok(ṛ) with svārthika (ṇ)i(c) in loṭ -āma, i. e., ālokayāma > ālokema — frg. no. (K) 62a, 1. 2 ; but in later Śaurasenī (as well as in Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī) the form would be "ālokemha"[1] ;

r) The root dṛś(ir) in laṭ -te in the karma-vācya, i. e., dṛśyate > d(i)ssat(i) (without compensatory lengthening and sonantization of the intervocal surd) — frg. no. (K) 59a, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "dīsadi" (with compensatory lengthening and sonantization of the intervocal surd) ;

s) The root grah(a) with the kṛt suffix -(k)ta- in the karma-vācya, i. e., gṛhītam > gahītaṁ[2] (without the sonantization of the intervocal surd) — frg. no. (K) 79a, 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the forms would be "gahīdaṁ" and "gahidaṁ" (with the sonantization of the intervocal surd) ;

t) The root (ḍu)kṛ(ñ) with the kṛt suffix -(k)tvā, i. e., kṛtvā[3] > kariya — frg. no. (K) 30a [including nos. (K) 31, 42 & 105], 1. 1 ; but in later Śaurasenī the corresponding form would be "karia" (with the elision of the intervocal "y" ;

u) idā'nīm > idāni (without the final nasal) [frg. no. (K) 30a (including frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105), 1. 1] and dāni[4] (through aphaeresis due to the loss of the accent on the initial "i" and without the final nasal) [frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 2] ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be dāṇiṁ

1) Ālokayāmahai > * ālokemahe > * ālokem'he > ālokemha (through dissimilation).

2) The final "ṁ" is found in the fragment concerned as changed into "n" due to para-savarṇa-ñam-bhāva in external sandhi with the initial "n" of the immediately succeeding word "nā(m).......".

3) Strictly speaking, the word kṛtvā serves the purpose of the corresponding gerund form in Sanskrit. The derivation should rather be traced back to the hypothetical form "karya" as follows :—

* kar-ya [= √ kṛ > kar (with the guṇation of the radical vowel "ṛ") + the absolutive suffix -(l)ya(p) irrespective of the Gati-Tatpuruṣa-samāsa with some upasarga)] > kar-i-ya.

4) This word appears as "(d)āni" in frg. no. (K) 9a, 1. 3. It is also found in Pāli and the inscriptions.

(through the cerebralization of "n" and with the final nasal) ; and

v) iva > viya[1] (through metathesis and ya-śruti) — frg. no. (K) 32a, l. 2 ; but in later Śaurasenī the form would be "via" (without the intervocal "y").

We may now desist from citing further illustrations in this brief review. Nevertheless it is clear from the foregoing data that Aśvaghoṣa's Old Śaurasenī is marked by the elision of the final consonant[2] [e. g., idā'nīm > idāni (frg. no. K 30a, l. 1) and dāni (frg. no. K 8, obverse side, l. 2)]. There is neither any loss of the intervocal consonant [e. g., kṛtvā (or rather * karya) > kariya — frg. no. (K) 30a, l. 1] nor any shortening of the long vowel before the final "ṁ" [e. g., puṇyānām > puññān(āṁ) — frg. no. (K) 10a, l. 2]. There is no compensatory lengthening of the short vowel before a simplified consonantal cluster [e. g., dṛśyate > d(i)ssat(i) — frg. no. (K) 59a, l. 1]. Both cacuminal "ṇ" and dental "n" are used [e. g., Brāhmaṇa-janasya > Bambhaṇa-janassa — frg. no. (K) 14a, l. 2 (= frg. nos. K 14, 15 & 32 reconstructed into one folio, reverse side, l. 3]. Lastly, we are confronted with a solitary illustration of the sonantization of an intervocal surd mute [surata-vimarda° > surada-vimadda° — frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, l. 2]. This instance is rather intriguing. It would not be justifiable to treat this sonantization as a case of Māhārāṣṭrī feature ushered into Old Śaurasenī inasmuch as the standard Māhārāṣṭrī of the post-Aśvaghoṣan kāvyas and the Prākṛta grammars would necessitate "surada-vimaḍḍa°" instead of "°-vimadda°" of the fragment in question. It is avowed that the cluster "rd" has also been treated in Old Śaurasenī as "ḍḍ" (with cerebralization) [e. g., vicchardam > vi(c)cha(ḍ)ḍa(m) — frg. no. (K) 22a, l. 1]. Still it is amazing that the sonantization of intervocal "t" into "d" does not occur in "dhārayitavvo" [frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, l. 1], "pavisati" [frg. no. (K) 45a, l. 2], "hotu"[3] [frg. no. (K) 37a, l. 3], etc. though these words form parts of Old Śaurasenī speeches. It would not be satisfactory

---

1) This word is also found in the remnants of the Old Śaurasenī speeches in other fragments as well.

2) This feature is also noticed in Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardha-Māgadhī.

3) bhavatu > * bhotu > hotu (Old Śaurasenī) > hodu (later Śaurasenī).

to argue that Aśvaghoṣa intended the sonantization in the word "surada-vimadda°" only and ignored it in all other cases. There is no other quotable instance in the Old Śaurasenī Sprachreste in the Ś. fragments to enable us to say that "surata-°" and "surada-°" are doublets It would be extremely fantastic to opine that the entire orthography of the Prākṛta passages of the Ś. is corrupt inasmuch as it underwent a thorough revision at the hands of the scribes who Sanskritized all the "d" cases into "t" ones with the sole exception of "surada-°" The extant fragments of the "K" and "C" manuscripts of the Ś. bear some uniform features of the different Prākṛta-types in such a convincing manner that the question of a thorough overhauling is totally excluded thereby. We are thus landed on the last plausible explanation that "surada-°" is in all likelihood a scribal error for "surata-°" which, like all other "t" cases, appears to be the original reading It has to be borne in mind here that the Ś. fragments are after all palimpsests. It would not be justifiable therefore to look upon the single sporadic case of sonantization in "surada-°" as a clear trace of Māhārāṣṭrī in Aśvaghoṣa. The present torso of the Ś. does not enable us to arrive at any categorical conclusion in this matter.

Besides the Sprachgut for the three types of Prākṛta discussed above there is also the scanty specimen of an indeterminate fourth dialect which may now be quoted below :—

"Śrama(ṇaḥ) — na khu e(ke)[1] ......" [frg. no. (K) 40b, 1. 1]. The surviving two or three words of the speech of the Prākṛta-speaking Śramaṇa[2] do not allow us to form any fair idea of the distinctive features and type of the dialect which this speech should correctly belong to. Anyway, we are tempted to suggest in the present context that this Śramaṇa may be the same as the Ājīvika-śramaṇa who has been referred to twice in a single fragment as follows :-

"...... (pa)ryyākula Ajivika (to be corrected to "Ājīvikaḥ") ......' and "...... gilāyamānaṁ Ājīv(i)ka-sama(ṇaṁ) ··· " [frg. no. (K) 29a 1. 1 (to be read along with its reconstructed form) and 29b, 1. 1]

1) The second syllable "ke" is uncertain.

2) This Prākṛta-speaking Śramaṇa has to be carefully distinguished from the Sanskrit-speaking Buddhist Śramaṇa already noted earlier under Sanskrit.

However, from the foregoing conspectus of Aśvaghoṣa's Prākṛta-Stoffe it is evident that the three[1] types of Prākṛta bear some signs of antiquity. These dramatic dialects are on the whole simple and akin to Sanskrit. Their phonetic standard may be compared to that of Pāli and the older inscriptions. There is no doubt that they were realistic enough to suit the action-packed prakaraṇa of the early Christian era. They were obviously intended by the preacher-kavi Aśvaghoṣa for popular appeal[2] and Buddhistic propaganda. These older dialects, unlike the standardized Prākṛtas of the post-Aśvaghoṣan classical kāvyas and more or less conventional Prākṛta grammars, appear to be less facetious. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. gives us some Prākṛta-Sprachreste of the early classical period.

Now, the three types of Prākṛta in Aśvaghoṣa exhibit some common archaic characteristics which are as follows :—

i) Firstly, the assimilation of the conjuncts is already in vogue.

ii) Secondly, there is no instance of compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before a simplified conjunct.

iii) Thirdly, the final consonants are dropped.

iv) Fourthly, the intervocal single consonants are retained.

v) Fifthly, both "ṇ" and "n" are found in use.

vi) Lastly, there is a questionable case of the sonantization of an intervocal surd mute[3].

Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa's Prākṛtas appear to be rather flexible. There are some overlapping cases. These are obviously borrowings which show that the barriers among the three regional dialects were not much rigid. Moreover, there are some anomalies like the change of "bh" into "h" [e. g., °varṇikābhiḥ > °vannīkāhi in Old Ardha-Māgadhī — frg. no. (K) 30b (including K frg. nos. 31, 42 & 105), l. 3 ; and bhavatu > hotu in Old Śaurasenī — frg. no. (K) 37a, l. 3] beside the

1) The fourth uncertain type may be eliminated here due to the paucity of the distinctly assessable specimens.

2) We might mention here en passant that the dramatic dialects were for obvious reasons more popular than the chancellery ones of documentary character.

3) But it cannot be gainsaid that the practice of sonantization in Western India is evidenced by Périple and South Indian epigraphy of the 1st century A. D.

retention of "gh" [e. g., meghāḥ > meghā in Old Śaurasenī — frg. no. (K) 33b, 1. 1], "th" [e. g., katham > kathaṁ in Old Śaurasenī — frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 2] and "dh" [e. g, sādhu > sādhu in Old Śaurasenī — frg. no. (K) 37a, 1. 1].

However, Aśvaghoṣa's dramatic Prākṛtas furnish us with the earliest known specimens of literary Prākṛtas. They are important from the standpoint of Indo-philology and literature. If we compare the Prākṛta-Sprachgut of Aśvaghoṣa with that of Bharata, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa and trace the Entwicklungsgesetze it would appear that Aśvaghoṣa represents no doubt the earliest stage and then come Bharata, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa in order of priority. The use of Ardha-Māgadhī in classical dramas is evidenced by Aśvaghoṣa, Bharata and Bhāsa. Bhāsa shows both earlier and later features. Kālidāsa stands closer to Bhāsa and gives us the standard Prākṛtas of the grammars.

With these general remarks we close this section on Aśvaghoṣa's Language and pass on to the next section on his Style.

II. *Style*

As we know, Aśvaghoṣa was a preacher-kavi who composed four mokṣa-kāvyas on the biography of the Buddha as accepted in the Mahā-sāṅghika school which the kavi belonged to. The kavi's motto was simple preaching and propaganda of the broad principles of Buddhism[1] as interpreted towards the later phase of Hīna-yāna when a change over to Mahā-yāna was feeling its way about the beginning of the Christian era. Thus his main aim appears to be the enlightenment of the commonalty. The summum bonum of the human life is the emancipation from the mundane snares. In other words, nirvāṇa or final beatitude, both of the aspiring self or jīva (i. e., attainment of arhattva or pratyeka-buddhatva) and of other beings[2], is professedly intended to be the object of pāryantika appeal in

1) We will see in the next chapter that Aśvaghoṣa has no original philosophy to offer.

2) In this altruistic spirit lies the bīja of the rising Mahā-yāna. This point will be dilated upon later on in the next chapter.

Aśvaghoṣa[1]. This nirvāṇa norm or śāmika tattva is the fourth puruṣārtha (mokṣa) which being the siddhānta cancels the remaining three puruṣārthas [tri-varga, viz., i) dharma, ii) artha and iii) kāma] which pertain to the gṛhastha life and constitute the pūrva-pakṣas.

This serious didactic matter had to be catered by Aśvaghoṣa for an average person in an attractive kāvya-packet[2] in total disregard of the purely puritanic interdiction of Hīna-yāna. In pursuance of the Zeitgeist of the transitional stage between the late Hina-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas turned out to be some doses of bitter medicine dipped lavishly in palatable honey. This shows that in Aśvaghoṣa there is no place for Art for Art's sake.

---

1) ity eṣā vyupaśāntaye na rataye mokṣārtha-garbhā kṛtiḥ
śrotṛṇāṁ grahaṇārtham anya-manasāṁ kāvyopacārāt kṛtā .
yan mokṣāt kṛtam anyad atra hi mayā tat kāvya-dharmāt kṛtaṁ
pātuṁ tiktam ivauṣadhaṁ madhu-yutaṁ hṛdyaṁ kathaṁ syād iti ..
prāyeṇālokya lokaṁ viṣaya-rati-paraṁ mokṣāt pratihataṁ
kāvya-vyājena tattvaṁ kathitam iha mayā mokṣaḥ param iti .
tad buddhvā śāmikaṁ yat tad avahitam ito grāhyaṁ na lalitaṁ
pāṁsubhyo dhātujebhyo niyatam upakaraṁ cāmīkaram iti ..
[S., 18/63-64]

The same motive is also found professed in a modest manner in the concluding verse of the B. as follows :-

"Thus this poem has been composed for the good and happiness of all people in accordance with the Sage's Scriptures, out of reverence for the Bull of sages, and not to display the qualities of learning or skill in poetry."

[Johnston's English retranslation (from the Tibetan and Chinese translations), 28/74, p. 286]

2) That this kāntā-sammita ornate method of presenting religio-philosophical precepts grew to be a popular fashion with the Mahā-yāna-oriented missionary kavis about the beginning of the Christian era is also corroborated by Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti and Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā. This tendency in kāvya appears to correspond to the similar trend in other forms of art of the same period.

He did not ignore the poetic and dramatic conventions that were gradually gaining ground and obviously sanctioned by the milieu of some dissident sections of the Buddhistic missionaries. He naturally accepted the already popularized kāvya-media (kāvyopacāra = kāvya-vyāja) of preaching and yielded to the growing public demands for the established śravya-kāvya and dṛśya-kāvya patterns[1]. In this way he tried to make a compromise between religion and art — missionary zeal and forbidden Kunstform — and his choice for giving an alluring kāvya-garb to religious discourses sounds as an apology for unmonkish secularism. It is quite natural that he should adopt on the whole a simple style[2] for a popular preaching. His style pulsates with the narrative raciness of the two Great National Epics, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-bhārata. But besides this spontaneity Aśvaghoṣa exhibits some clear traces of an alaṅkāra-consciousness which is the vortex of life (jīvātu) of the ornate Sanskrit literature. The broad outlines of the different aspects of this kāvya-dharma must have been known to Aśvaghoṣa through tradition handed down in the early classical period even though we are not in a position to assert that these general principles were codified before him. The inborn kavi-Geist in him took the cues from the then existing kāvya-technique of the formative period of the Classical Sanskrit literature and worked wonders in his works with his Begabung. His two mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., and one[3] drama, viz., the Ś. are embellished more or less with secular charms. Thus the B., which, as we have seen

---

1) The origin and growth of the Classical Sanskrit literature have been shown in Chapter I above.

2) On an average (prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavantīti nyāyāt) Aśvaghoṣa's style shows this simplicity. But we will see later on under the Doṣas that he occasionally divagates into some enigmatic verses which do not admit of unambiguous interpretation. The other terse passages occurring in course of the technical discussions on philosophical principles are not however free from propriety (prakaraṇaucitya and pātraucitya).

3) We have to leave here the case of the second drama, viz., the R., which cannot be placed properly under a thorough ālaṅkārika scrutiny because very little of this work has been preserved for us.

in Chapter II above, appears to be the kavi's earliest kāvya is mainly a matter-of-fact narrative though it is not dry as saw-dust. The style is on the whole premature though the occasional silver lining of artistic touches is not wanting. Judging from the ālaṅkārika standard the S. with its lyrical lilt is decidedly a better and mature composition. The Ś. with its full prakaraṇa paraphernalia is an action-packed realistic drama abounding in sensuous elements. It offers an interesting study inasmuch as it reflects the social condition obtaining in India about the beginning of the Christian era which answers to the realistic social setting known to us from Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra. There is no doubt about the fact that all the three afore-said mokṣa-kāvyas have to introduce love-dalliances in varying degrees. Nevertheless these śṛṅgāra-digressions cannot in any way affect the pāryantika śāntopadeśa in bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva because with Aśvaghoṣa kāvyas are no better than sugar-coated capsules of quinine content meant for the saṁsāra-lorn persons. But the kavi's objective was misunderstood by the puritanic Tibetan and Chinese translators who disliked the śṛṅgāra-elaboration and thus translated the B. only (apparently unaware of the covert śṛṅgāra suggestions) and left the S. and the Ś. untranslated. Even though in strict adherence to the kāvya-dharma this detracting śṛṅgāra excursion accounts for the unpopularity of the S. and the Ś. and the paucity of their manuscripts. Despite this penalty inflicted upon them by the censoring priests the last two kāvyas in their extant forms must be adjudged to be more successful as literary productions than the comparatively unrefined B.

Now, before we conclude this introductory portion dealing with the general observations on Aśvaghoṣa's style and enter into the niceties thereof in the succeeding sub-sections it is necessary in the present context to encounter the pertinent question on the relative assessment of the contributions of Aśvaghoṣa as a preacher and as a kavi. A critical estimate of the philosophical matter[1] beside the ornate manner in his kāvyas would reveal undoubtedly the singular fact that he has no original metaphysics to teach his readers.

---

1) An analysis of the philosophical tenets as found in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas will be made in Chapter IV infra.

The didactic content of less complex nature is couched in "lalita"[1] kāvya-forms. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa appears to us more as a classical kavi than as an orthodox philosopher.

With these general remarks on Aśvaghoṣa's style we pass on to the following three sub-sections dealing with the analysis of the stylistic details.

A. *Epic Influence on Aśvaghoṣa*

The two Great National Epics of India, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and the Mahā-Bhārata of Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa, constitute the fountainhead of inspiration for the kavis of the Classical Sanskrit literature. Both of these Epics have recorded some considerable portions of the varied Sagenstoffe handed down traditionally from earlier time. Both of them have to be looked upon as collections of age-old legends (itihāsa)[2] with some amount of historicity embedded evidently in them though it is not possible now after the vast expanse of time to ascertain the extent of that historicity.

Anyway, the two Epics have exercised a far-reaching influence of various nature on the whole range of the ornate Sanskrit literature. The classical kāvyas, both śravya and dṛśya, are saturated with the undercurrent of the Epic heritage. Aśvaghoṣa being a kavi of the early period of the ornate literature does not run counter to this abiding influence. Naturally his kavi-Geist received a strong impetus from the two National Epics. The extent of his close acquaintance with the two Epics is quite amazing[3]. Thus there are profuse

1) It would appear in course of the technical discussions in the subsequent sub-section on the ālaṅkārika appraisal of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas that the word "lalita" as used in the S., 18/64^c (already quoted above) stands for i) śṛṅgāra-rasa, ii) guṇa and iii) alaṅkāra.

2) The Purāṇas also contain within their encyclopaedic scope the older saga materials of wide varieties. The Purāṇa texts may therefore be reckoned as supplements to the two Epics.

3) Being possibly a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa, as noted earlier in Chapter II, Aśvaghoṣa appears to have been nurtured in a Brāhmaṇic tradition of learning.

references to the names of Vālmīki[1] and Vyāsa[2], and the different characters appearing in the diverse episodes[3] in the two Epics. Besides the character of Śuddhodana has been depicted as an ideal king in the B., I-II and the S., II after the set pattern of King Daśaratha of the Rāmāyaṇa. Again, the detracting disposition of the slumbering damsels at night in Sarvārthasiddha's harem in Kapilavāstu, as described in the B., 5/47-63, has been modelled undoubtedly on the similar scene in Rāvaṇa's seraglio in Laṅkā as depicted in the Rāmāyaṇa, 5/10/30ff. Likewise the description of the bitter lamentations of the ladies in Śuddhodana's harem in the B., VIII has been built after the pattern of that in the Rāmāyaṇa, 2/41ff. Further, for the description of the opulence of Kapilavāstu under the ideal monarchy of

---

1) Vālmīkir ādau ca sasarja padyaṁ jagrantha yan na
Cyavano maharṣiḥ . [B., 1/43[ab]]
sa (= Kapilaḥ) teṣāṁ Gautamaś cakre sva-vaṁśa-
sadṛśīḥ kriyāḥ .
....
....
Vālmīkir iva dhīmāṁś ca dhīmator Maithileyayoḥ . .
[S., 1/25[ab] & 26[cd]]

Vālmīki is thus hailed as a gifted person who created the poetic genre of the Classical Sanskrit literature.

2) Parāśaraḥ śāpa-śaras tatharṣiḥ Kālīṁ siṣeve jhaṣa-
garbha-yonim (°niṁ — sic).
suto 'sya yasyāṁ suṣuve mahātmā Dvaipāyano Veda-
vibhāga-kartā . . [S., 7/29]
[Kālī = Gandha-kālī = Gandhavatī = Matsya-gandhā
= Yojana-gandhā = Satyavatī.]

3) Daśaratha iva Rāma-śoka-vaśyo bahu vilalāpa nṛpo
visaṁjñakalpaḥ . . [B., 8/81[cd]]
Ṛṣyaśṛṅgaṁ muni-sutaṁ tathaiva strīṣv apaṇḍitam .
upāyair vividhaiḥ Śāntā jagrāha ca jahāra ca . .
[B., 4/19]
nāsmi yātuṁ puraṁ śakto dahyamānena cetasā .
tvām araṇye parityajya Sumantra iva Rāghavam . .
[B., 6/36]

[Contd.]

Śuddhodana in the B., I-II and the S., I-II Aśvaghoṣa appears to have derived his inspiration from the similar scenes in both the Epics. Furthermore, the minute description of the psychological conflict between Sarvārthasiddha's consciousness on the one hand and the combatant host of Māra and associate personifications on the other, as depicted in the B., XIII, must have been modelled on the details of the numerous battle-scenes of the two Epics. Moreover, the occasional descriptions of the beauties of nature[1] that we find couched

---

[Contd.]

"The Daitya (= Rāvaṇa), extremely ferocious though he was, went to destruction by embracing ...... death in the shape ...... of Sītā ; ......" [B. (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations), 28/31, p. 281]

nṛpaś ca Gaṅgā-virahāj jughūrṇa Gaṅgāmbhasā sāla ivātta-mūlaḥ .
kula-pradīpaḥ Pratipasya sūnuḥ śrīmat-tanuḥ Śantanur asva-
tantraḥ . . [S., 7/41]

Bhīṣmeṇa Gaṅgodara-saṁbhavena ....
śrutvā kṛtaṁ karma pituḥ priyārthaṁ pitus tvam apy arhasi kartum
iṣṭam . . [B., 9/25[acd]]

śaptaś ca Pāṇḍur Madanena nūnaṁ strī-saṁgame mṛtyum
avāpsyasīti .
jagāma Mādrīṁ na maharṣi-śāpād asevyasevī vimamarśa mṛtyum
(°tyuṁ — sic) .. [S., 7/45]

"Śiśupāla and the Cedis, in taking the sacrificial gifts ...... for the sake of pride, strove with Kṛṣṇa ; ......"
[B. (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations), 28/28, p. 280]

kva tad balaṁ Kaṁsa-vikarṣiṇo Hares turaṅga-rājasya
puṭāvabhedinaḥ .
yam eka-bāṇena nijaghnivāñ (°vān — sic) Jarāḥ
kramāgatā rūpam ivottamaṁ jarā . . [S., 9/18]
Kaṇvaḥ Śākuntalasyeva Bharatasya tarasvinaḥ . [S., 1/26[ab]]
Here we refrain from citing further instances.

1) These natural descriptions certainly run contrary to Aśvaghoṣa's monastic Weltanschauung and as such these have been touched upon in a disinterested manner in the B. and the S. with an
[Contd.]

in classical style and scattered in the B. and the S. must have had their beginnings in the two pre-classical Epics.

Besides the afore-said characterisation, depiction of episodes and descriptions we note the indelible influence of the Epics[1] in the art of the planned presentation of dialogues in Aśvaghoṣa, and especially in the B. [e. g., 4/62-100 (= the conversation between Udāyin and Sarvārthasiddha), 6/13-52 (= the dialogue between Chandaka and Sarvārthasiddha), etc.][2]. Aśvaghoṣa appears to depict the speeches in the go-puccha method with a succinct beginning (samāsa in upaṣṭambha), logical elaboration (vyāsa) in the middle and convergence of the details in the end (samāsa in the upasaṁhāra). There is thus a symmetry (saṅgati) in the well-knit arrangement of the points punctuated amply with pithy epigrams.

Lastly, we come to the question of the Epic influence on Aśvaghoṣa's style proper. Many of his ideas and expressions bear the clear stamp of the Epic legacy[3]. On the whole his narrative style still retains the simplicity and racy verve of the Epics. He proves his skill in the art of story-telling in so far as he handles the old semi-legendary matter at his command and gives it a neat and artistic shape with his historical imagination. In this way fact and fiction about the actual account of the Buddha's life have been inextricably related in the true Epic style. Besides this artistic imagination he has

---

[Contd.]
eye to the predominant sentiment śānta. Though used sparingly these secular excursions into the territory of art display a rare charm of their own and answers well to the requirements of the standard mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇas of later date. This issue will be dilated upon subsequently under "Kāvya-vibhāga" and "Sva-bhāvokti" (both coming under the sub-section entitled the "Ālaṅkārika Appraisal").

1) This influence of the Epics is palpable considerably in the dialogue-patterns in Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya.

2) Such long speeches cannot certainly be expected in the action-packed Ś. Moreover, the syllabic remnants of the speeches, big or small, would not give us any full picture which might be deemed appropriate for quotable assessment.

3) The Epic reminiscences in Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit have been shown already under the first section of this chapter.

introduced plenty of didactic matter into the plots of his mokṣa-kāvyas in the manner of the Epics. The harmony of this combination within his plots shows a remarkable constructive skill. Anyway, the religious matter, as we know, is intended by the kavi himself to be the predominant sentiment in his kāvyas and in this respect too the śānta-rasa synthesis[1] of the Mahā-Bhārata has exercised an unmistakable influence on his kāvyas. Some of his ideas have been drawn upon the common stock of universal ideas already familiar to us from the Epics. It is no wonder that being a kavi of the early classical epoch Aśvaghoṣa, like his successors in the field, should bathe in the fountain of the Epic lore.

Besides the ideas his wordings also smack of Epic flavour. The simple and more or less spontaneous verbal embroideries of the two ārṣa Epics have been crystallized into a still spontaneous (apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya) tendency of verbal decorations (śabdālaṅkāras) in Aśvaghoṣa. It cannot be contradicted that he betrays a palpable predilection for the repetition of the same and similar group of syllables. But this repetition does not barricado the road to the intended sense and as such it cannot contain any of the three dūṣakatā-bijas, viz., i) rasa-pratīti-pratibandha, ii) rasa-pratīti-prakarṣa-pratibandha and iii) rasa-pratīti-vilamba. Aśvaghoṣa's yamaka (including anuprāsa in the wider sense of Bharata) is easily intelligible (gamaka) and ever afresh[2].

Thus, Aśvaghoṣa is an anya-cchāyā-yoni-kāvya-kartṛ, like all other classical kavis, and his ideas and expressions emit an aroma of the

---

1) The question of the preponderance of śānta-rasa and the subordination of the eight other sentiments to the predominant one will be dealt with in details under the next sub-section entitled the "Ālaṅkārika Appraisal". It is therefore obvicus that the sober note of this śānta-synthesis delimits the scope and prominence of lyrical rapture for its own sake.

2) Aśvaghoṣa's yamaka is certainly less laboured than that of his posterity. It is far from the artificiality and sometimes even monstrosity of the literary exercises of the later poetasters deprecated by Bhāmaha. This point will be elaborated later on under the sub-section named the "Ālaṅkārika Appraisal".

Epics. These Übereinstimmungen with the Epics may now be substantiated through some parallel passages[1] cited below :—

1. a) sa labdha-mānair vinayānvitair nṛpaiḥ
purālayair jānapadaiś ca mānavaiḥ .
upopaviṣṭair nṛ-patir vṛto babhau
Sahasra-cakṣur bhagavān ivāmaraiḥ ..
[Rāmāyaṇa, 2/1/51]

b) sahito bhrātṛbhis tais tu devair iva Śata-kratuḥ ..
[Mahā-Bhārata, 6/97/18^{cd}]

c) rarāja rājottama rāja-mukhyair madhye surāṇām iva
Deva-rājaḥ .. [Mahā-Bhārata, 6/60/3^{cd}]

d) ācāravān vinayavān nayavān kriyāvān
dharmāya nendriya-sukhāya dhṛtātapatraḥ .
tad-bhrātṛbhiḥ parivṛtaḥ sa jugopa rāṣṭraṁ
Saṁkrandano divam ivānusṛto marudbhiḥ .. [S., 1/62]

2. a) babhūva bhūmau patito nṛpātmajaḥ
Śacī-pateḥ ketur ivotsava-kṣaye ..
[Rāmāyaṇa, 2/74/36^{cd}]

b) vicetano Vāsava-sūnur āhave prabhraṁśitendra-
dhvajavat kṣitiṁ gataḥ .. [Rāmāyaṇa, 4/16/40^{cd}]

c) Indra-dhvajāv ivotsṛṣṭau raṇa-madhye parantapau ..
[Mahā-Bhārata, 7/48/11^{cd}]

d) papāta śokābhihato mahī-patiḥ Śacī-pater vṛtta
ivotsave dhvajaḥ .. [B., 8/73^{cd}]

3. a) Punarvasv-antara-gataḥ paripūrṇo niśākaraḥ ..
[Rāmāyaṇa, 6/71/24^{cd}]

b) virejatus tasya ca saṁnikarṣe Punarvasū yoga-gatāv
ivendoḥ .. [B., 9/11^{cd}]

4. a) vidyut-patākāḥ ...... meghāḥ ......
[Rāmāyaṇa, 4/28/20^{ac}]

---

1) Copious parallels have been noticed by scholars like Walter Hultzsch, Gurner, etc. and it is needless to repeat them here. Such parallelisms may be multiplied at pleasure. So some glaring instances only have been shown in our discussions.

b) taḍit-patākābhir alaṅkṛtānām ... balāhakānāṁ ...
[Rāmāyaṇa, 4/28/31[ac]]

c) taḍit-patākā iva toyadebhyaḥ . [S., 10/39[b]]

5\. a) padmānanā padma-palāśa-netrā
padmāni vānetum abhiprayātā .
tad apy ayuktaṁ na hi sā kadācin
mayā vinā gacchati paṅkajāni .. [Rāmāyaṇa, 3/63/14]

b) sā padma-rāgaṁ vasanaṁ vasānā
padmānanā padma-dalāyatākṣī .
padmā vipadmā patiteva Lakṣmīḥ
śuśoṣa padma-srag ivātapena .. [S., 6/26]

c) kācit padma-vanād etya sapadmā padma-locanā .
padma-vaktrasya pārśve 'sya padma-śrīr iva
tasthuṣī .. [B., 4/36]

6\. a) tataḥ sa madhyaṁ gatam aṁśumantaṁ
jyotsnā-vitānaṁ muhur udvamantam .
dadarśa dhīmān bhuvi bhānumantaṁ
goṣṭhe vṛṣaṁ mattam iva bhramantam ..
[Rāmāyaṇa, 5/5/3]

b) tau deva-dārūttama-gandhavantaṁ
nadī-saraḥ-prasravaṇaughavantam (°vantaṁ — sic).
ājagmatuḥ kāñcana-dhātumantaṁ
devarṣimantaṁ Himavantam āśu .. [S., 10/5]

7\. a) kim atra citraṁ dharmajña ...
[Rāmāyaṇa, 6/18/36[a]]

b) kim atra citraṁ yadi ...... [S., 16/84[a]]

c) na cātra citraṁ yadi ...... [S., 9/3[a]]

8\. a) dharmārthau dharma-kāmau ca kāmārthau cāpy
apīḍayan .
dharmārtha-kāmān yo 'bhyeti so 'tyantaṁ sukham
aśnute .. [Mahā-Bhārata, 9/60/19]

b) yo hy artha-dharmau paripīḍya kāmaḥ
syād dharma-kāmau paribhūya cārthaḥ .
kāmārthayoś coparameṇa dharmas
tyājyaḥ sa kṛtsno yadi kāṅkṣito 'rthaḥ ..
[B., 10/29]

9. a) madhu yaḥ kevalaṁ dṛṣṭvā prapātaṁ nānupaśyati .
sa bhraṣṭo madhu-lobhena śocaty evaṁ yathā bhavān
[Mahā-Bhārata, 11/1/34]

b) na lubdho budhyate doṣān mohāl lobhaḥ pravarttate
madhu-lipsur hi nāpaśyaṁ prapātam aham īdṛśam . .
[Mahā-Bhārata, 7/49/11]

c) yathā paśyati madhv eva na prapātam avekṣate .
paśyasy apsarasas tadvad bhraṁśam ante na paśyasi . .
[S., 11/29]

10. a) pratyuvāca hasan Pārtho megha-dundubhi-niḥsvanaḥ . .
[Mahā-Bhārata, 4/37/30[cd]]

b) viśāla-vakṣā ghana-dundubhi-svanas ... [B., 8/53[c]]

11. a) ... vepantīṁ kadalīm iva .
[Mahā-Bhārata, 15/17/10[b]]

b) pragṛhya bāhū nipapāta Gautamī vilola-parṇā
kadalīva kāñcanī .. [B., 8/24[cd]]

12. a) pṛṣṭhato 'nugamiṣyāmi sārtha-hīna ivādhvagaḥ ..
[Mahā-Bhārata, 9/64/34[cd]]

b) ... bhraṣṭasya sārthād iva sārthikasya . .
[S., 5/40[d]]

Here we desist from citing further instances. Nevertheless the foregoing parallel references would suffice to give some fair idea of the considerable influence of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata on the ideas and their expressions in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. As we have seen earlier, the encyclopaedic stock of this national heritage permeated the kavi-Geist of the aspiring posterity, and Aśvaghoṣa, like all other kavis of the classical literature, must have been thoroughly acquainted with this traditional lore. But this imbibing of inspiration — if not direct borrowing — from the fountainhead of the ornate Sanskrit literature cannot be tantamount to blind imitation. We are therefore landed on the conclusion that Aśvaghoṣa utilized fully the common Epic source, drew rich materials for his stylistic patterns and finally gave these designs an ornate polish with his bhāvayitrī pratibhā or assimilative talent[1]. This sort of

1) We would discuss under the "Kāvyāṅga" item in the next sub-section that it is this assimilative potentiality of a kavi which lends charm to an anya-cchāyā-yoni kāvya and raises it to the level of creative art.

imitation should be looked upon as creative assimilation — and not plagiarism proper.

With these observations we close this sub-section on the Epic influence on Aśvaghoṣa's kavi-Geist and pass on to the next one for delving deep into the ornate niceties of his kāvyas.

B. *Ālaṅkārika Appraisal of Aśvaghoṣa's Kāvya-texts*

In this sub-section we propose to approach Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas from the different perspectives of the standard topics of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy. The present caption has to be taken therefore in a wider sense to cover the observations on Aśvaghoṣa's śravya-kāvyas and dṛśya-kāvyas from the standpoints of the relevant items of both the sciences[1]. In this treatment it is necessary to assess Aśvaghoṣa of the earliest classical era as far as practicable against the background of the works of the earliest known schools of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy represented mainly by Bharata (circa 2nd century A. D.), Bhāmaha (ca. 7th century A. D.) and Daṇḍin (ca. 7th century A. D.). For the sake of a profitable comparison we might refer occasionally to the mediaeval and relatively modern works. But the sole dependence on the later standards of such works would be marred by anachronism and thus basically not suitable for application. Aśvaghoṣa must be judged properly by the canons of literary criticism of his contemporaries, or at best by the older school of connoisseurs. His literary taste was certainly influenced by the tendencies and standard of the Zeitgeist of the early Christian era. Thus his kāvyas answer to the requirements of the stylistic Strömungen rising out of the two Great National Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata, and gradually growing into some kavi-samayas during the formative period of the ornate Sanskrit literature prior to

---

1) It is in the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata that we find the earliest known codification and simple classification of the principal topics (viz., alaṅkāra, guṇa, doṣa, etc.) of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra. This fact shows clearly that Sanskrit poetics was originally treated as a part and parcel of the vācikābhinaya aspect of Sanskrit dramaturgy.

him. Besides these conventional features[1] of the earlier literature he also indulges in some stylistic innovations which appear to foreshadow the rhetorical characteristics of the later ornate literature.

With these preliminary remarks on the transitional aspects of Aśvaghoṣa's style let us now examine in their technical details the rich "lalita" elements (S., 18/64ᶜ)[2] of his kāvyas. The term "lalita' appears to have a deeper implication in the present context. It stands obviously for the various technical aspects covered by the corresponding word "kāvya-dharma" used by Aśvaghoṣa in the S., 18/63ᶜ [3]. Though the different features suggested by the latter word are not definite still the former term can be classified safely into three distinct categories, viz., i) śṛṅgāra-rasa[4], ii) guṇa and iii) alaṅkāra[5]. Besides these technical categories the former word may be interpreted profitably through upalakṣaṇa in favour of the different ornate features sanctioned by the standard schemes of the older school of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy. Before we start on our enquiry into the stylistic niceties as traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas we must bear in mind the undeniable fact that it is not possible at the present moment to mention the name(s) of the text(s) on the norms

---

1) sa cakravākyeva hi cakravākas tayā sametaḥ priyayā
priyārhaḥ . [S., 4/2ᵃᵇ]
na sa tvad anyāṁ pramadām avaiti sva-cakravākyā iva
cakravākaḥ ... [S., 6/22ᶜᵈ]
sā hāsa-haṁsā nayana-dvi-rephā pīna-stanātyunnata-padma-
kośā .
bhūyo babhāse sva-kuloditena strī-padminī Nanda-
divākareṇa . . [S., 4/4]

2) This verse has been quoted fully at the outset of the second section.

3) This verse has been cited fully in the beginning of the second section.

4) strīṇāṁ ...... lalitaṁ tathā . .
...... hāvāḥ kriyāḥ śṛṅgāra-bhāvajāḥ .
[Amara-kośa, 1/7/31ᶜᵈ – 32ᵃᵇ, NSP. edn., p. 82ᵇ]

5) Ānandavardhana : kāvyasya hi lalitocita-sanniveśa-cāruṇaḥ .....
Abhinavagupta : .... lalita-śabdena guṇālaṅkārānugraham āha .
[Dhvany-āloka with Locana ad Dhvani-kārikā, 1/2, p. 45]

of the kāvyas actually consulted by him. Let us therefore refer back to the principles of literary criticism as laid down mainly by the early critics like Bharata, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, judge in their light the stylistic details of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas, and analyse such particulars in respect of the standard technical topics as follows :—

a) *Kāvya-prayojana* — As we have seen earlier, Aśvaghoṣa had a missionary aim of preaching sad-dharma through his classical kāvyas. As a preacher-kavi, he despised the pravṛtti-mārga in life and laid full emphasis on the nivṛtti-mārga. Thus, art has nirvāṇa for its ultimate aim and kāvya is only a tattva or śāstra in disguise[1].

This exclusive stress on nirvāṇa or mokṣa[2] (= the fourth puruṣārtha) aims at repudiating the sanātana varṇāśrama ideal of a Brahma-niṣṭha gṛhastha life which is an equilibrium of the three remaining puruṣārthas, viz., (i) dharma, (ii) artha and (iii) kāma.

In other words, the laukika (popular) ideal of tri-varga-sāmya pertains to the externalia of kāvya, which cannot be better than a mere pūrva-pakṣa[3] from Aśvaghoṣa's standpoint, while the lokottara nirvāṇa is the prayojana or phala aspect of his kāvya-vyāja.

---

1) The relative position between Aśvaghoṣa's poetic talent and his philosophical contribution has been hinted at beforehand and it will also be shown in course of our subsequent discussions that Aśvaghoṣa impresses more as a kavi than as a philosopher.

2) As we know, Aśvaghoṣa appears to have been influenced by the śānta-rasa synthesis of the Mahā-Bhārata even though the Epic ideal of the catur-varga was contrary to his standpoint. The same synthesis is also noticed in the allegorical dramas. This point will be elaborated later on under rasa-synthesis.

3) tri-varga-sevāṁ nṛpa yat tu kṛtsnataḥ
paro manuṣyārtha iti tvam āttha mām .
anartha ity eva mamātra darśanaṁ
kṣayī tri-vargo hi na cāpi tarpakaḥ . .
pade tu yasmin na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ
na janma naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ .
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamaṁ
na vidyate yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā . . [B., 11/58-59]

This view does not tally with the ālaṅkārika standpoint on kāvya as catur-varga-sādhana[1].

b) *Kāvyāṅga* — The term "Kāvyāṅga"[2] stands for the indispensable constituents of a kavi-Geist. These essential factors are classified into three categories, viz., i) pratibhā (= pratibhāna = śakti = pūrva-vāsanā), ii) vyutpatti (= śruta = nipuṇatā) and iii) abhyāsa (= abhiyoga = yatna = śrama). The first one assisted by the remaining two is virtually the veritable kavitva-bīja[3] though the harmonious communion[4] of the three classes produces conjointly a sat kāvya.

---

1) As a general rule, Bhāmaha mentions the catur-varga as the kāvya-prayojana [dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣeṣu vaicakṣaṇyaṁ ...... karoti .... sādhu-kāvya-nibandhanam .. — Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/2] though he lays special stress on the artha aspect in the mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇa [catur-vargābhidhāne 'pi bhūyasārthopadeśakṛt . — Kāvyā-'laṅkāra, 1/21[ab]].

2) The word "aṅga" (in the term "Kāvyāṅga") meaning an avayava (= upakāraka) has been used in the present case in the sense of ārambhaka hetu (= samavāyi-kāraṇa or upādāna-kāraṇa of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika terminology).

3) rahitā sat-kavitvena kīdṛśī vāg-vidagdhatā ..
gurūpadeśād adhyetuṁ śāstraṁ jaḍa-dhiyo 'py alam .
kāvyaṁ tu jāyate jātu kasyacit pratibhāvataḥ ..
[Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/4[cd] & 5]

kavitva-bījaṁ pratibhānam — .... janmāntarā-"gata-saṁskāra-viśeṣaḥ kaścit . yasmād vinā kāvyaṁ na niṣpadyate . niṣpannaṁ vā hāsyāyatanaṁ syāt.
[Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra with svopajña-vṛtti, 1/3/16]

4) But Daṇḍin appears to undervalue pratibhā and give more prominence to vyutpatti and abhyāsa as follows :—

na vidyate yady api pūrva-vāsanā-
guṇānubandhi pratibhānam adbhutam .
śrutena yatnena ca vāg upāsitā
dhruvaṁ karoty eva kam apy anugraham ..
tad asta-tandrair aniśaṁ Sarasvatī
śramād upāsyā khalu kīrttim īpsubhiḥ .

[Contd.]

Anyway, pratibhā (= inborn or natural talent) has been subdivided into i) kārayitrī (= creative faculty) and ii) bhāvayitrī (= assimilative talent). The one lies at the very core of an original (ayoni)[1] kāvya while the other gives rise to a derived (anya-cchāyā-yoni)[2] kāvya[3]. An ayoni kāvya should be reckoned indisputably the better type because it serves as the basis for other kāvyas. Nevertheless an anya-cchāya-yoni kāvya cannot be unworthy and despicable as a work of art when it becomes endowed with creative suggestions[4].

Anyway, pratibhā (dormant potentiality) has to be enlivened

[Contd.]

kṛśe kavitve 'pi janāḥ kṛta-śramā
vidagdha-goṣṭhīṣu vihartum īśate ..
[Kāvyādarśa, 1/104-105]

The Hṛdayaṅgama-vyākhyāna on the latter verse goes even to the extreme as "kavitve kārtsnyena asaty api, prayatna-prābalyena janā ......".

1) Vāmana : ...... ayonir akāraṇaḥ . avadhānamātra-kāraṇa ity arthaḥ . [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 3/2/8]

Tripurahara comments on the above passage as "........ kavitva-bīja-pratibhonmeṣa-prayojakam avadhānam evātra kāraṇam ...." [Kāvyālaṅkāra-kāma-dhenu ad Vāmana, 3/2/8].

2) Vāmana : ...... anyasya kāvyasya chāyā 'nya-cchāyā tad-yonir ...... [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 3/2/8]

This is only an echo to Bhāmaha's "vilokyānya-nibandhāṁś ca kāryaḥ kāvya-kriyādaraḥ .." [Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/10cd].

3) Vāmana shows both "ayoni" and "anya-cchāyā-yoni" as two sub-varieties of the vyakta type of artha under the artha-guṇa named "samādhi" ["artha-dṛṣṭiḥ samādhiḥ", "artho dvi-vidho 'yonir anya-cchāyā-yonir vā" and "artho vyaktaḥ sūkṣmaś ca" — Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 3/2/7-9]. Abhinavagupta has followed Vāmana in the interpretation of Bharata's samādhi-guṇa [Abhinava-Bhāratī on the Nāṭya-śāstra, GOS. edn., vol. II, 16/102, p. 337]:

4) ātmano 'nyasya sad-bhāve pūrva-sthity-anuyāyy api .
vastu bhātitarāṁ tanv yāḥ śaśi-cchāyam ivānanam ..
[Dhvany-āloka, 4/14]

by vyutpatti and abhyāsa[1]. This vyutpatti (erudition), again, comprises the scholarly attainments in a wide variety of subjects like grammar, metrics, lexicons, saga literature, etc.[2]. The abhyāsa, on its part, is the systematic execution[3] of the latent talent and the accessory training into a finished work of art.

Thus, the harmonious combination of pratibhā, vyutpatti and abhyāsa conduces to a sādhu kāvya.

After these technical remarks we may now resume the case of Aśvaghoṣa and examine how far he can claim the necessary equipments of a genuine kavi. As we have pointed out earlier, he was a kavi by nature but preacher by mission. The popular quality of his preaching of renunciation and the singular absence

---

1) yatno vidita-vedyena vidheyaḥ kāvya-lakṣaṇaḥ . .
[Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/8[cd]]

2) śabdaś chando 'bhidhānārthā itihāsāśrayāḥ kathāḥ .
loko yuktiḥ kalāś ceti mantavyāḥ kāvyagair amī . .
śabdābhidheye vijñāya kṛtvā tadvid-upāsanam .
vilokyānya-nibandhāṁś ca kāryaḥ kāvya-kriyādaraḥ . .
[Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/9-10]

Vāmana also in his "loka-vṛttaṁ lokaḥ", "śabda-smṛty-abhidhāna-kośa-cchando-viciti-kalā-kāma-śāstra-daṇḍa-nīti-pūrvā vidyāḥ" and the subsequent sūtras [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 1/3/2ff. (along with the Vṛtti thereon)] mentions the names of the different branches of learning and notes the efficacy of the study in each case. These details show the wide culture expected of a classical kavi.

Rājaśekhara too emphasizes this culture as "sarvato-dikkā hi kavi-vācaḥ" [Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, p. 16].

3) Vāmana notes the place and time suitable for the composition of a kāvya [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 1/3/13 & 17-20]. Rājaśekhara gives the details of the daily life of a kavi and a king in his Kāvya-mīmāṁsā [Chapter X (Kavi-caryā Rāja-caryā ca)]. This theory is also confirmed by Māgha as follows :—

kṣaṇa-śayita-vibuddhāḥ kalpayantaḥ prayogān
udadhi-mahati rājye kāvyavad durvigāhe .
gahanam apara-rātra-prāpta-buddhi-prasādāḥ
kavaya iva mahīpāś cintayanty artha-jātam . .
[Śiśupāla-vadha, 11/6]

of any original system of Buddhistic metaphysics in his presentation of the philosophical principles[1] would lead certainly to the irresistible conclusion that he was more a kavi than a philosopher. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa's contribution to Buddhism in the role of a philosopher pales into insignificance beside his legacy to the Classical Sanskrit literature in the part of a poet and a dramatist. His success as a kavi is also confirmed by his restraint on the use of the supernatural elements in his poetic treatment of the Buddha's biography. This point is further countenanced by his historical imagination with which he recast into kāvya-forms the legendary accounts clustered round the Buddha's Lebensgeschichte[2] as accepted in the transitional Mahā-sāṅghika sect which he apparently belonged to. Thus Aśvaghoṣa may be said to have been endowed with bhāvayitrī pratibhā.

This assimilative potentiality of the preacher-kavi was reinforced with his versatility and spurred into literary activities. Actuated by his emotional zeal for the Buddha he appears to have been conversant with a vast range of the various arts and sciences prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era. In his kāvyas we find reflected in a large measure the wide cultural horizon of a classical kavi of the 1st century A. D. His works have left indelible traces of his equal equipments with the knowledge in the multifarious subjects, both religious and secular. Despite his Buddhistic faith he has evinced apparently an alive interest in the varied branches of the Brāhmaṇic lore[3]. As we have seen earlier, his genius imbibed an inspiring influence from

1) A critical evaluation of Buddhism as represented in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas will be taken up in Chapter IV. We will see there that apart from the element of propaganda of Buddha-bhakti there is hardly anything in his kāvyas which might be awarded the status of an original interpretation in favour of some system of Buddhistic philosophy.

2) We are not in a position now to surmise whether Aśvaghoṣa had before him any kāvya-pattern on the life-history of the Buddha though it cannot be denied that he must have been acquainted with the Buddha-legends prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era.

3) This fact goes in favour of the tradition about his being a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa.

the Great National Epics. Further, he must have been alive to the growing stylistic trends and some already crystallized poetic patterns and conventions of the post-Epic formative period of the ornate Sanskrit literature — if not fully aware of the literary productions of that period. Moreover, as a missionary kavi intent on Buddhistic propaganda he must have taken into consideration the social background of his own time and the literary taste of his milieu. In brief, his vyutpatti may be said to be in keeping with the theoretical prescriptions of the poeticians posterior to him. Thus, to give a fair idea of the varied subjects[1] encompassed by his erudition we must mention the Vedic literature along with the Vedāṅgas, the National Epics and some Purāṇas, the philosophical systems like Sāṁkhya-Yoga and Pūrva-mīmāṁsā, Dharma-śāstra, Artha-śāstra, Kāma-śāstra, some early classical canons of poetics and dramaturgy, Vaidyaka, different arts like music, architecture, sculpture, etc.

This scholarship shows the broad outlook of the kavi. It is therefore no wonder that his erudite style should win warm admiration of Hsüan-Tsang[2] and I-tsing[3]. But this erudition is sometimes tempted into pedantry[4].

After pratibhā and vyutpatti let us now turn to the question of abhyāsa. We already know that Aśvaghoṣa was definitely the author

---

1) These subjects with textual details have been noted by Johnston in his introductions and notes on the B. and the S. and it is not necessary to repeat such details here.

2) Aśvaghoṣa was one of the "Four Suns illuminating the world", the three others being Nāgārjuna, Kumāralāta and Ārya-Śūra (Watters' English translation, vol. I, p. 245 (Takṣaśilā-vivaraṇa) and vol. II,' p. 286 (Kabandha-vivaraṇa) ; Beal's English translation, vol. II, Book 12, pp. 302-303]. Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge embraced all things and his spiritual attainments extended over the "Three Vehicles" [= i) Śrāvaka-yāna, ii) Pratyeka-buddha-yāna and iii) Bodhi-sattva-yāna or Mahā-yāna — Watters' English translation, vol. II, pp. 102-103 (Magadha-vivaraṇa)].

3) "Of such persons in every generation only one or two appear. They are to be likened to the sun and moon,....." [Takakusu's English translation, p. 181].

4) This point will be illustrated later on under Apratītatva-doṣa.

of two classical epics, the B. and the S., and two dramas, the Ś. and the R. We have also dealt with the tentative chronology of these four kāvyas. Besides the distribution of the biographical matter among these works and the relative priority in respect of their composition there is also the gradual development in style. As a mahā-kāvya, the S. is certainly more refined than the premature B. Again, the free handling of the absolutely unmonkish materials [like the scenes with the Gaṇi(kā), Duṣṭa and Vidū(ṣaka)] in the Ś. shows a forward stride in style from the modest picture of the conjugal bliss of Nanda and Sundarī in the S. We are not in a position now to ascertain how far this secular adventure could have been carried out in the R. But one thing is certain that the above progress in stylistic finish could not have been achieved without proper practice. In the absence of any juvenilia this criticism must be restricted to the authentic works only.

From the foregoing data we therefore conclude that Aśvaghoṣa was endowed with the three requisite kāvyāṅgas which mingle to make a true kavi.

c) *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa* — According to the ālaṅkārikas a kāvya (covering both śravya and dṛśya varieties) is a poetic synthesis (kavi-kṛta sāhitya) of śabda and artha[1]. This union results in spiritual aesthesis (lokottara āhlāda = deśa-kālādy-anāliṅgita rasa). Thus kāvya adopts, as we already know, the kāntā-sammita method of inculcating mokṣa in the susceptible minds of the connoisseurs.

Now the combination of śabda and artha has been viewed from three different angles and this difference of viewpoint has given rise to three theories. According to the first theory emphasis is laid on

---

1) śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam ..... [Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 116^{a}]
śabdārthau sat-kavir iva dvayaṁ vidvān apekṣate . .
[Māgha's Śiśupāla-vadha, 2/86^{cd}]
kāvya-śabdo 'yaṁ guṇā'laṅkāra-saṁskṛtayoḥ śabdārthayor vartate. [Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 1/1/1]

the śabda-bhāga. Daṇḍin[1], Viśvanātha[2] and Jagannātha[3] appear to uphold this theory. The second theory, on the other hand, gives prominence to the artha-bhāga. Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita refers to this school of thought as a pūrva-pakṣa[4]. But these two extremist pūrva-pakṣas are set aside by the uttara-cum-siddhānta-pakṣa which propounds equal preponderance of both śabda and artha[5] in their harmonious communion which constitutes a kāvya.

---

1) śarīraṁ tāvad iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī ..
[Kāvyādarśa, 1/10[cd]]

2) vākyaṁ rasātmakaṁ kāvyam ... [Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 1/3[a]]

3) ramaṇīyārtha-pratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyam .
[Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, Ānana I, p. 4]

4) arthavata eva śabdasya kāvyatvaṁ na tu śabdamātrasya, mardala-śabdāder api kāvyatva-prasaṅgāt . ato 'rtha-mukhā'navekṣiṇaḥ śabdasya na kāvyatvaṁ (—) kiṁ tv arthasyaiva . ... ity eke prāhuḥ . [Kāvya-darpaṇa, 6/3 (= 269) Vṛtti, p. 375]

5) ..... keṣāṁcin mataṁ kavi-kauśala-kalpita-kamanīyatā'tiśayaḥ śabda eva kevalaṁ kāvyam iti, keṣāṁcid vācyam eva racanā-vaicitrya-camatkārakāri kāvyam iti pakṣa-dvayam api nirastaṁ bhavati . tasmād dvayor api pratitilam iva tailaṁ tadvid-āhlādakāritvaṁ vartate, na punar ekasmin .
[Kuntaka's svopajña-vṛtti on his Vakrokti-jīvita, 1/7, p. 7]

... śabdārthau dvau sahitāv eva kāvyam iti kāvya-padārtha-kathanāt kamanīyatāśāli-śabda eva kāvyam athavā 'rtha eveti pṛthak pakṣa-dvayaṁ ...... yato dvayoḥ saṁbhūyāhlāda-nibandhanatvam iti . tad uktaṁ Vakrokti-jīvite [1/7 Vṛtti, p. 10] (—) "na śabdasya ramaṇīyatā-viśiṣṭasya kevalasya kāvyatvaṁ, nāpy arthasya" iti . [Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 1/1/1]

Bhāravi and Bhāmaha appear to hint at the above controversy as follows :—

a) stuvanti gurvīm abhidheya-saṁpadaṁ viśuddhim ukter apare vipaścitaḥ .
iti sthitāyāṁ pratipūruṣaṁ rucau sudurlabhāḥ sarva-mano-ramā giraḥ . . [Kirātārjunīya, 14/5]

[Contd.]

Now, by śabda we have to understand the vācaka including the lakṣaka and by artha, the vācya (= śakya = saṁketita = abhidheya = mukhya) including the lakṣya (= lākṣaṇika = bhākta = gauṇa) because lakṣaṇā (= bhakti) is looked upon as abhidhā-pucchabhūtā. Thus there is vācya-vācaka-bhāva (including lakṣya-lakṣaka-bhāva) between śabda and artha which constitute the body of kāvya.

But beyond this objective approach to kāvya there is also the subjective one which views śabda and artha in vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva. This relation naturally presupposes the vācya-vācaka-bhāva. In other words, the vācya-vācaka-bhāva culminates in the vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva. Thus the supreme vyaṅgyārtha is the paramārtha or the sublime bliss (rasa) in kāvya. The kernel of this teaching comprises the soul of kāvya. This pāryantika artha is the iṣṭārtha of Daṇḍin and ramaṇīyārtha of Jagannātha already cited above.

[Contd.]

b) supāṁ tiṅāñ ca vyutpattiṁ vācāṁ vāñchanty alaṁkṛtim ..
tad etad āhuḥ sauśabdyaṁ nārtha-vyutpattir īdṛśī .
śabdābhidheyālaṅkāra-bhedād iṣṭaṁ dvayan tu naḥ ..

[Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/14cd & 15 ; also quoted and explained by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita without any reference in the svopajña-vṛtti on his Kāvya-darpaṇa, 6/3 (= 269), p. 376]

It has to be noted here that Bhāravi's śabda-sauṣṭhava (= manohāritva = sphuṭatva = prasāda) and arthaudārya (= hitā-'nubandhitva = sāravattva = artha-gaurava = artha-gāmbhīrya) [Kirātārjunīya, 1/3cd ; 4d ; 2/1b ; 26ab ; 27ab & 14/3-4] and Bhāmaha's sauśabdya and artha-vyutpatti [Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/15ab cited above] correspond respectively to Bharata's śabda-mādhurya (= śruti-sukhatva) and arthaudārya (= dīpta-rasatva), the two compulsory guṇas of a kāvya [Nāṭya-śāstra, 16/95cd, p. 333]. Abhinavagupta in his Abhinava-Bhāratī (GOS. edn., vol. II, pp. 333-334) on Bharata above clarifies the significance of the Nāṭya-śāstra passage in question as follows :—

etad uktaṁ bhavati — ... doṣa-vihīnaṁ śruti-sukhaṁ dīpta-rasaṁ ca yadi bhavati tāvatā guṇāntarair alaṅkāraiś ca hīnam api kāvyaṁ lakṣaṇa-yogā'vyabhicārīty uktam .

From this we are in a position to infer safely that Bharata assigns equal importance to both śabda and artha.

Without this rāmaṇīyaka there cannot be any kāvya. We therefore conclude that the sublime vyaṅgyārtha is the quintessence of kāvya and that this deeper import is clothed in the apparent vācyārtha. It is the function of the alaṅkāras to embellish the lakṣaṇas or natural features of the vācaka and the vācya only and thereby enhance indirectly the beauty of the parama-vyaṅgya in kāvya.

After these technical observations let us now consider the case of Aśvaghoṣa. As we already know, Aśvaghoṣa must be credited with the composition of four popular nirvāṇa-kāvyas[1] in which śabda and artha in their vācya-vācaka gradation constitute the body of kāvya and the alaṅkāras as well as the guṇas (pertaining to śabda and artha from Vāmana's[2] standpoint) form the extraneous beauty of such body. But the parama-vyaṅgya in Aśvaghoṣa is no doubt the śānta-rasa-dhvani. In other words, this śānta-synthesis lies at the very core of his kāvyas while the khaṇḍa-rasas headed by śṛṅgāra are attuned to the dominating śānta-rasa[3].

d) *Śabda-vyāpāra and Śabdārtha* — We have seen above that an ornate kāvya is the sāhitya of śabda and artha. This harmonious communion is established through the different vyāpāras or vṛttis (= functions) of śabda which link up śabda with the corresponding artha. Thus the appropriate vyāpāra of śabda is necessary for arriving at the intended artha. The primary function of śabda is known as abhidhā (= śakti = saṅketa) which connects the vācaka śabda with the vācya artha. Similarly the secondary function of śabda is called lakṣaṇā (= bhakti = gauṇa-vṛtti) which stands between the lakṣaka śabda and the lakṣyārtha. Lastly, the tertiary power of śabda is known as vyañjanā[4] which establishes the relationship between the vyañjaka śabda and the vyaṅgya artha.

1) These kāvyas cannot be called śāstra-kāvyas like the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya and the Rāvaṇārjunīya-mahā-kāvya which are full of technicalities.

2) ye khalu śabdārthayor dharmāḥ kāvya-śobhāṁ kurvanti te guṇāḥ . te caujaḥ-prasādādayaḥ . [Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 3/1/1]

3) The mutual relationship between the śānta-rasa on the one hand and the khaṇḍa-rasas on the other will be dealt with in details under the rasa-vicāra.

4) The tātparya-vyāpāra has been included in the vyañjanā-vyāpāra.

Now, in Aśvaghoṣa's simple style we notice a preacher's approach to the common populace through well-chosen and appropriate wordings laden with suitable vyāpāras for conveying the coveted senses[1]. There is thus a preponderance of the primary function of śabda and the primary meaning. Let us take up some examples for clarifying this point in the following :—

a) gītair hriyante hi mṛgā vadhāya rūpārtham agnau
śalabhāḥ patanti .
matsyo giraty āyasam āmiṣārthī tasmād anarthaṁ
viṣayāḥ phalanti .. [B., 11/35]

b) tṛptir nāstīndhanair agner nāmbhasā lavaṇāmbhasaḥ .
nāpi kāmaiḥ satṛṣṇasya tasmāt kāmā na tṛptaye ..
[S., 11/32]

c) Buddhiḥ — ··· —
nityaṁ sa supta (i)va yasya na buddhir asti
nityaṁ sa matta iva yo dhṛti-viprahīṇa(ḥ)
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, l. 4]

Besides, there are ample examples in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas in which we discover traces of lakṣaṇā and vyañjanā known to the post-Aśvaghoṣan ālaṅkārikas. Such uses of words in their lakṣyārthas and vyaṅgyārthas do not obviously enable us to draw any categorical conclusion in favour of Aśvaghoṣa's awareness of the later ālaṅkārika technicalities. Anyway, some instances may now be quoted below to show such uses in Aśvaghoṣa :—

1. Gauṇī Sādhyavasānā Lakṣaṇā[2] —

a) niṣṭhīvya kāmān upaśānti-kāmāḥ [S., 5/38c]

---

1) We have seen above that Aśvaghoṣa's preference for a simple and direct method of preaching through poetry characterized by brevity and richness of import (artha-gaurava) won a warm applause from I-tsing.

2) The gauṇī sādhyavasānā lakṣaṇā lies at the root of samādhi-guṇa which has been defined by Daṇḍin as follows : —

niṣṭhyūtodgīrṇa-vāntādi gauṇa-vṛtti-vyapāśrayāt .
atisundaram anyatra grāmya-kakṣyāṁ vigāhate ..
[Kāvyādarśa, 1/95]

b) atha tatra śucau latā-gṛhe kusumodgāriṇi tau niṣedatuḥ . [S., 8/8ab]

c) ... kirāta-saṁghā ....
.... niṣpetur udgāra ivācalasya ..
[S., 10/12ad]

d) V(i)dū[ṣakaḥ] — kim puna vi(c)cha(ḍ)ḍa(m) ......
[Duṣṭaḥ — ?] ...... vicchaḍ(ḍ)...[1]
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 22a, 11. 1-2]

e) ...... (v)icchaḍḍayamāno[2] viya ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 3]

2. Śabda-śakti-mūlaka Vastu-dhvani —

a) yā hi kāścid yuvatayo haranti sadṛśaṁ janam .
nikṛṣṭotkṛṣṭayor bhāvaṁ yā gṛhṇanti tu tāḥ striyaḥ ..
[B., 4/23]

b) tasmād guṇān eva paraimi tīrtham
āpas tu niḥsaṁśayam āpa eva . . [B., 7/31cd]

c) pratiyogārthinī kācid gṛhītvā cūta-vallarīm .
idaṁ puṣpaṁ tu kasyeti papraccha mada-viklavā ..[3]
[B., 4/41]

e) *Kāvya-vibhāga* — Kāvya has been divided basically by Bhāmaha[4] into gadya and padya. That this fundamental division must have been popular long before Bhāmaha is corroborated by Rudradāman's Girnār inscription (ca. 150 A. D.)[5]. Besides these two

---

1) Viccharda (Sanskrit) > vicchaḍḍa (Old Śaurasenī and Old Māgadhī) = vamana (= vācyārtha > grāmyatva-doṣa or jugupsā-dāyakā'ślīlatva-doṣa) and tyāga (= lakṣyārtha > Samādhi-guṇa of Daṇḍin as noted above).

2) See note 1 supra.

3) The covert statement of the coquettish damsel in this case of śṛṅgāra-rasābhāsa cannot certainly be treated as abhaṅga-śabda-śleṣa because that would be extremely shameless and artless on the part of the woman and marred by grāmyatva-doṣa.

4) gadyaṁ padyaṁ ca tad dvidhā . [Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/16b]

5) sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-citra-kānta-śabda-samayodārā'laṅkṛta-gadya-padya-kāvya-vidhāna-pravīṇena ......

pure types a third mixed variety has been noted by Daṇḍin[1]. By this mixed type we are to understand Sanskrit drama[2]. The gadya and padya types have been classed under the śravya group while the miśra variety has been placed under the dṛśya group[3]. Thus kāvya has been divided conveniently into two comprehensive categories[4], viz., i) śravya and ii) dṛśya.

Now, under the said śravya group come Aśvaghoṣa's two classical mahā-kāvyas[5], viz., the B. and the S. Again, under the dṛśya group fall Aśvaghoṣa's two dramas, viz., the Ś. and the R.

---

1) padyaṁ gadyaṁ ca miśraṁ ca tat tridhaiva vyavasthitam .
[Kāvyādarśa, 1/11[ab]]

2) miśrāṇi nāṭakādīni ...... [Kāvyādarśa, 1/31[a]]

In Sanskrit drama prose speeches are often punctuated with verses composed in ornate metres. This introduction of the padya element in the gadya dialogue appears to have been due to the far-reaching influence of Epic poetry. Besides, the said verses serve the purpose of a welcome rhythmic variation in the busy movement of the action-packed prose dialogue. Moreover, these verses embody some descriptions of Nature.

Anyway, we have excluded from our present discussion the unnecessary issue of the campū variety of the miśra-kāvya category because it has nothing to do with Aśvaghoṣa.

3) dṛśya-śravyatva-bhedena punaḥ kāvyaṁ dvidhā matam .
[Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 6/1[ab]]

4) There are no doubt other criteria of the division of kāvya according to the ālaṅkārikas. But we refrain from entering into those irrelevant details in the present context. It is also needless here to deal with the technical particulars of the definitions of and mutual distinction between the Ākhyāyikā and Kathā sub-varieties of the gadya class because none of Aśvaghoṣa's four authentic kāvyas belongs to the gadya class.

5) It is useless in this place to discuss the other śravya sub-varieties like the khaṇḍa-kāvyas because no such kāvyas by Aśvaghoṣa are known to have been handed down to us. We have also seen above at the end of Chapter II that I-tsing's reference to the existence of some poetical songs alleged to have been compiled by Aśvaghoṣa is too indefinite to admit of any categorical conclusion regarding the authenticity of such works.

After this broad grouping we propose to analyse below the ālaṅkārika technicalities in respect of the relevant kāvya types and judge in their light the textual remains of Aśvaghoṣa's four kāvyas.

At first we set forth in the following the different features[1] of an ornate Sanskrit mahā-kāvya according to the standard ālaṅkārikas[2] of post-Aśvaghoṣan period and see how far these aspects might agree with Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. Further, the deviations from the said characteristics and the artistic innovations would be noted when necessary.

1. *The connotation of the term "Mahā-kāvya"* — The term "mahā-kāvya" is significant inasmuch as it has a noble theme and exalted characters[3]. The big plot has to be spread over several cantos[4].

Judging from these points Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. should be called mahā-kāvyas because both of them have religious edification[5] for

---

1) Strictly speaking, the so-called mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇas as given by the ālaṅkārikas like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, etc. are virtually some average descriptions of a posteriori character.

2) Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/19-23 ; Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, 1/14-22 and Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 6/315[cd]-325[ab].

3) ...... mahā-kāvyaṁ mahatāṁ ca ....
.... sad-āśrayam . . [Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra, 1/19[abd]].
...... sad-āśrayam . [Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, 1/15[b]]
...... nāyaka-gauravaṁ granthasya mahattvañ ca yasmin asti
...... [Hṛdayaṅgamakāra on Daṇḍin above]
...... saj-janāśrayam . [Viśvanātha's Sāhitya-darpaṇa, 6/318[b]]

4) sarga-bandho mahā-kāvyaṁ ...... mahac ca yat .
[Bhāmaha, 1/19[ab]]
sarga-bandho mahā-kāvyam ...... [Daṇḍin, 1/14[a]]
sarga-bandho mahā-kāvyaṁ ... .. [Viśvanātha, 6/315[c]]

The word "sarga-bandha" has to be explained as "sargātmakaḥ sarga-nikarākāreṇa gumphita-kathā-vastu-rūpo bandho nibaddha-padya-rāśir iti śāka-pārthivādivan madhyama-padalopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ".

5) Let us take into consideration the sublime ideas of universal nature like viṣaya-vigarhaṇa, humanitarian outlook, etc. and leave out here as irrelevant the question of preaching and propaganda of the missionary kavi Aśvaghoṣa.

their aim and the Buddha and the mendicants as the noble roles. Further, both of these works are composed as collections of several cantos.

2. *The extent of a mahā-kāvya* — A mahā-kāvya should be of moderate extent. It should be neither too big nor too small. The minimum number of cantos should be eight[1] and the maximum number as confirmed by actual practice should be fifty[2].

Thus the bulk of the story-matter and its varied verse-forms imply naturally an appropriate plot-construction. This compactness is ensured by the clever hinting at towards the close of each canto excepting obviously the last canto which depicts the dénouement) of the future episodes to be narrated in the next canto[3]. In this way the different cantos are linked up with one another.

Like the extent of the whole mahā-kāvya the size of the component cantos should also be moderate[4].

Now, the B. and the S. exhibit the above aspects in so far as the former consists of 28 cantos[5] and the latter comprises 18 cantos The length of the cantos in each of these works is also moderate[6] The handling of the plot in each of these mahā-kāvyas has been

---

1) ...... sargā aṣṭādhikā iha . . [Viśvanātha, 6/320ᵈ]

2) For example, Ratnākara's Hara-vijaya. The tradition regarding Śrī-Harṣa's Naiṣadha-carita running up to the unusual length of the eightieth canto lacks solid evidence to establish any amount of authenticity.

3) sargānte bhāvi-sargasya kathāyāḥ sūcanaṁ bhavet . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/321ᶜᵈ]

4) ...... asaṅkṣiptaṁ .... sargair anativistīrṇaiḥ ......
[Daṇḍin, 1/18ᵃᶜ]

nātisvalpā nātidīrghāḥ sargā ...... [Viśvanātha, 6/320ᶜᵈ]

5) As we have seen in Chapter II above, the text of the B. is a torso. Roughly speaking, only the first half of this text has been preserved for us while for the lost latter half we have to refer chiefly to the Tibetan translation and to some extent to the Chinese version as well.

6) The average number of verses per canto in the B. as well as the S. has been worked out in Chapter II above.

well-knit. There are also verses suggestive of forthcoming events towards the end of the cantos (excepting no doubt the last one) in each of these works[1]. Further, there are some yugmakas[2], viśeṣakas[3], kalāpakas[4] and kulakas[5] within the cantos in both of these mahā-kāvyas.

3. *The titles of a mahā-kāvya and its different cantos* — A mahā-kāvya has to be entitled after the name of the poet or the hero or some other important character, or in accordance with the plot[6].

Similarly an appropriate title should be given to each canto in conformity with the story segment delineated therein[7].

In consonance with these a posteriori principles of much later date Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. have been named after the prominent characters. In the former the Buddha is the hero whose Lebenswandel forms the subject-matter of this work. Likewise in the latter the same Buddha is the hero while Nanda is no better than an important role. The majestic personality of the Buddha acts throughout the latter makā-kāvya as a guiding potential force which moulds by degrees the loving husband in Nanda into a humane

---

1) For example,
tau jñātuṁ parama-gater gatiṁ tu tasya
pracchannāṁś cara-puruṣāñ chucīn vidhāya .
rājānaṁ priya-suta-lālasaṁ nu gatvā
drakṣyāvaḥ katham iti jagmatuḥ kathaṁcit . .
[B., 9/82]
atha sa pathi dadarśa mukta-mānaṁ
pitṛ-nagare 'pi Tathāgatābhimānam (°naṁ — sic) .
Daśa-balam abhito vilambamānaṁ
dhvajam anuyāna ivaindram arcyamānam (°naṁ — sic)
[S., 4/46]

2) For example, B., 9/20-21 , S., 1/25-26, etc.

3) S., 13/4-6, etc.

4) S., 1/52-55.

5) S., 16/87-92.

6) kaver vṛttasya vā nāmnā nāyakasyetarasya vā . .
nāmāsya .... [Viśvanātha, 6/324[cd] & 325[a]]

7) ...... sargopādeya-kathayā sarga-nāma tu .
[Viśvanātha, 6/325[ab]]

mendicant. Thus the Buddha regulates the life of Nanda and controls the dénouement in the S. Therefore, the Buddha should be looked upon justifiably as the hero in the S.

Again, the titles of the different cantos of the B. and the S. bespeak of the parts of the story-materials they deal with[1].

4. *The plot and its gradual development* — The story-materials of a mahā-kāvya have to be drawn upon the 'heroic' Sagenstoffe as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahā-Bhārata and the Purāṇas, or the secular stock like the Bṛhat-kathā, or some other popular sources[2]. The plot of a mahā-kāvya may also be chalked out independently by a poet with his inventive imagination (kārayitrī pratibhā)[3].

Anyway, the plot of a mahā-kāvya, like that of a drama, has to be arranged according to the scheme of the five sandhis[4], viz., i) mukha, ii) pratimukha, iii) garbha, iv) vimarśa or avamarśa and v) upasaṁhṛti or nirvahaṇa.

The schematic plot of a mahā-kāvya depicts all the four aspects[5] of the human life, viz., i) dharma, ii) artha, iii) kāma and iv) mokṣa

1) The distinct titles of the cantos of the B. and the S. have been shown above in Chapter II.

2) itihāsa-kathodbhūtam itarad vā ...... [Daṇḍin, 1/15^{ab}]
itihāso Mahā-Bhāratādiḥ ...... kathā Bṛhat-kathā ......
itarad vā loka-siddhaṁ ......
[Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]
itihāsodbhavaṁ vṛttam anyad vā ....
[Viśvanātha, 6/318^{ab}]

3) ...... sva-buddhi-kalpitaṁ vā. [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin, 1/15^{b} above]

4) pañcabhiḥ sandhibhir yuktaṁ ... [Bhāmaha, 1/20^{c}]
sargair .... susandhibhiḥ .. [Daṇḍin, 1/18^{cd}]
... sandhayaḥ pañca mukha-pratimukha-garbhāvamarśa-nirvahaṇāni iti ; ete [mahā-]kāvyasya nāṭakasya vā [= ca] sarva-[= dṛśya-śravyobhaya-vidha-kāvya]śarīropayogabhūtāḥ.
[The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]
... sarve nāṭaka-sandhayaḥ .. [Viśvanātha, 6/317^{d}]

5) This fourfold feature of a mahā-kāvya is in consonance with the general kāvya-prayojanas discussed earlier in this chapter.

or may emphasize any one of these[1]. Bhāmaha gives prominence to artha only[2]. Obviously the controversy rests on the aṅgibhūta rasa (predominant sentiment)[3] in a mahā-kāvya which necessitates the emphasis.

Anyway, the plot should begin with an invocation of blessings (of some deity), or a salutation (to some divinity), or a covert hint at the subject-matter[4]. Sometimes a mahā-kāvya begins with the deprecation of the demerits of the wicked persons and the applaud of the good qualities of the generous men[5].

Now let us see how far the above points may find their counterparts in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. As we have discussed earlier, Aśvaghoṣa must have been aware of the popular (loka-prasiddha) legends ("itihāsa" in a wider sense) which clustered round the actual events of the life of the Buddha, and which were acceptable to the

1) catur-varga-phalāyattaṁ ... [Daṇḍin, 1/15[c]]
... dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣeṣu anyatamādhīnaṁ, kṛtsnādhīnaṁ vā . [The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]
... dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣeṣv anyatamādhīnam . [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]

2) catur-vargābhidhāne 'pi bhūyasārthopadeśakṛt .
[Bhāmaha, 1/21[ab]].
Bhāmaha appears to hold that vīra-rasa is to be the principal sentiment in a mahā-kāvya which should show palpable predilection for a political plot.
catvāras tasya vargāḥ syus teṣv ekaṁ ca phalaṁ bhavet . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/318[cd]]
... teṣāṁ caturṇāṁ [teṣu caturṣu — sic] madhye ekaṁ ceti cakāro vārthaḥ . [Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha above]

3) This point will be dilated upon a little later.

4) āśīr namaskriyā vastu-nirdeśo vāpi tan-mukham . . .
[Daṇḍin, 1/14[cd]]
ādau namaskriyāśīr vā vastu-nirdeśa eva vā.
[Viśvanātha, 6/319[ab]]

5) kvacin nindā khalādīnāṁ satāṁ ca guṇa-kīrtanam . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/319[cd]]

Mahā-sāṅghika sect that the poet possibly belonged to. The poet appears to have marshalled properly the wide medley of scattered biographical materials and recast the whole bulk into the schematic shapes of his two mahā-kāvyas with the help of his historical imagination (sva-buddhi-kalpanā). Thus his B. and S. commingled real history with traditional legends and his own creative imagination in such a way that it is not possible now to extricate the amount of fact from that of fiction[1].

Anyway, it is also quite evident from his ornate language and style that he imbibed the fire of poetic inspiration from the Rāmāyaṇa Mahā-Bhārata and the Purāṇas[2]. But he assimilated all influences with his bhāvayitrī pratibhā and thus never lacked in originality. The compact arrangement of the plots in his B. and S. commands our admiration. His restraint over the use of the supernatural elements and exaggerations in course of the narration in both of his mahā-kāvyas is remarkable[3].

However, the central theme of both of these mahā-kāvyas is the fourth puruṣārtha, viz., mokṣa or nirvāṇa. The depiction of the three other puruṣārthas, viz , i) dharma, ii) artha and iii) kāma has been assigned a minor position (upasarjanībhūta). In other words, nirvāṇa forms the siddhānta-pakṣa while the tri-varga constitutes the

1) Thus Aśvaghoṣa's two mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., cannot claim to be treated as purely historical accounts of the life of the Buddha like Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa's Harṣa-carita (= an ākhyāyikā) containing more historical data as a contemporary record of the actual episodes of the life of his patron Harṣavardhana and Hemacandra's Kumārapāla-carita (= a mahā-kāvya) depicting the life of his disciple Kumārapāla of Aṇhilvāḍ.

2) It has to be noted here that this Epic influence flows like an undercurrent through the whole range of the Classical Sanskrit literature.

3) Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. surpass in every respect other biographies of the Buddha like the Lalita-vistara (of the Sarvāstivādins) and the Mahā-vastu (of the Lokottaravādins) which are composed in the typical loose and unsystematic style of the Jātakas and the Avadānas and abound in legends, supernatural descriptions and exaggerations,

pūrva-pakṣa. The passage from the gṛha to the tapo-vana necessitates the śānta-rasa synthesis[1]. The missionary poet thus leaves no scope for an equal treatment of the four puruṣārthas (= catur-varga) to satisfy the needs of the listeners belonging to the different walks of life.

The extant texts of Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. do not appear to begin with āśis or namaskāra[2]. There is no attempt at khala-nindā and saj-jana-praśaṁsā in both of these works. But both these mahā-kāvyas start directly with their respective vastus though there is no vastu-nirdeśa proper.

However, we might add here en passant a few words on the society as depicted in the B. and the S.[3] In his vivid description of the harem-life with the bevy of blithe ladies and artful harlots in their youthful exuberance, and the surrounding host of the servants and maids remaining at their beck and call, and the war and the weapons, Aśvaghoṣa appears to have been inspired by the parallel scenes of the National Epics and the Purāṇas, and the actual life in the seraglio of the contemporary kings and their war activities. Further, the conjugal bliss of Nanda and Sundarī in the S. must have been portrayed after the pattern of the daily nāgara-vṛtta of the early Christian era and the lively account of the contemporary urban life as found in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra. Moreover, the description of the monastic life of self-mortification of the ascetics of the heretic sects in the B. must have been based on Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge of the contemporary religious practices.

5. *The hero and his qualities* — In consonance with the exalted theme of a mahā-kāvya the hero should also be noble in every respect[4]. He may be a god or a Kṣatriya of high pedigree[5].

---

1) The interrelation of the rasas will be taken up a little later.

2) Here we leave out of consideration the namaskāras of the scribes placed before the first verse in each of the two mahā-kāvyas.

3) Strictly speaking, a clearer and more realistic picture can be envisaged in the remnants of the regular bourgeois features as traceable *in the Ś. fragments.*

4) ...... mahā-kāvyaṁ mahatāṁ ca ...... [Bhāmaha, 1/19[ab]]
...... saj-janāśrayam . [Viśvanātha, 6/318[b]]

5) ...... mahā-kāvyaṁ tatraiko nāyakaḥ suraḥ .
sad-vaṁśaḥ Kṣatriyo vāpi ...... [Viśvanātha, 6/315[cd]-316[a]]

In some mahā-kāvvas there are many heroes who may belong to the same royal dynasty or may come of different noble families[1].

Anyway, in a normal mahā-kāvya the hero should be of the dhīrodātta type[2].

The ultimate triumph of the hero over his foil must be depicted in a mahā-kāvya[3]. It is the usual procedure to mention the name of the hero at the outset of the work and describe his noble descent, prowess, knowledge and other good qualities and then depict his victory over the contestant (pratināyaka) inferior to him in every way[4]. An alternative order beginning with a description of the puffed-up foe may also be adopted provided he is defeated finally by the overwhelming prowess and other surpassing properties of the hero[5].

Now, in Aśvaghoṣa's two mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., the Buddha is decidedly the hero[6]. The poet has depicted the Buddha as a superman born as a scion of Ikṣvāku of Kṣatriya caste.

1) eka-vaṁśa-bhavā bhūpāḥ kulajā bahavo 'pi vā . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/316[cd]]

2) ······ caturodātta-nāyakam . . [Daṇḍin, 1/15[d]]
...... dhīrodātta-guṇānvitaḥ . . [Viśvanātha, 6/316[b]]
avikatthanaḥ kṣamāvān atigambhīro mahā-sattvaḥ .
stheyān nigūḍha-māno dhīrodātto dṛḍha-vrataḥ kathitaḥ . .
[Viśvanātha, 3/32]

3) ...... nāyakābhyudayaiś ca yat . [Bhāmaha, 1/20[b]]
...... nāyakābhyudayair api .. [Daṇḍin, 1/17[d]]

4) nāyakaṁ prāg upanyasya vaṁśa-vīrya-śrutādibhiḥ .
na tasyaiva vadhaṁ brūyād anyotkarṣābhidhitsayā . .
yadi kāvya-śarīrasya na sa vyāpitayeṣyate .
na cābhyudayabhāk tasya mudhādau grahaṇaṁ stave . .
[Bhāmaha, 1/22-23]
guṇataḥ prāg upanyasya nāyakaṁ tena vidviṣām .
nirākaraṇam ity eṣa mārgaḥ prakṛti-sundaraḥ . .
[Daṇḍin, 1/21]

5) vaṁśa-vīrya-śrutādīni varṇayitvā ripor api .
taj-jayān nāyakotkarṣa-varṇanaṁ ca dhinoti naḥ . .
[Daṇḍin, 1/22]

6) This point has been hinted at earlier in course of the discussion.

But in the light of the śānta-rasa synthesis in the two afore-said mahā kāvyas the Buddha as the hero of the ādhikārika itivṛtta appears to possess the monastic magnanimity and philanthropy of the dhīra-śānta type[1] rather than the stock qualities of love-making and grim fighting of a dhīrodātta philanderer. In the B. he overpowers the pratināyaka, Māra, exhibiting dhīroddhata characteristics[2]. Again, in the S. the Buddha converts dhīra-lalita[3] Nanda into dhīra-śānta.

In both the works the hero, the Buddha, has been extolled at first and crowned with success in the dénouement.

6. *Rasa and Bhāvas* — In a mahā-kāvya there should be only one predominant sentiment (aṅgibhūta rasa) which has to be supported directly (aṅgāṅgi-bhāvena) or indirectly (bādhya-bādhaka-bhāvena) by other sentiments (khaṇḍa-rasas) subservient to the main one. Of the khaṇḍa-rasas the relatively important one is known technically as the sthāyi-bhāva in a secondary sense (apart from the actual sthāyi-bhāva of the aṅgibhūta rasa) whereas the remaining minor ones are termed the vyabhicāri-bhāvas. Thus there should be proper provision for a co-ordinated delineation of all the sentiments, both principal and subordinate. Anyway, śṛṅgāra or vīra or śānta should be the aṅgibhūta rasa[4]. It is obvious that the aṅgibhūta rasa should be suggested adequately with the appropriate paraphernalia, viz.,

---

1) tyāgī kṛtī kulīnaḥ suśrīko rūpa-yauvanotsāhī .
dakṣo 'nurakta-lokas tejo-vaidagdhya-śīlavān netā . .
sāmānya-guṇair bhūyān dvijādiko dhīraśāntaḥ syāt . .
[Viśvanātha, 3/30 & 34[cd]]
sāmānya-guṇair nāyaka-sāmānya-guṇaiḥ ......
[Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha, 3/34[c] above]

2) māyā-paraḥ pracaṇḍaś capalo 'haṁkāra-darpa-bhūyiṣṭhaḥ .
ātma-ślāghā-nirato dhīrair dhīroddhataḥ kathitaḥ . .
[Viśvanātha, 3/33]

3) niścinto mṛdur aniśaṁ kalā-paro dhīralalitaḥ syāt .
[Viśvanātha, 3/34[ab]]

4) ... rasaiś ca sakalaiḥ pṛthak . . [Bhāmaha, 1/21[d]]
... rasa-bhāva-nirantaram . [Daṇḍin, 1/18[b]]
śṛṅgāra-vīra-śāntānām eko 'ṅgī rasa iṣyate .
aṅgāni sarve 'pi rasāḥ ... [Viśvanātha, 6/317[abc]]

the sthāyi-bhāva, the ālambana-vibhāvas, the uddīpana-vibhāvas and the vyabhicāri-bhāvas.

Now in Aśvaghoṣa's two mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., śānta s no doubt the aṅgibhūta rasa. This śānta motive of the preacher-poet appears to have been influenced by the śānta-rasa synthesis as delineated in the Mahā-Bhārata. Thus śānta is the pāryantika rasa forming the siddhānta-pakṣa in relation to which the khaṇḍa-rasas constitute the pūrva-pakṣas. Again, vīra as the khaṇḍa-rasa is the favourable sthāyi-bhāva of the śānta-rasa. This vīra intervenes between the śānta-rasa and the śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa and averts thereby the teeming technical contradiction between the two mutually incompatibles. In the psychological conflicts of Sarvārthasiddha as depicted in combat between Māra and bodhi in the B., Canto XIII, and of Nanda as revealed in the dwindling between his attachment to his wife Sundarī and some Apsarases in the primary stage of penance, and later between such Apsarases and bodhi in the S., the śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa is moulded gradually from sambhoga to vipralambha and therefrom to śṛṅgārābhāsa and then the last tentacles of the enticing sentiment are debarred by the vīra-sthāyin and thus the triumph of the śānta-rasa is established finally. This bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva through the intervention of the neutraliser vīra cancels the possibility of a real rasa-virodha. Anyway, the remaining khaṇḍa-rasas like adbhuta, raudra, etc. appear as mere vyabhicāri-bhāvas[1] in relation to the aṅgibhūta

---

1) Some instances of the vyabhicāri-bhāvas coming under the śānta-rasa in some way or other may be cited below :—

a) *Asūyā* —

dhruvaṁ sa jānan mama dharma-vallabho
manaḥ priyerṣyā-kalahaṁ muhur mithaḥ .
sukhaṁ vibhīr māṁ apahāya roṣaṇāṁ
Mahendra-loke 'psaraso jighṛkṣati . .
[B., 8/64 (= Yaśodharā-vilāpa)]

rūpeṇa bhāvena ca mad viśiṣṭā
priyeṇa dṛṣṭā niyataṁ tato 'nyā .
tathā hi kṛtvā mayi mogha-sāntvaṁ
lagnāṁ satīṁ māṁ agamad vihāya . .
[S., 6/16 (= Sundarī-vilāpa)]

[Contd.]

śānta-rasa[1].

7. *Guṇas* — According to the ālaṅkārikas a mahā-kāvya should be endowed with the following guṇas :—

a) *Mādhurya* — A mahā-kāvya should be couched in elegant words In other words, the work ought to be free from expressions yielding grāmyatva-doṣa-yukta (vulgar) senses[2].

[Contd.]

b) *Unmāda*—

itīha devī pati-śoka-mūrchitā
ruroda dadhyau vilalāpa cāsakṛt .
sva-bhāva-dhīrāpi hi sā satī śucā
dhṛtiṁ na sasmāra cakāra no hriyam . .
[B., 8/70 (= Yaśodharā-vilāpa)]

ruroda mamlau virurāva jaglau
babhrāma tasthau vilalāpa dadhyau .
cakāra roṣaṁ vicakāra mālyaṁ
cakarta vaktraṁ vicakarṣa vastram (vastraṁ — sic) . .
[S., 6/34 (= Sundarī-vilāpa)]

1) The same rasa analysis with other relevant details will also be applicable in the case of the Ś. [as well as of the R. in view of its central theme known to us from its substance in Chinese (as discussed earlier in Chapter II)].

However, we propose to pursue the present issue of the kāvya-vibhāga and reserve our further observations for the forthcoming rasa-prakaraṇa to be handled a little later.

2) agrāmya-śabdam ...... [Bhāmaha, 1/19c]

... agrāmyataivainaṁ bhāraṁ vahati bhūyasā . .
... grāmyo 'yam arthātmā vairasyāyaiva kalpate . .
... agrāmyo 'rtho rasāvahaḥ . .
śabde 'pi grāmyatā 'sty eva sā sabhyetara-kīrtanāt .
[Daṇḍin, 1/62cd, 63cd, 64d & 65ab]

artha-mādhuryam agrāmyatā-rūpaṁ ...... grāmyatā nāma doṣo na kevalam artha eva dṛśyate, śabde 'pi ... vākyārtha eva grāmyatvam ity artha-grāmyatvam ... grāmya-vākyārthāntara-pratītikṛt vākyam iti śabda-grāmyatvam . artha-grāmyatva-śabda-grāmyatve Gauḍa-Vaidarbhayoḥ ubhayor api mārgayoḥ parityājye ...... [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin, 1/62, 65 & 66-67]

[Contd.]

b) *Audārya* — The wordings of a mahā-kāvya should be significant[1]. This artha-gaurava is nothing but audārya[2].

c) *Prasāda* — The words of a mahā-kāvya should be easily comprehensible[3]. This prasāda-guṇa presupposes naturally the absence of doṣas like apratītatva, kliṣṭatva and kaṣṭatva.

Moreover, a mahā-kāvya should not deal with anything that goes beyond the bounds of credulity[4]. In other words, the work must be free from the flaw known as loka-virodhitva[5].

[Contd.]

... agrāmyataiva anaślīlataiva ... [The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin, 1/62]

This mādhurya is thus an artha-guṇa from the standpoint of Daṇḍin.

1) ... arthyaṁ ca ... [Bhāmaha, 1/19[c] ; arthyam = arthād anapetam = sārthakam = artha-gauravavat]

2) utkarṣavān guṇaḥ kaścid yasminn ukte pratīyate .
tad udārāhvayaṁ tena sanāthā sarva-paddhatiḥ . .
[Daṇḍin 1/76]

The terms "udāra", "udāratva" and "audārya" are found to have been used synonymously in the different texts of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra.

Anyway, Daṇḍin's udāra, which consists of noble purport, is no doubt an artha-guṇa.

3) ... nātivyākhyeyam ......
āvidvad-aṅganā-bāla-pratītārthaṁ prasādavat . .
[Bhāmaha, 1/20[a] & 2/3[cd]]
prasādavat prasiddhārtham ......
... pratīti-subhagaṁ vacaḥ .. [Daṇḍin, 1/45[ad]]
This prasāda (perspicuity) is an artha-guṇa.

4) yuktaṁ loka-sva-bhāvena ... [Bhāmaha, 1/21[c]]
... loka-rañjanam . [Daṇḍin, 1/19[b]]

5) sthāsnu-jaṅgama-bhedena lokaṁ tattvavido viduḥ .
sa ca tad-vyavahāro 'tra tad-virodhakaraṁ ......
[Bhāmaha, 4/36]
... laukika evāyaṁ virodhaḥ sarva-garhitaḥ .
[Daṇḍin, 4/51[ab]]

However, the mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇaś are silent about the other direct (= sākṣāt > positive) and indirect (= parokṣa ; doṣā'bhāvas > guṇas in a bhākta sense) guṇas.

Here it is quite apparent that the interpretation of the aforementioned guṇas has been based on the data furnished by the older school of Sanskrit poetics which tried to associate such guṇas with the kāvya-śarīra consisting of śabda and artha, both primary and secondary. This is obviously an objective approach to kāvya in so far as the relationship of the guṇas with the śabda and artha in question is saṁyoga. But according to the later school of Sanskrit poetics the guṇas must be regarded as the permanent and inseparable properties of the soul of kāvya, the parama-vyaṅgya rasa. The relation of the guṇas with the suggested rasa is samavāya. This is thus a subjective approach to kāvya[1].

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. are indeed endowed with the afore mentioned guṇas, viz., i) mādhurya, ii) audārya and iii) prasāda It is quite evident that the preacher-poet should eschew all sorts of gross ideas and their uncouth expressions[2]. We have seen earlier that the artha-gaurava of Aśvaghoṣa's writings won warm admiration of I-tsing. Again, perspicuity[3] had to be a requisite quality of Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S.[4] which were intended to be the popular means of Buddhistic propaganda. It is also true that in his two mahā-kāvyas Aśvaghoṣa tried to record on the whole a rational

---

1) It is needless in the present context to enter into a detailed discussion on the question of the total number of the śabdā'rtha-gata guṇas and their different assemblages constituting the different rītis according to the older ālaṅkārikas, and the merger of these guṇas into three rasa-niṣṭha guṇas and their association with three standard vṛttis from the standpoint of the later ālaṅkārikas. Nevertheless one thing is uncontroversially certain that the poet must adopt some appropriate rīti or vṛtti in his mahā-kāvya.

2) Some exceptions to this rule will be noted later on under the "Doṣas".

3) Some illustrations of the poet's deviation from the general principle will be cited subsequently under the "Doṣas".

4) It is obvious that this perspicuity should also be an essential quality of the Ś. (and presumably of the R.).

human account of the life of the Buddha. Despite the occasional indulgence of the poet in the depiction of the supernatural feats of the Buddha the general tone of the two epics proves a remarkable restraint over the introduction of the superhuman elements in course of the more or less historical narration[1]. Anyway, if we were to assess Aśvaghoṣa from the point of view of strict technical discipline we could not exempt him freely from the flaw of loka-virodhitva in the supernatural digressions in his B. and S.[2]

8. *Alaṅkāras* — According to Bhāmaha[3] and Daṇḍin[4] a mahā-kāvya should be ornate. The very mention of this feature in their mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇas indicates undoubtedly the point that the alaṅkāras constitute an essential aspect of an epic from the perspective of the older school of Sanskrit poetics. This sounds as a corollary to the older view that the attraction of a kāvya lies in the proper use of the various alaṅkāras[5] like yamaka, upamā, etc. These alaṅkāras are to be understood in their rīti-nirapekṣa (= rīti-sādhāraṇa) sense and distinguished from the rīti-sāpekṣa (= rīty-asādhāraṇa) guṇas

1) In this respect Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. appear to be more successful as literary productions than the Lalita-vistara and the Mahā-vastu.

2) It is also noteworthy in the present context that there are still other direct and indirect guṇas in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. which have not been specified properly in the mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇas referred to above. We propose to pursue for the present our analysis of the features covered by the said mahā-kāvya-lakṣaṇas and take up the question of these guṇas later on under the general treatment of the "Guṇas". Thereafter the characteristics of the Vaidarbhī Rīti as traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas would be analysed and exemplified.

3) ...... sālaṅkāraṁ ...... [1/19[d]]

4) ...... sad-alaṅkṛti .. [1/19[d]]

5) rūpakādir alaṅkāras tasyānyair bahudhoditaḥ .
na kāntam api nirbhūṣaṁ vibhāti vanitā-mukham ..
[Bhāmaha, 1/13]

like śleṣa, prasāda, etc.[1] In other words, the guṇas as component properties of the rītis concerned are vyāpya-vṛtti in relation to the guṇa-vyāpaka rītis which are themselves vyāpya-vṛtti in relationship with the rīti-vyāpaka alaṅkāras. In brief, the alaṅkāras are rīti-vyāpaka whereas the guṇas are rīti-vyāpya. Despite this vyāpya-vyāpaka-bhāva both the alaṅkāras and the guṇas have been assigned equal importance by the upholders of the Daṇḍin school[2]. But the anomaly underlying the relative statuses of the alaṅkāras and the guṇas has been detected and rectified by Vāmana who gives prominence to the guṇas[3]

---

1) kāvya-śobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān pracakṣate .
kāścin mārga-vibhāgārtham uktāḥ prāg apy alaṅkriyāḥ .
sādhāraṇam alaṅkāra-jātam adya ...... [Daṇḍin, 2/1[ab] & 3]
...... alaṅkāra-sāmānya-lakṣaṇam āha ...... śobhākaratvaṁ hi alaṅkāra-lakṣaṇam ...... śleṣādayaḥ guṇātmakālaṅkārāḥ ... uktāḥ . idānīn tu mārga-dvaya-sādhāraṇā alaṅkārā ucyante .
[Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]
...... asādhāraṇa-dharmāḥ kecid alaṅkārā uktāḥ ; idānīṁ ...... sādhāraṇā ye alaṅkārāḥ ...... Vaidarbha-Gauḍa-mārga-sādhāraṇam alaṅkāra-jātam .... [The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]

2) "śobhā-hetavo guṇāḥ, śobhātiśaya-hetavaḥ alaṅkārāḥ" iti kaiścid uktam . śobhātiśaya-hetutvasyaiva [ubhayatra] vivakṣitatvāt nāyaṁ bheda-hetuḥ iti guṇā alaṅkārā eva iti ācāryāḥ . [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin, 2/3 cited above]

It appears that the pūrva-pakṣa in question has reference to Vāmana's "kāvya-śobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇāḥ" and "tad-atiśaya hetavas tv alaṅkārāḥ" [Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 3/1/1-2].

3) ... kaivalyena teṣām (= yamakopamādīnām) akāvya-śobhā-karatvāt . ojaḥ-prasādādīnāṁ tu kevalānām asti kāvya-śobhākaratvam iti . ... atra ślokau —

yuvater iva rūpam aṅga kāvyaṁ
svadate śuddha-guṇaṁ tad apy atīva .
vihita-praṇayaṁ nirantarābhiḥ
sad-alaṅkāra-vikalpa-kalpanābhiḥ . .

[Contd.]

which comprise a rīti, the quintessence of a kāvya[1]. According to him the guṇas are indispensable for the rīti concerned and without the constituent guṇas the very kāvyatva will not be accomplished. On the contrary, the alaṅkāras are in no way better than mere optional additives of minor importance[2]. In other words the guṇas are the natural (sahaja = sāṁsiddhika = antar-aṅga ; i. e. rīti-samaveta)[3] and thus compulsory properties (dharmas) of śabda

---

[Contd.]

yadi bhavati vacaś cyutaṁ guṇebhyo
vapur iva yauvana-vandhyam aṅganāyāḥ .
api jana-dayitāni durbhagatvaṁ
niyatam alaṅkaraṇāni saṁśrayante . .

[Vāmana's svopajña-vṛtti on his Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 3/1/1-2]

guṇā alaṅkārebhyo vivicyante . ... "kāvya-śobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān pracakṣate . kāścin mārga-vibhāgārtham uktāḥ prāg apy alaṅkriyāḥ .." iti Daṇḍi[= 2/1]-mataṁ [= rīti-vyāpake 'laṅkāre rīti-vyāpyasya guṇasya upasarjanībhāvena sattvād antarbhāva-prasaṅgā-"patter guṇālaṅkārayor abheda iti matam] khaṇḍayituṁ guṇālaṅkāra-bhedaṁ darśayiṣyan ......

[Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana, 3/1/1 cited above]

1) "rītir ātmā kāvyasya", "viśiṣṭā pada-racanā rītiḥ" and "viśeṣo guṇātmā". [Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 1/2/6-8]

2) ... guṇā nityāḥ . tair vinā kāvya-śobhānupapatteḥ . [Vāmana's svopajña-vṛtti on his Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 3/1/3]

viruddha-dharmādhyāso bhāvaṁ bhindyād iti nyāyena nityatvā-'nityatvābhyāṁ guṇā'laṅkāra-bhedaḥ siddha iti ...... guṇā nityā ity ukte 'nye punar alaṅkārā anityā iti gamyate eva . ... guṇā'nvaya-vyatirekānuvidhāyitvāt kāvya-śobhāyā ity arthaḥ . evam abheda mataṁ khaṇḍitam . [Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana above]

3) ato manyāmahe guṇatvād ojaḥ-prabhṛtīnām ātmani samavāya-vṛttyā sthitir alaṅkāratvād yamakopamādīnāṁ śarīre saṁyoga-vṛttyā sthitir iti granthakārasyābhimatam iti .

[Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana, 3/1/4]

and artha embodying a rīti[1], which has been awarded the highest and somewhat subjective status in this theory[2], whereas the alaṅkāras are merely the artificial (kṛtrima = āhārya = bahir-aṅga ; i. e., śabdā'rthamātra-saṁyukta) characteristics (dharmas) of the kāvya-śarīra, viz., śabda and artha. Despite the demarcation between the essential guṇas on the one hand and the immaterial alaṅkāras on the other, and the subjective halo attached to the guṇas by this school, the position of the guṇas has not been pushed much further. A critical penetration into the vyāpya-vyāpaka-vāda of Daṇḍin and the nityā-'nitya-vāda of Vāmana makes it evident that both the guṇas and the alaṅkāras have been treated virtually as the properties of the kāvya-śarīra, i. e., śabda and artha. Though the position of the guṇas has been reviewed and revised thoroughly by the later ālaṅkārikas[3], the somewhat loose status of the alaṅkāras, as noted correctly by Vāmana, has been confirmed by the moderners[4].

---

1) ... guṇā vastuto rīti-niṣṭhā api, upacārāc chabdā'rtha-dharmā (chabda-dharmā — sic) ity uktam . .... vastuto rīti-dharmatve 'pi guṇānām ātma-lābhasya śabdārthādhīnatvāt .... śabdārtha-dharmatvam upacārād uktam . ..... śabda-niṣṭhānāṁ guṇānām (°-niṣṭhā guṇā — sic) ..... mukhyayā vṛttyā rīti-dharmatvam iti ātma-siddhāntam ..... ātma-bhūta-rīti-niṣṭhā guṇās tac-charīrabhūta-śabdārtha-niṣṭhāḥ punar alaṅkārā iti niścīyate .

[Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana, 3/1/1 & 4]

2) ..... "rītir ātmā kāvyasye"eti [Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra, 1/2/6] śabdārtha-yugala-kāvya-śarīrasya rītim ātmānam upa-pādya ..... guṇamātrasyaivātmabhūta-rīti-niṣṭhatve pratiṣṭhāpite ..... guṇānāṁ kāvya-vyavahāra-prayojakatvam uktaṁ bhavati .

[Tripurahara's Kāma-dhenu on Vāmana, 3/1/4]

3) We will see later on under the "Guṇas" that the status of the guṇas has to be assessed from the subjective perspective of rasa, the soul of a kāvya, and their mutual relationship has to be looked upon as samavāya.

4) tad [= kāvya] adoṣau śabdārthau saguṇāv analaṁkṛtī punaḥ kvāpi . [Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa, Ch. I]

However, we leave here the question of the distinction between the wider [= rīti-nirapekṣa = alaṅkāras proper from Daṇḍin's standpoint] and narrower [= rīti-sāpekṣa = guṇas in Daṇḍin's view] senses of the alaṅkāras, the gradual changes of the relative positions and the later reverses of the two categories according to the different authorities, and now proceed with the alaṅkāras proper.

The alaṅkāras of śabda and artha have been classified naturally into two distinct categories, viz., i) the śabdālaṅkāras like yamaka, anuprāsa, etc. and ii) the arthālaṅkāras like upamā, rūpaka, etc. To these two classes a third one, viz., the śabdārthobhayālaṅkāra like punar-uktavad-ābhāsa, which pertains to both śabda and artha, has been added by the later ālaṅkārikas. In any case anvaya-vyatirekā-'nuvidhāyitva is the correct criterion. However, the arthālaṅkāras have been subdivided into i) sva-bhāvokti (or jāti) and ii) vakrokti (or atiśayokti)[1]. Sva-bhāvokti has been rejected by Bhāmaha[2] as a common and sundry form of speech[3] though it has been accepted by Daṇḍin[4]. This sva-bhāvokti has been equated with viśiṣṭā vārtā by Jayamaṅgala on Bhaṭṭi[5]. Again, the term vakrokti (or atiśayokti)

---

1) bhinnaṁ dvidhā sva-bhāvoktir vakroktiś ceti vāṅmayam ..
[Daṇḍin, 2/362cd]

2) sva-bhāvoktir alaṅkāra iti kecit pracakṣate .
arthasya tad-avasthatvaṁ sva-bhāvo 'bhihito yathā ..
[Bhāmaha, 2/93]

3) na nitāntādimātreṇa jāyate cārutā girām .
vakrābhidheya-śabdoktir iṣṭā vācām alaṅkṛtiḥ ..
gato 'stam arko bhātīndur yānti vāsāya pakṣiṇaḥ .
ity-evam-ādi kiṁ kāvyaṁ vārtām enāṁ pracakṣate ..
[Bhāmaha, 1/36 & 2/87]

4) sva-bhāvoktiś ca jātiś cety ādyā sālaṅkṛtir .... [Daṇḍin, 2/8cd]
sva-bhāvoktiḥ jātiḥ iti ca saṁjñā-dvayāṅkitā ucyate . .
[Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]
...... sva-bhāvoktiḥ sva-bhāvākhyānam . tasyaiva jātir iti keṣāṁcid (keṣāṁ cid — sic) ācāryāṇāṁ saṁjñā .
[The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]

5) ... vārtteti tattvārtha-kathanāt . sā dvi-vidhā [—] i) viśiṣṭā, ii) nirviśiṣṭā ca ; tatra yā pūrvā sā sva-bhāvoktir uditā . yatheyam
[Contd.]

meaning lokātiśāyinī ukti (extraordinary form of speech) is the jīvātu (vortex of life) of all the arthālaṅkāras excepting sva-bhāvokti[1]. In

[Contd.]
[= Bhaṭṭi-kāvya, 10/45] eva . tathā coktam — "sva-bhāvoktir ... arthasya tād-avasthye ca sva-° ......" [= Bhāmaha, 2/93 cited above] iti . nirviśiṣṭā vārttā nāmālaṅkāraḥ . yathoktam — "gato .... °-ādikaṁ (!) kāvyaṁ .... etāṁ ... .." [= Bhāmaha, 2/87] iti .

It is evident that Jayamaṅgala's ingenious argument based on a queer variant in Bhāmaha's text [2/87^c] tries to cement the incongruity between Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha on the question of vārttā as an alaṅkāra.

1) saiṣā sarvaiva vakroktir anayārtho vibhāvyate .
yatno 'syāṁ kavinā kāryaḥ ko 'laṅkāro 'nayā vinā ..
[Bhāmaha, 2/85]

alaṅkārāntarāṇām apy ekam āhuḥ parāyaṇam .
Vāg-īśa-mahitām uktim imām atiśayāhvayām .. [Daṇḍin, 2/220]
... atiśaya-jananatvaṁ vinā bhūṣaṇatā na syāt ity abhiprāyaḥ .
[The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]

... atiśayokti-garbhatā sarvālaṅkāreṣu śakya-kriyā . ... sarvālaṅkāra-śarīra-svīkaraṇa-yogyatvenābhedopacārāt saiva sarvā-'laṅkāra-rūpety ayam evārtho 'vagantavyaḥ .
[Ānandavardhana's Dhvany-āloka-vṛtti ad Dhvani-kārikā, 3/36]

... atiśayoktiḥ sarvālaṅkāreṣu vyaṅgyatayāntarlīnaivāsta iti ... Bhāmaho 'tiśayoktiṁ sarvālaṅkāra-sāmānya-rūpām avādīt . ... śabdasya hi vakratā abhidheyasya ca vakratā lokottīrṇena rūpeṇā'vasthānam ity ayam evāsāv alaṅkārasyālaṅkāra-bhāvaḥ, lokottarataiva cātiśayaḥ, tenātiśayoktiḥ sarvālaṅkāra-sāmānyam . .... atiśayokteḥ sarvālaṅkāreṣu sāmānya-rūpatā ...... tādātmya-paryavasāyinīti tad-vyatirikto naivālaṅkāro dṛśyata iti ..... sā kāvya-jīvitatvenetthaṁ vivakṣitā ...... mukhyārtha-bādhād upacāre ca nimitta-prayojana-sad-bhāvād abhedopacāra evāyam . tataś copapannam atiśayokter vyaṅgyatvam iti .
[Abhinavagupta's Locana on Ānandavardhana above]

sarvatra evaṁ-vidha-viṣaye 'tiśayoktir eva prāṇatvenāvatiṣṭhate — tāṁ vinā prāyeṇālaṅkāratvāyogāt . ata evoktam — saiṣā sarvatra ... [= Bhāmaha, 2/85 quoted above] iti .
[Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa, 10/135-136 Vṛtti]

other words, vakrokti is the generic term for all the arthālaṅkāras excepting sva-bhāvokti[1].

Anyway, one point becomes evident that in an ornate mahā-kāvya the presence of the alaṅkāras of the different categories has to be treated as a regular feature. In spite of their relative grossness and remote relation with rasa through śabda and artha, the alaṅkāras can claim to have a popular appeal which is difficult to be dispensed with. The theory of the ālaṅkārikas is also confirmed by the actual practice in the mahā-kāvyas.

Now, we turn to Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. and notice that both these mahā-kāvyas are adorned with the afore-mentioned categories of alaṅkāras. Of these two epics the S. is more ornate than the B. In any case, the alaṅkāras as found in these two works represent no doubt an early stage of Sanskrit poetics and should be judged naturally in the light of the categorical specifications about the alaṅkāras and the unequivocal implications deducible from the examples as recorded in the Nāṭya-śāstra (circa 2nd century A. D.) which stands nearest in date to Aśvaghoṣa (ca. 100 A. D.). Besides these permissible cases there are also some literary twists in the B. and the S. which appear to foreshadow several alaṅkāras as dealt with in the later Alaṅkāra-śāstra texts.

In any case, the alaṅkāras in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. are spontaneous (apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya) and simple. These are well-chosen and in consonance with the rasa and khaṇḍa-rasas concerned[2]. They also exhibit the poet's awareness of the basic question of propriety.

With these observations we pass on to consider the next topic.

9. *Descriptions* — In the wake of sva-bhāvokti we now come to the question of the poetic descriptions. Usually a mahā-kāvya has to describe the topics like day-break and sunrise, day-time, evening, sun-set, darkness, night and moonrise, mountains, oceans, seasons, forests hunting, cities, drinking of wine, enjoyments in gardens and water

---

1) ... sva-bhāvākhyāna-vyatiriktā (sva-vyākhyāna-vyatiriktā — sic) sarvā alaṅkṛtiḥ vakroktiḥ iti ucyate ..

[Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin, 2/362^{cd}]

2) We refrain from quoting any examples in the present analysis of the mahā-kāvya features and reserve various illustrations for the general treatment of the "Alaṅkāras" to be taken up later on.

nuptial ceremonies, love in union and separation, practising penance for obtaining a child, pregnancy, birth of a baby, child at play, consultations, sending of messengers, marching of troops, battle, victory of the hero, sages, performance of sacrifice and heaven[1]. There may be some description of opulence[2] as well.

All or some of the afore-said topics should be described as far as practicable in a mahā-kāvya[3]. The omission of some of the above subjects would not affect the mahā-kāvyatva in question[4].

Anyway, the various descriptions noted above appear to have opened newer avenues of creative possibilities for the classical poets even through their imagination has not been allowed enough of free

1) mantra-dūta-prayāṇāji-nāyakābhyudayaiś ca yat .
[Bhāmaha, 1/20[ab]]
nagarārṇava-śailartu-candrārkodaya-varṇanaiḥ .
udyāna-salila-krīḍā-madhu-pāna-ratotsavaiḥ . .
vipralambhair vivāhaiś ca kumārodaya-varṇanaiḥ .
mantra-dūta-prayāṇāji-nāyakābhyudayair api . .
alaṅkṛtam .. ... [Daṇḍin, 1/16-18[a]]
... kumārodaya-varṇanaiḥ putrārtha-tapaś-caraṇa-dau[r]hṛda-varṇana-bāla-krīḍādibhiḥ ...... [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]
saṁdhyā-sūryendu-rajanī-pradoṣa-dhvānta-vāsarāḥ .
prātar-madhyāhna-mṛgayā-śailartu-vana-sāgarāḥ . .
saṁbhoga-vipralambhau ca muni-svarga-purādhvarāḥ .
raṇa-prayāṇopayama-mantra-putrodayādayaḥ . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/322-323]

2) ...... ṛddhimat . . [Bhāmaha, 1/20[d]]
The description of prosperity (samṛddhimad-vastu-varṇana) has to be treated as a case of the arthālaṅkāra termed "udātta" (also called "udāra").

3) varṇanīyā yathāyogaṁ sāṅgopāṅgā amī iha .
.. ... "sāṅgopāṅgā" iti jala-keli-madhu-pānādayaḥ .
[Viśvanātha, 6/324[ab] with the svopajña-vṛtti] .

4) yathāyogaṁ yathāsaṁbhavam . etena yena kenā 'py aṅgena hīnam api kāvyaṁ na duṣṭam iti bhāvaḥ .
[Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha above]

and full play within the otherwise limited scope of the more or less conventional plots. But these descriptions should be wooed to the aṅgibhūta rasa or the khaṇḍa-rasa in question. It is obvious that any kind of description, which stands in no relation to the predominant sentiment or the subordinate one, ought to be eschewed under all circumstances because such an undesirable aspect is marred by the literary blemish termed apuṣṭārthatva-doṣa.

Now we turn to consider how far the above subjects of description can be found in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. A close study of these two mahā-kāvyas would establish the fact that most of these topics could be traced in them. Some of the descriptions have been embroidered deftly into the textures of the main narratives while others have been mentioned in the stories in such a casual manner that they hardly arrest our attention. But in no case can these pieces of description, detailed or casual, be looked upon as mere stylistic excursions tagged loosely on to the texts. It is also noteworthy that the monastic Weltanschauung of the disciplined preacher in Aśvaghoṣa held in constant restraint his poetic indulgence in the luxurious descriptions of the beautiful frailties of Nature. Thus, the occasional descriptions in the B. and the S. appear to have been intended as permissible digressions in pursuance of the fluid laws of growing kāvya-dharmas prevalent in the early period about the beginning of the Christian era In this amorphous stage of Sanskrit poetics the said descriptions were tuned spontaneously to the central narratives and were yet to become rich and regular divagations running into an unreasonable length to hamper the chief stories.

However, we may now refer to some descriptions in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. and quote some prominent passages therefrom in the following :

1. Morning — B., 5/87[1] & 6/1[2] ;
2. Evening — B., 4/100[cd 3] ; 13/72[4] ;

---

1) aruṇa-paruṣa-tāram antarikṣaṁ ... ... [B., 5/87[c]]

2) tato muhūrtābhyudite jagac-cakṣuṣi bhāskare . [B., 6/1[ab]]

3) janasya cakṣur-gamanīya-maṇḍalo
mahīdharaṁ cāstam iyāya bhāskaraḥ ..

4) yuvatir iva sahāsā dyauś cakāśe sacandrā ..... [B., 13/72[c]]

3. Himālaya mountain — S., 10/5-17[1] ;
4. Spring season — B., 4/44-52[2] ; S., 7/2-11[3].
5. Forests — B., 5/2-9[4] ; 7/1ff.[5] ; S., 1/5-18[6] ;

---

1) tau devadārūttama-gandhavantaṁ
nadī-saraḥ-prasravaṇaughavantam (°ntaṁ — sic) .
ājagmatuḥ kāñcana-dhātumantaṁ
devarṣimantaṁ Himavantam āśu .. [S., 10/5]
bahv-āyate tatra site hi śṛṅge
saṁkṣipta-barhaḥ śayito mayūraḥ .
bhuje Balasyāyata-pīna-bāhor
vaiḍūrya-keyūra ivā-"babhāse .. [S., 10/8]

2) paśya bhartaś citaṁ cūtaṁ kusumair madhu-gandhibhiḥ .
hema-pañjara-ruddho vā kokilo yatra kūjati .. [B., 4/44]
dīrghikāṁ prāvṛtāṁ paśya tīrajaiḥ sind[h]uvārakaiḥ .
pāṇḍarāṁśuka-saṁvītāṁ (pāṇḍu — sic) śayānāṁ
pramadām iva .. [B., 4/49]

3) priyāṁ priyāyāḥ pratanuṁ priyaṅguṁ
niśāmya bhītām iva niṣpatantīm (°ntīṁ — sic) .
sasmāra tām aśru-mukhīṁ sabāṣpaḥ
priyāṁ priyaṅgu-prasavāvadātām (°tāṁ — sic) .. [S., 7/6]
latāṁ praphullām atimuktakasya
cūtasya pārśve parirabhya jātām (°tāṁ — sic) .
niśāmya cintām agamat tadaivaṁ
śliṣṭā bhaven mām api Sundarīti .. [S., 7/8]

4) sa vikṛṣṭatarāṁ vanānta-bhūmiṁ
vana-lobhāc ca yayau mahī-guṇāc ca .
salilormi-vikāra-sīra-mārgāṁ
vasudhāṁ caiva dadarśa kṛṣyamāṇām .. [B., 5/4]

5) hṛṣṭāś ca kekā mumucur mayūrā
dṛṣṭvā 'mbudaṁ nīlam ivonnamantaḥ .
śaṣpāṇi hitvābhimukhāś ca tasthur
mṛgāś calākṣā mṛgacāriṇaś ca . . [B., 7/5]

6) mṛdubhiḥ saikataiḥ snigdhaiḥ kesarāstara-pāṇḍubhiḥ .
bhūmi-bhāgair asaṁkīrṇaiḥ sāṅga-rāga ivābhavat ..
[S., 1/7]

6. Kapilavāstu city — S., 1/41-59[1] ; B., 2/28-32[2] ; 3/1ff.[3] ;
7. Drinking of wine — B., 4/31[1] ;
8. Enjoyments in the garden — B., 4/1ff.[5];

---

1) sarid-vistīrṇa-parikhaṁ spaṣṭāñcita-mahā-patham
(°thaṁ — sic) .
śailakalpa-mahā-vapraṁ Girivrajam ivāparam (°raṁ — sic) ..
pāṇḍarāṭṭāla-sumukhaṁ (pāṇḍurā° — sic)
suvibhaktāntarāpaṇam (°ṇaṁ — sic) .
harmya-mālā-parikṣiptaṁ
kukṣiṁ Hima-girer iva .. [S., 1/42-43]

2) tataḥ śarat-toyada-pāṇḍareṣu (°-pāṇḍu° — sic)
bhūmau vimāneṣv iva rañjiteṣu .
harmyeṣu sarvartu-sukhāśrayeṣu
strīṇām udārair vijahāra tūryaiḥ .. [B., 2/29]

3) niḥsṛtya kubjāś ca mahā-kulebhyo
vyūhāś ca kairātaka-vāmanānām .
nāryaḥ kṛśebhyaś ca niveśanebhyo
devānuyāna-dhvajavat praṇemuḥ .. [B., 3/12]

4) kācit tāmrādharoṣṭhena mukhenāsava-gandhinā .
viniśaśvāsa karṇe 'sya rahasyaṁ śrūyatām iti ..

Obviously this madhu-pāna (= madya-pāna) of a damsel of the harem has been shown by Aśvaghoṣa in the background of the anubhaya-niṣṭha sambhoga-śṛṅgārābhāsa because the hero, Sarvārthasiddha, has not been described to have drunk wine in this context.

5) atha nārī-jana-vṛtaḥ kumāro vyacarad vanam .
vāsitā-yūtha-sahitaḥ karīva Himavad-vanam .. [B., 4/27]
apayāntaṁ tathaivānyā babandhur mālya-dāmabhiḥ .
kāścit sākṣepa-madhurair jagṛhur vacanāṅkuśaiḥ ..
[B., 4/40]

Here also the scene has been laid in the context of the one-sided sambhogābhāsa inasmuch as the hero, Sarvārthasiddha, did not lose self-composure in spite of all provocations [evam ākṣipyamāṇo 'pi sa tu dhairyāvṛtendriyaḥ . martavyam iti sodvego na jaharṣa na vivyathe .. (B., 4/54)].

9. Marriage — B., 2/26[1];
10. Love in union :—
    a) Sambhoga-śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa — B., 2/27-32, 56[2]; S., 4/1ff.[3];
    b) Anubhayaniṣṭha Sambhoga-śṛṅgārābhāsa — B., 4/84ff.[4]

---

1) kulāt tato 'smai sthira-śīla-yuktāt
sādhvīṁ vapur-hrī-vinayopapannām .
Yaśodharāṁ nāma yaśo-viśālāṁ
vāmābhidhānāṁ śriyam ājuhāva . .

2) vāgbhiḥ kalābhir lalitaiś ca hāvair
madaiḥ sakhelair madhuraiś ca hāsaiḥ .
taṁ tatra nāryo ramayāmbabhūvur
bhrū-vañcitair ardha-nirīkṣitaiś ca .. [B., 2/31]
vanam anupama-sattvā bodhi-sattvās tu sarve
viṣaya-sukha-rasajñā jagmur utpanna-putrāḥ .
ata upacita-karmā rūḍha-mūle 'pi hetau
sa ratim upasiṣeve bodhim āpan na yāvat .. [B., 2/56]

3) parasparodvīkṣaṇa-tat-parākṣaṁ
paraspara-vyāhṛta-sakta-cittam (°ttaṁ — sic) .
parasparāśleṣa-hṛtāṅga-rāgaṁ
parasparaṁ tan mithunaṁ jahāra . . [S., 4/9]
dattvātha sā darpaṇam asya haste
mamāgrato dhāraya tāvad enam (°naṁ — sic) .
viśeṣakaṁ yāvad ahaṁ karomīty
uvāca kāntaṁ sa ca taṁ babhāra . . [S., 4/13]

These excerpts depict a sweet scene of the conjugal bliss of Nanda and his consort Sundarī.

4) tato vṛthā-dhārita-bhūṣaṇa-srajaḥ
kalā-guṇaiś ca praṇayaiś ca niṣphalaiḥ .
sva eva bhāve vinigṛhya manmathaṁ
puraṁ yayur bhagna-mano-rathāḥ striyaḥ . . [B., 4/101]

11. Love in separation —
    a) Vipralambha-śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa — S., 6/1 ff.[1]; 7/1 ff.[2];
    b) Anubhayaniṣṭha Vipralambha-śṛṅgārābhāsa — B., 8/60 ff.[3];
12. Pregnancy — B., 1/8[4];
13. Child-birth — B., 1/9ff.[5]; 2/46ff.[6]; S., 2/52ff.[7];
14. Child at play — B., 2/20-22[8];

---

1) saṁcintya saṁcintya guṇāṁś ca bhartur
dīrghaṁ niśaśvāsa tatāma caiva .
vibhūṣaṇa-śrī-nihite prakoṣṭhe
tāmre karāgre ca vinirdudhāva . . [S., 6/27]

2) sthitaḥ sa dīnaḥ sahakāra-vīthyām
ālīna-saṁmūrchita-ṣaṭ-padāyām (°yāṁ — sic) .
bhṛśaṁ jajṛmbhe yuga-dīrgha-bāhur
dhyātvā priyāṁ cāpam ivācakarṣa . . [S., 7/3]

3) abhāginī yady aham āyatekṣaṇaṁ
śuci-smitaṁ bhartur udīkṣituṁ mukham .
na manda-bhāgyo 'rhati Rāhulo 'py 'yaṁ
kadācid aṅke parivartituṁ pituḥ .. [B., 8/67]

4) tasmin vane śrīmati rāja-patnī prasūti-kālaṁ samavekṣamāṇā .
śayyāṁ vitānopahitāṁ prapede nārī-sahasrair abhinandyamānā ..

5) krameṇa garbhād abhiniḥsṛtaḥ san
babhau cyutaḥ khād iva yony-ajātaḥ .
kalpeṣv anekeṣu ca bhāvitātmā
yaḥ saṁprajānan suṣuve na mūḍhaḥ .. [B., 1/11]

6) kāle tataś cāru-payo-dharāyāṁ
Yaśodharāyāṁ sva-yaśo-dharāyām .
Śauddhodane Rāhu-sapatna-vaktro
jajñe suto Rāhula eva nāmnā .. [B., 2/46]

7) tasya sattva-viśeṣasya jātau jāti-kṣayaiṣiṇaḥ . [S., 2/52ab]
devyām api yavīyasyām araṇyām iva pāvakaḥ .
Nando nāma suto jajñe nityānandakaraḥ kule ..
[S., 2/57]

8) tato mahārhāṇi ca candanāni
ratnāvalīś cauṣadhibhiḥ sagarbhāḥ .

[Contd.]

15. Consultations — B., 4/103[1)];
16. Sending of messengers — B., 9/1ff.[2)];
17. Victory of the hero in war within with anti-bodhi distractions — B., 13/1ff.[3)]; S., 3/7-8[4)]; 17/1ff.[5)];

[Contd.]
mṛga-prayuktān rathakāṁś ca haimān
ācakrire 'smai suhṛd-ālayebhyaḥ ..
vayo-'nurūpāṇi ca bhūṣaṇāni
hiraṇmayān hasti-mṛgāśvakāṁś ca .
rathāṁś ca go-putraka-saṁprayuktān
putrīś ca cāmīkara-rūpya-citrāḥ .. [B., 2/21-22]

1) tataḥ śrutvā rājā viṣaya-vimukhaṁ tasya tu mano
na śiśye tāṁ rātriṁ hṛdaya-gata-śalyo gaja iva .
atha śrānto mantre bahu-vividha-mārge sasacivo
na so 'nyat kāmebhyo niyamanam apaśyat suta-mateḥ ..

2) tatas tadā mantri-puro-hitau tau
bāṣpa-pratodā'bhihatau nṛpeṇa .
viddhau sad-aśvāv iva sarva-yatnāt
sauhārda-śīghraṁ yayatur vanaṁ tat .. [B., 9/1]

3) yaṁ Kāma-devaṁ pravadanti loke
Citrāyudhaṁ Puṣpa-śaraṁ tathaiva .
kāma-pracārādhipatiṁ tam eva
mokṣadviṣaṁ Māram udāharanti .. [B., 13/2]
tasyātmajā Vibhrama-Harṣa-Darpās
tisro 'rati-Prīti-Tṛṣaś ca kanyāḥ . [B., 13/3[ab]]
tato dhanuḥ puṣpamayaṁ gṛhītvā
śarāñ (°rān — sic) jagan-mohakarāṁś ca pañca .
so 'śvattha-mūlaṁ sasuto 'bhyagacchad
asvāsthyakārī manasaḥ prajānām .. [B., 13/7]
dravati saparipakṣe nirjite Puṣpa-ketau
jayati jita-tamaske nīrajaske maharṣau . [B., 13/72[ab]]

4) upaviśya tatra kṛta-buddhir acala-dhṛtir adri-rājavat .
Māra-balam ajayad ugram atho bubudhe padaṁ śivam
āhāryam avyayam (°yaṁ — sic) .. [S., 3/7]

5) ātapta-buddheḥ prahitātmano 'pi
svabhyasta-bhāvād atha kāma-saṁjñā .

[Contd.]

18. Prosperity — S., 10/18ff.[1] ; B., 2/1ff.[2] ;
19. Mendicants, sacrifices and heaven — B., 7/3ff.[3] ; S., 1/5ff.[4] ;

[Contd.]
paryākulaṁ tasya manaś cakāra
prāvṛṭsu vidyuj jalam āgateva .. [S., 17/7]
nirvāpya kāmāgnim ahaṁ hi dīptaṁ
dhṛty-ambunā pāvakam ambuneva .
hlādaṁ paraṁ sāṁpratam āgato 'smi
śītaṁ hradaṁ gharma ivāvatīrṇaḥ .. [S., 17/66]

1) hārān maṇīn uttama-kuṇḍalāni·
keyūra-varyāṇy atha nūpurāṇi .
evaṁ-vidhāny ābharaṇāni yatra
svargā'nurūpāṇi phalanti vṛkṣāḥ .. [S., 10/23]
vaidūrya-nālāni ca kāñcanāni
padmāni vajrāṅkura-kesarāṇi .
sparśa-kṣamāṇy uttama-gandhavanti
rohanti niṣkampa-talā nalinyaḥ .. [S., 10/24]

2) ā janmano janma-jarāntagasya
tasyātmajasyātmajitaḥ sa rājā .
ahany ahany artha-gajāśva-mitrair
vṛddhiṁ yayau sindhur ivāmbu-vegaiḥ .. [B., 2/1]

3) kīrṇaṁ tathā puṇyakṛtā janena
svargābhikāmena vimokṣa-kāmaḥ .
tam āśramaṁ so 'nucacāra dhīras
tapāṁsi citrāṇi nirīkṣamāṇaḥ .. [B., 7/10]
kecij jala-klinna-jaṭā-kalāpā
dviḥ pāvakaṁ juhvati mantra-pūrvam . [B., 7/17ab]
tato havir-dhūma-vivarṇa-vṛkṣaṁ
tapaḥ-praśāntaṁ sa vanaṁ viveśa .. [B., 7/32cd]
abhyuddhṛta-prajvalitāgnihotraṁ
kṛtābhiṣekarṣi-janāvakīrṇam .
jāpya-svanākūjita-deva-koṣṭhaṁ
dharmasya karmāntam iva pravṛttam .. [B., 7/33]

4) yatra sma mīyate Brahma
kaiścit kaścin (kaiścin — sic) na mīyate . .

[Contd.]

10/18ff.[1] ;

10. *Ornate metres* — The cantos of a mahā-kāvya should be composed in sonorous classical metres[2]. As a general rule, a single ornate metre is to be used in a canto[3]. This regulation may be relaxed in some cases where several metres may be employed within the same canto[4]. But every canto must end in some metres different from those already used in the body of that canto[5]. It is obvious that this variation in rhythm was intended to drive away the monotony of versification. Further, this change of the metres is coupled with that of the topic suggested towards the close of the canto.

[Contd.]
kāle nimīyate somo
na cākāle pramīyate .. [S., 1/15]
nirapekṣāḥ śarīreṣu dharme yatra sva-buddhavaḥ .
saṁhṛṣṭā iva yatnena tāpasās tepire tapaḥ . .
[S., 1/16]

The particle "iva" (in 'c' of the latter verse) in the sense of utprekṣā leads towards a vastu-dhvani that self-mortification, as an improper process, defeats the final purpose of sad-dharma. There is also a sly dig at the rigorous penances practised in the Hinduistic and other heretic schools of religious discipline. The same note of propa ganda is in consonance with the B., 12/103 which runs as follows :—

kṣut-pipāsā-śrama-klāntaḥ śramād asvastha-mānasaḥ .
prāpnuyān manasāvāpyaṁ phalaṁ katham anirvṛtaḥ ..

1) mandāra-vṛkṣāṁś ca kuśeśayāṁś ca
puṣpānatān kokanadāṁś ca vṛkṣān .
ākramya māhātmya-guṇair virājan
rājāyate yatra sa pārijātaḥ .. [S., 10/26]

2) sargair ...... śrāvya-vṛttaiḥ ...... [Daṇḍin, 1/18[cd]]

3) eka-vṛttamayaiḥ padyair ...... [Viśvanātha, 6/320[a]]

4) nānā-vṛttamayaḥ kvāpi sargaḥ kaścana dṛśyate .
[Viśvanātha, 6/321[ab]]

5) sarvatra bhinna-vṛttāntair upetaṁ ...... [Daṇḍin, 1/19[ab]]
...... avasāne 'nya-vṛttakaiḥ .
...... "avasāne 'nya-vṛttakaiḥ" iti bahu-vacanam avivakṣitam .
[Viśvanātha, 6/320[b] with the svopajña-vṛtti]

However, it has to be added in this context that in each case a metre must be appropriate to the predominant or subordinate sentiment in question. Any violation of this rule would give rise to the literary flaw termed hata-vṛttatva. Again, the metrical irregularities in respect of the place of caesura (even in spite of the otherwise correct features of the metres) and prosodial quantity would lead to the same blemish[1].

Now, in Aśvaghoṣa's two mahā-kāvyas, the B. and the S., we find in use various jingling metres[2] which are known to us from Piṅgala's Chandaḥ-sūtra, Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra and the wide range of the classical literature. Thus, there are verses composed in the popular metres like Vasanta-tilaka, Mālinī, Śārdūla-vikrīḍita, etc. Besides these there are also instances of some rare forms of metres like Śarabhā, Kusumita-latā-vellitā, Vardhamāna, etc.[3] which have died out of use in the later ornate literature. Further, there are several verses in the extremely complex viṣama-vṛtta termed Udgatā. Moreover, there are two verses in the long metre named Suvadanā[4].

However, from the two ornate epics, the B. and the S., we get a fair idea of the metrical Schatz of the early classical literature about the beginning of the Christian era. Of these two epics, again, the S. exhibits a richer variety of metres.

Anyway, the printed textual portions of the different cantos of the

1) hataṁ lakṣaṇānusaraṇe 'py aśravyam, aprāpta-guru-bhāvānta-laghu, rasā'nanuguṇaṁ ca vṛttaṁ yatra tat hata-vṛttam . [Mammaṭa's Kāvya-prakāśa, Chapter VII]

2) Many of these metres have been used by Aśvaghoṣa in his Ś. as well. The topic pertaining to the metrical analysis of that drama would be taken up later on under the Prakaraṇa features.

3) The mnemonic schemes and other technicalities of these archaic metres have been noted above in Chapter II and it is needless to repeat them here.

4) A metrical analysis of the B. and the S. has been attempted by Johnston [B., Part II, Introduction, pp. 63ff.] and so we refrain from recapitulating the details recorded by him.

two mahā-kāvyas show that generally one metre has been allotted to the body of each canto though there are some exceptions to this normal rule. But the end of every canto [excepting obviously the last one in the case of the S. (as well as of the B. in its Tibetan and Chinese translations)] is marked invariably with a metrical change necessitated due to a suggestive turn in the standing topic of narration.

It is also palpable that the attractive garb of the ornate metres given to the two afore-said epics does not run contrary to the sentiments in question.

However, the various features discussed above characterise conjointly a mahā-kāvya. It is indeed desirable for giving a fair idea of this type of kāvyas that all the characteristics should be present[1] But the absence of some minor or uncalled-for elements like descriptive pieces would not affect the mahā-kāvyatva in question provided such a departure is counterbalanced with a proper treatment of the principal features like rasas, guṇas and alaṅkāras[2]. Thus it is

---

1) .. ... lokānugrahatayā apramuktaiḥ sarvair aṅgair bhavitavyam ity abhiprāyaḥ . [The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin, 1/20]

2) nyūnam apy atra yaiḥ kaiścid aṅgaiḥ kāvyaṁ na duṣyati .
yady upātteṣu sampattir ārādhayati tadvidaḥ ..
[Daṇḍin, 1/20]

nagarārṇavādy-aṅgeṣu kānicid aṅgāni yeṣu na dṛśyante teṣāṁ aṅga-vaikalyāt kiṁ duṣṭatvam ? nety āha ...... guṇā'laṅkārā'tiśayaḥ kāvyavidāṁ cetaś-camatkāraṁ karoti cet aṅga-vaikalyaṁ na doṣāya . [Taruṇa-Vācaspati's commentary on Daṇḍin above]

yaiḥ kaiścid aṅgaiḥ hīnam api na duṣyati ...... [nagarā"diṣu varṇanīyeṣv aṅgeṣu ?] kaiścid iti udāsīnoktir iyam ...... tadvidaḥ lakṣaṇavidaḥ rasavidaḥ paṇḍitān ...... [The Hṛdayaṅgama commentary on Daṇḍin above]

... yaiḥ kaiścid yathāsambhavaṁ tu madhu-pāna-kumārodaya parvata-varṇanādibhir nyūnaṁ rahita[m a]pi, na ke[va]laṁ pūrṇaṁ kāvyaṁ mahā-kāvyaṁ na varjyate sadbhir upādīyata ity arthaḥ . [Ratnaśrījñāna's Ratnaśrī on Daṇḍin above]

evident that the minor features ought to be introduced in a mahā-kāvya as far as practicable.

Now, in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. we can trace most of the characteristics mentioned above.

Anyway, the chief features along with the minor ones lend an immense popularity and a lasting value to a mahā-kāvya[1].

From the foregoing discussions it is therefore evident that Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S. have every claim to be termed mahā-kāvyas in the light of the a posteriori technicalities known to us from the post-Aśvaghoṣan texts on Sanskrit poetics. It is also clear that the amorphous ideas about a mahā-kāvya which served as a somewhat norm before Aśvaghoṣa for the composition of the B. and the S could not have been removed far in essence and aspects from the codified theories as well as the actual time-honoured, practice in the shape of the existing lot of specimens of the later periods of time. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa's inferable adherence to the fluid laws floating in the circle of poets and literary critics of the early classical period lent approved shapes to his natural poetic talent. The quality of his poetry has thus drawn admiration of his posterity[2].

After the above analysis of the theoretical aspects of the mahā kāvya-lakṣaṇas and the search for the corresponding aspects in Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S we may now turn to his Ś. in order to examine it in the light of the prevalent theories about the prakaraṇa type of drama confirmed with the help of the practice in the forms of other prakaraṇa specimens.

As in our previous theoretical analysis of the mahā-kāvya characteristics along with the appropriate practical references to the corresponding features traceable in the B. and the S., so also in the present treatment of the Ś. we propose to pursue the same procedure by placing the dramaturgic rules pertaining to a prakaraṇa and

---

1) kāvyaṁ kalpāntarasthāyi jāyeta ...... [Daṇḍin, 1/19[cd]]

2) As we have seen above, Hsüan-Tsang and I-tsing have eulogised the high quality of Aśvaghoṣa's poetry.

examining in their light as far as practicable the relevant remnants of passages cited from the Ś.[1]

But before we enter into the diverse details of our discussion we point out once again at the outset to the fact that the Ś. is a torso and as such our deductions had to be based naturally on the preserved portions of the two textual recensions as could be reconstructed out of the extant fragments of the two hitherto unearthed manuscripts. It must therefore be emphasized that the limitations of the mutilated state of the text have rendered a complete and proper treatment of certain theoretical characteristics neither feasible nor necessary for lack of corroboration from the corresponding aspects of the edited torso.

After these preliminary remarks we may now take up the thread of the discussion as follows :—

1. *The connotation of the term "Prakaraṇa"* — Prakaraṇa, like nāṭaka, is one of the ten rūpakas (= principal types of drama)[2].

---

1) It has to be noted in this context that our present knowledge of the Sanskrit text of Aśvaghoṣa's R., as we have recorded in Chapter II above, is limited lamentably to the extent of a single brief sentence in prose as a mere stage direction at the outset of the prologue to this drama, and that the selfsame sentence is found to have been cited in Dharmakīrtti's Vāda-nyāya and Cakradhara's Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga (on Jayanta-Bhaṭṭa's Nyāya-mañjarī). It is therefore useless to accord any separate treatment to the R. for dwelling in full on the technical details from the theoretical point of view and evaluating in that light the corresponding usages borne out by this drama. It cannot be denied that a nāṭaka has certain features in common with a prakaraṇa, and that the R. ought to have been like the Ś. in respect of some sāmānya-guṇas. But the meagre text of the R. excludes the question of a profitable discussion on such probables because any substantiation from the remaining portions of this drama will not be practicable. So we leave aside the unnecessary technical aspects of the R. and restrict ourselves to the requisite particulars of its prologue only together with the similar prologue of the Ś. in order to have a consummate picture of Aśvaghoṣa's ideas about the same topic.

2) nāṭakaṁ atha prakaraṇaṁ bhāṇa-vyāyoga-samavakāra-ḍimāḥ .
īhāmṛgā-'ṅka-vīthyaḥ prahasanam iti rūpakāṇi daśa . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/3]

The former is said to have emanated as an important species from the latter which being the full-fledged rūpaka par excellence serves as the genus of the remaining nine forms of rūpaka[1]. Thus the former has been permitted to retain naturally certain technical particulars which are derived directly from the nucleus of the latter. Besides these common characteristics of derived nature there are also some special aspects in the former which have no counterparts in the latter. In other words, prakaraṇa has several features in common with nāṭaka and these analogous properties (sāmānya-guṇas) are to be known from the standard nāṭaka-lakṣaṇas through atideśa-vidhi. But prakaraṇa possesses some exclusive aspects (viśeṣa-guṇas) which are not covered with the said atideśa-vidhi and which thus go to distinguish prakaraṇa from nāṭaka. By the sāmānya-guṇas we are to understand the number of the Acts, interludes, five sandhis, etc.[2] and by the viśeṣa-guṇas we have to comprehend the fabrications in respect of the plot (= prakaraṇa-śarīra = prakaraṇa-bīja = prakaraṇopāya) unravelling gradually and converging at length towards its dénouement (= prakaraṇa-vastu = prakaraṇa-sādhya-phala), and the hero (= nāyaka) whom all actions cluster round. It is the novelty of the distinguishing features (= viśeṣa-guṇas) which determines the terminology "prakaraṇa". As per rules, the plot with its diverse scenes depicting the weal and woe of the bourgeois life — and especially the peculiar secular paraphernalia of realistic roles, events and settings in the miśra or saṅkīrṇa variety — should be invented entirely by a talented dramatist. The dramatist has also been allowed the liberty in certain cases of retelling an old tale derived from Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat-kathā or some popular source like this store-house of stories. But in such a case the wings of originality have to hover within a sphere of self-imposed limitations. Anyway, a prakaraṇa with an array of varied living characters is a vivacious variety of the rūpakas where we might feel the genuine life-throbbings of the

1) prakṛtitvād athānyeṣāṁ bhūyo rasa-parigrahāt .
sampūrṇa-lakṣaṇatvāc ca pūrvaṁ nāṭakam ucyate . .
[Dhanañjaya's Daśa-rūpaka, 3/1]

2) The requisite details of the relevant sāmānya-guṇas and, in particular, the viśeṣa-guṇas would be clarified in course of our subsequent discussions.

glowing aspiration and sombre despair of the different grades of the mediocrity. This moderate kind of drama thus pulsates with a democratic appeal and is distinct from the grand regal drama (nāṭaka) of traditional plot and aristocratic grandeur. However, it is to the inventive aspects, viz., the vastu, śarīra (= bīja) and nāyaka, that the nomenclature "prakaraṇa" owes its origin[1].

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. has been rightly termed a "prakaraṇa". A thorough study of the printed textual remains of the two MSS. traditions of this drama would give us some ideas regarding the realistic plot[2] with its scenes, settings[3], nirvāṇa dénouement and the

---

1) The term "prakaraṇa" may be derived and explained as follows :— prakarṣeṇa kavi-pratibhā-balāt kriyante nāṭaka-prakṛti-bhinnatayā udbhāvyante vastu sampādyaṁ phalam (upeyaṁ vā), śarīraṁ bījam (upāyo vā), nāyako rājetara-netṛ-prakṛtiś ca yasmin rūpaka-viśeṣe tat prakaraṇam ity adhikaraṇe lyuṭā ["karaṇā-'dhikaraṇayoś ca" — Pāṇini, 3/3/117] vidheyam.

The above derivation is corroborated by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra as cited below :—

prakarṣeṇa kriyate kalpyate netā, phalaṁ, vastu [to be taken here in the sense of "śarīram" or "bījam"] vā vyasta-samastatayā 'treti prakaraṇam ...... [The svopajña-vivṛti on the Nāṭya-darpaṇa, 2/66-67]

In the present context we might refer to an idle suggestion of some modern scholar that a prakaraṇa is so termed because it is a big drama consisting of many Acts. But in the light of the foregoing interpretation and quotation this explanation would be proved to be vitiated with the ativyāpti-doṣa inasmuch as the permitted range of a prakaraṇa is the same as in the case of a nāṭaka.

2) The plot of the Ś. as deducible from the printed texts of the reconstructed fragments along with apt references to the relevant passages of the B. and the S. and in comparison with the Mahā-vagga and Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā stories has been considered in details in Chapter II above.

3) Some regular prakaraṇa settings like an old garden, an old tank, etc. have been noted above in Chapter II.

Brāhmaṇa hero Śāriputra (alias Somadatta ?)[1]. This drama with two heroines, viz., an anonymous kula-strī (= Somadatta's wife; presumably of Brāhmaṇic caste by birth ?), whose presence in the list of the dramatis personae is inferable from a reference to the house of Somadatta's father-in-law[2], and a hetaera [gaṇi(kā)] named Maga(dhavatī)[3], and the diabolical (dhūrta) foil to the hero (i. e., the pratināyaka) designated as the Duṣṭa[4] (corresponding to the Śakāra of the later dramas), Dhanaṁjaya, the witty Viṭa-like negotiator in love between Somadatta and Magadhavatī, and other typical minor roles befitting the miśra or saṅkīrṇa variety, thus show

---

1) The question of the identity between the two names Śāriputra and Somadatta, which refer to the one and the same person has been dealt with in Chapter II above.

2) Dhānaṁ [apparently a scribal error for Dhanaṁ (< Dhanaṁjaya)] — gatā[']si Somadattassa [obviously a scribal error for °ttasya] śvaśura-kulam [laṁ — sic] — ......

[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13a, l. 3 (to be read in the reconstructed form along with frg. no. K 103a, l. 1)]

3) The relationship of Śāriputra, the hero, with his wife of unknown name and Magadhavatī, the hetaera, appears to have been based on the social sanction in India of the early Christian era. But this peculiarity of a miśra or saṅkīrṇa prakaraṇa does not develop into triangular complexities because the theorists of dramaturgy have debarred, as a general rule, the two heroines from meeting each other on the stage in any scene. The hero is not made to meet them together for avoiding unpleasant complications. However, this collocation of the two heroines may take place in exceptional cases if the plot of the play so necessitates. But in such cases the two heroines of different categories have been allotted different tongues, the lady speaking in Sanskrit and the hetaera in the Śaurasenī dialect.

4) As we have seen in Chapter II above, the villain and other popular roles belong to the Ś. itself — and not to the so-called "Hetaera Drama". The widely circulated three-drama theory has been exploded earlier through coordination of the Ś. fragments which are apportioned wrongly to the Ś. itself and two other supposedly existing Buddhistic dramas.

the different secular aspects fabricated and clustered around the nirvāṇa kernel. The extent of Aśvaghoṣa's historical imagination would be proved through a comparison of the surmised plot of the Ś. with the Mahā-vagga story as well as the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā version[1]. It is evident that Aśvaghoṣa utilised the Mahā-vagga source for the central theme of the Ś., viz., the conversion into Buddhism of Śāriputra and his friend Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha through Aśvajit, and introduced into the texture of the nirvāṇa-dominated basic plot the typical attractive features of a miśra prakaraṇa. It is amazing how the skeleton of the story as given in a few verses could be clothed in the garb of a realistic prakaraṇa in 9 Acts.

It is therefore justifiable to say that the novelties of the bīja, vastu and nāyaka of the Ś. prove conjointly the technical significance of this drama.

2. *The title of a Prakaraṇa* — The title of a prakaraṇa should be significant enough to give an idea of some important aspect of the plot. As a general rule, the names of both the hero and the heroine are to be mentioned in the title of such a play[2]. But this rule may be relaxed in certain cases where the name of the hero or the heroine only or some scene of cardinal importance is to be mentioned[3].

The above theories are also confirmed by the actual practice of the classical prakaraṇas.

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. appears to have been entitled after the name

---

1) The points of deviation from the Mahā-vagga source and those of innovation apparently attempted by Aśvaghoṣa in the Ś. have been discussed earlier in Chapter II.

2) nāyikā-nāyakākhyānāt saṁjñā prakaraṇādiṣu .

[Viśvanātha, 6/143[ab]]

nāyikayā sahito nāyako nāyikā-nāyakaḥ [iti śāka-(priya-) pārthivādivan madhyama-padalopī karmadhāraya-samāsaḥ samāśrayaṇīyaḥ] . anyathaika-(śeṣa-)prasaṅgāt . ..... [Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha above]

3) ..... etat prāyikaṁ ; tena Saugandhikā-haraṇādi-saṁjñāpi . [Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha, 6/143[ab] quoted above]

of the hero[1], Śāriputra, whose conversion into Buddhism forms the central theme of this play.

3. *The types of a Prakaraṇa* — A prakaraṇa is divided into three types in accordance with the nature and number of the heroines. Where there is only one heroine and she is a lady (= kula-strī) the prakaraṇa is classed as śuddha.

Again, a prakaraṇa is termed aśuddha (or vikṛta) where there is only one heroine and she is a hetaera.

Lastly, a prakaraṇa is called miśra (or saṅkīrṇa) where there is provision for a lady and a hetaera. But in this last type the two heroines of different categories are not permitted to meet each other on the stage in any scene of the play[2]. The lady should be represented as remaining indoors while the harlot has to stay outdoors. However, this last variety also abounds in roles like rogues, rakes (= viṭas), servants, etc.[3]

Now, Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. should be classed under the third variety inasmuch as it has two heroines, viz., Somadatta's wife of unknown name and the hetaera named Magadhavatī, the villain designated "Duṣṭa" (corresponding to the Śakāra of the later dramas), the

---

1) Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa has been termed similarly after the name of the hero, Cārudatta.

2) If the meeting between the kulajā and the gaṇikā is necessitated by the plot then the former should speak in Sanskrit and the latter in the Śaurasenī dialect. The question of the distribution of Sanskrit and the different Prākṛtas has been touched upon earlier and will be dilated upon later on.

3) nāyikā tu dvidhā netuḥ kula-strī gaṇikā tathā .
kvacid ekaiva kulajā veśyā kvāpi dvayaṁ kvacit ..
kulajābhyantarā bāhyā veśyā nātikramo 'nayoḥ .
ābhiḥ prakaraṇaṁ tredhā saṁkīrṇaṁ dhūrta-saṁkulam ..
[Dhanañjaya's Daśa-rūpaka, 3/45]

nāyikā kulajā kvāpi veśyā kvāpi dvayaṁ kvacit .
tena bhedās trayas tasya tatra bhedas tṛtīyakaḥ ..
kitava-dyūtakārādi-viṭa-ceṭaka-saṁkulaḥ .
[Viśvanātha, 6/226-227[ab]]

Viṭa-like Dhanaṁjaya and the ceṭa whose name has been abbreviated as "Gobaṁ" [< Govaṁ° < Govardhana ?][1].

4. *The plot of a Prakaraṇa* — As we have seen earlier, the plot of a prakaraṇa should be entirely invented by a dramatist. He may however recast an old story from some source like Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhat-kathā by adding here and there some typical imaginative patches to suit his needs. But here too the inventive aspect should have to be stressed by him.

The difference therefore lies in degree alone — and not in kind. After all, it is to this originality that a prakaraṇa owes its name.

As we know, this speciality of a prakaraṇa is to be shown with regard to the body of the plot, its dénouement and its hero.

Further, the structure of the plot requires some suitable interludes.

Moreover, the story with its typical settings and pack of characters should be full of actions and all these actions are to take place on the earth.

Now, the plot of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś.[2] appears to have been based on the Mahā-vagga record of the legend about the conversion of Śāriputra and his friend Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha through Aśvajit. The legendary account had to be supplemented by Aśvaghoṣa with his historical imagination which fancied some appropriate prakaraṇa settings, characters and events apparently in pursuance of some fluid laws of dramaturgy which were prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era and known to Aśvaghoṣa. Thus we find that the edited fragments of the Ś. refer to some regular

---

1) The allotment of the different Prākṛtas to such characters has been referred to beforehand and will be discussed further later on.

2) The story of the Ś. has been considered in Chapter II above in comparison with the brief account of the conversion of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana in some verses of the B., the similar story in the Mahā-vagga and the later version in the Dhamma-pad-āṭṭha-kathā. The points of deviation and innovation have also been noted in that context.

secular features of a miśra prakaraṇa[1] like musical soirée (or carnival) on the valley of Rājagṛha, the five-hill city (= giry-agra-samāja or girikāgra-°)[2], house of a harlot[3], vehicle[4], old garden[5], deserted pond[6] and throttling scene[7]. Such popular elements of a saṅkīrṇa

---

1) As we have seen in Chapter II above, such regular features of a miśra prakaraṇa find their counterparts in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa and Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa.

2) ...... (g)i(r)i(yagga-sa)mājaṅ ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 22a, l. 3]
...... giriyagga-samājassa ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 45b, l. 1]
...... girikagga... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 84a, l. 2]

3) ...... (ma)hanto khu āmodo gaṇikā-kule ...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 50a, l. 2 and reconstructed later on into folio no. K IV, reverse side, l. 3]

4) (pravahaṇ)ārūḍhake(na) nikkhantā sarvve — ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, l. 3]
...... pavahaṇaṁ āgacchati ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 16b, l. 2]
...... pavahaṇa-potakaṁ vāhayamā ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 30 (including frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105) a, l. 3]
(prava)haṇārūḍhakena (ga)ṇi(k)ā ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 41a, l. 2]

It should be noted here that the above references testify to the use of improvised ("pusta") vehicles on the stage and the appropriate gesticulations (āṅgika abhinaya) of the drivers and passengers in getting into and alighting from such vehicles.

5) Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — (jiṇ)ṇuy(ā)n...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, l. 1]
...(ñ) j(iṇ)ṇu(yāna)... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 66b, l. 1]

6) ... jiṇṇa-pokkha(riṇī) ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 88b, l. 2]

7) [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ...ḷakena yo ... (ni)russāsaṁ kariya idāni kathañci ussasati — ... [Gobaṁ — ?] ... gacchamāne n(i)lussāsaṅ kaleti — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — kathaṁ kathaṁ nilussā(saṁ) ...... [Ś., frg no. (K) 30 (including frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105) a, ll. 1-2]

[Duṣṭaḥ — ?] ... (kaṇ)ṭha-baddhe kaṇṭha-viṭṭhit(ālā)n[e ?] śa(ṁ)vutt(e) — ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 53a, l. 1 (in the reconstructed and revised form)]

prakaraṇa appear to have been worked out after the set patterns approved by some pre-Aśvaghoṣan theories on dramatic technique and followed later on by the pro-Bharatan dramatists.

Further, the edited fragments of the Ś. which are available to us in print do not enable us to pronounce any categorical judgment on the preserved presence of any interlude[1].

However, the action of the Ś. appears to have taken place in the different parts of the hilly city of Rājagṛha in Magadha[2].

5. *The extent of a Prakaraṇa* — According to the theorists on

---

1) But we might be permitted to place on record in the present context our humble suggestion that the preserved textual portion of the allegorical scene [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1] with the three middling female characters, viz., Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrtti, the personifications of the three important virtues of the Buddha [and as such three essential aspects of Buddhism in Aśvaghoṣa to be dilated upon in the next chapter], conversing with one another in Sanskrit on their mutual interdependence, inseparable relationship with the nature of the Buddha [and hence Buddhism in Aśvaghoṣa], and giving the whereabouts of the Buddha, his sojourn in a garden of Magadha-pura [= Rājagṛha ?], and finally ushering in his entry into the stage, has the appearance of a śuddha viṣkambha[ka].

2) ...... — Dhṛtiḥ — ...... eṣa hi sa maharṣir Magadha-purasyopavane samprati ...... viharati ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 11. 3-4]

...... Bṛhadrathenā[']tirathena nirmitaṁ svalaṅkṛta koṭṭe avappa-pākāra-pa(r)ikhaṁ nagaraṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 7, reverse side, 11. 1-2 (to be read along with the later restorations)]

...... ni(v)asiya ajja Rājagaha-visayaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 27b, 1. 1]

...... ajjāp(i) ca Rājagahaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 62a, 1. 2]

...... Rājagṛ(h)...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 115a, 1. 1]

Apart from the above passages which refer directly to Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, the proper name "Magadhavatī" given to the hetaera heroine appears to contain an indirect reference to the same city.

dramaturgy the range of a prakaraṇa varies between five and ten Acts. This feature of a prakaraṇa is in common with that of a nāṭaka[1].

Now, the edited fragments of the two textual traditions of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. which we find in print give us some ideas of the original size of this drama and some Acts. Thus, the folio designated C 4, reverse side, l. 4[2] points out clearly to the fact that the text of this drama must have been complete in nine Acts. Besides this decisive proof of the ninth and the last Act there are also incontrovertible evidences in favour of the end of Act I followed by the beginning of Act II[3], and the conclusion of Act II coupled with the starting of Act III[4]. But it is noteworthy that none of these Acts has been given any appropriate title. This fact bears a clear testimony to the archaic simplicity[5] of the Ś. However, a thorough study of the Ś. fragments would land us in the conclusion that we have at our disposal certain scenes of Acts I, II, III and IX (and possibly of Act VIII as well). But the MSS. remains would not allow us to make any categorical assertion beyond these[6].

---

1) vinā viśeṣaṁ sarveṣāṁ lakṣma nāṭakavan matam . .
sarveṣāṁ prakaraṇādi-rūpakāṇāṁ ......
pañcādikā daśa-parās tatrāṅkāḥ parikīrtitāḥ .. [Viśvanātha, 6/6^{cd} (with his svopajña-vṛtti) & 8^{cd}]

2) ... Śāriputra-prakaraṇe navamo 'ṅkaḥ 9 ... Śāradvatīputra-pprakaraṇaṁ (sic) samāptaṁ (sa)māptāni cāṅkāni nava ...
This portion of the text is not found in the corresponding reconstructed and readjusted folio designated K IV, obverse side, which is broken lamentably in the fifth line.

3) nikkhantā sarvve — pratha(m)o ('ṅkaḥ) ... ataḥ ...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, l. 3]

4) ... (n)ik(kh)antā ubhaye 2 [= dvitīyo 'ṅkaḥ] ... ataḥ ...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 45a, l. 3]

5) This tradition of pristine simplicity has been retained later on in Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa but abandoned still later in Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa where suitable titles have been given to the different Acts.

6) These points have been dealt with in greater details in Chapter II above. It is therefore needless to enter into any further particulars.

6. *The five sandhis* — The plot of a prakaraṇa, like that of a nāṭaka, should be arranged in accordance with the rules regarding the five sandhis. These sandhis are termed i) mukha, ii) pratimukha, iii) garbha, iv) vimarśa (or avamarśa) and v) nirvahaṇa (or upasaṁhāra or upasaṁhṛti[1]).

It is in the fifth and the last sandhi that adbhuta-khaṇḍa-rasa should be delineated[2].

Now, turning to the Ś. we find that though it is possible to surmise to a certain extent the story elements of this drama from the different fragments in comparison with other accounts, and to locate correctly the ends and the beginnings of some Acts still we are not given to determine with exactness the five sandhis in the structure of the plot of this play. Nevertheless it is understandable that the story of this drama ought to have been arranged properly and told gradually by maintaining the suspense until the dénouement of the whole plot could be reached. Moreover, a study of the extant portions of the text would help us to a great extent to pursue the trend of this drama towards the preaching of the Buddhistic theory of nairātmya against the ātma-grāha of Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics. But this aim had to be reached through the various actions of this drama marking the different appropriate stages of development converging towards and culminating ultimately in the intended dénouement. Thus this drama appears to have started with a divine discontent lying dormant within the mind of Śāriputra (or rather his faith in the ātma-vāda of the earlier Sāṁkhya-Yoga philosophy) which developed gradually into the psychological conflicts of an imperfect polarity between the bādhya

---

1) nāṭakaṁ ... syāt pañca-sandhi-samanvitam .

[Viśvanātha, 6/7[ab] (to be read with 6/6[cd] and the svopajña-vṛtti thereon]

Technically speaking, the five sandhis are the combinations of the five artha-prakṛtis, viz., i) bīja, ii) bindu, iii) patākā, iv) prakarī and v) kārya with the five kāryāvasthās, viz., i) [pr]ārambha, ii) [pra]yatna, iii) prāpty-āśā, iv) niyatāpti and v) phalāgama (or phala-yoga) respectively.

2) ... kāryo nirvahaṇe 'dbhutaḥ . . [Viśvanātha, 6/10[d] to be read in the context of 6/6[cd] and the svopajña-vṛtti thereon]

śṛṅgāra-saṁcāri-rasa as evoked by his anonymous wife and the hetaera named Magadhavatī on the one hand and the bādhaka aṅgibhūta śānta-rasa as revived through his association with Aśvajit, and at last ended in his firm conviction regarding the Buddhistic nairātmya-vāda and conversion into Buddhism. That this strong conviction in Śāriputra's mind brought upon a miraculous change in him could be noticed in his countenance[1] by his friend, the Vidūṣaka. This miraculous change shows no doubt the delineation of adbhuta-khaṇḍa-rasa in the nirvahaṇa-sandhi. In this sandhi we notice a combination of kārya and phalāgama in the conversion of the hero, Śāriputra, and Maudgalyāyana into Buddhism, and the attainment of sad-dharma-phala by these two friends as depicted in the concluding scene of their meeting with the Buddha which is found scattered over the folios designated C 1, C 2 and C 4 of the "C" manuscript, and K I and K IV of the "K" manuscript[2]. This much of the nirvahaṇa-sandhi can thus be stated with some amount of certainty. Beyond these data about the last sandhi we are not in a position to make any categorical statements of technical value in respect of the remaining first four sandhis.

---

1) ..... — Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] — (bho upa)jjhāya [= Aśvajit ?] e(tassa pavva)jitassa vacanaṁ suṇiya apuru(va-mukha-vaṇṇena) añ(ñ)aṁ viya ...... [Ś., frg. nos. K 14, 15 & 32 (later on reconstructed and readjusted together into a folio), obverse side, l. 3]

2) Some pointed references might be cited below :—

..... — (Buddhaḥ —) ..... asmāt siddhānta-prativedhād uddhṛta-vividha-dṛṣ(ṭ)i-(śa)lyayo(ḥ) ..... [Ś., folio no. C 4, reverse side, ll. 1-2]

..... (a) [= asmāt ?] ..... (dṛṣṭ)i-(śalyay)o(ḥ) ..... [Ś., folio no. K IV (reconstructed and readjusted out of frg. nos. K 89b, l. 1 ; 50b, l. 4, etc.), obverse side, l. 4]

In the above excerpts the expressions relating to the extraction of the vividha-dṛṣṭi-śalyas and the conviction of the Buddha's nairātmya-siddhānta stand respectively for the conversion, which is the kārya, and the attainment of the sad-dharma, which is nothing but the phalāgama.

7. *Particulars of some dramatis personae* — As we know, a prakaraṇa is a bourgeois drama which pulsates with the weal and woe of the mediocrity. Thus in respect of the roles and the plot a prakaraṇa is ranked below a nāṭaka which is normally centred round a royal personage. Nevertheless a prakaraṇa — especially of the miśra (or saṅkīrṇa) variety — exhibits a wide range of characters and scenes. Now we propose to treat below with the requisite theoretical particulars regarding some characters of a miśra prakaraṇa and see how far these details may be traceable in the corresponding roles of the Ś.

i) *Hero* — The hero of a prakaraṇa, unlike that of a nāṭaka, cannot be a king supported by some divine being in a side role[1] The prakaraṇa hero should be a Brāhmaṇa or a minister or a merchant[2]. In any case he should be of the dhīra-praśānta type[3]. Again, his proper name should normally end in "°-datta" or "°-dāsa"[4].

Now, the hero of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. is evidently Śāriputra. He is otherwise referred to as Upatiṣya[5]. Further, he has to be identified

---

1) ..... na-divya-caritaṁ (na divya-° — sic) na-rāja-sambhogam (na rāja-° — sic).
..... prakaraṇaṁ ..... [Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, 18/49[abd]]

2) ..... nāyakas tu vipro 'mātyo 'thavā vaṇik .
[Viśvanātha, 6/225[ab]]

3) ..... nāyakas tu ..... dhīra-praśāntakaḥ .
[Viśvanātha, 6/225[ad]]

4) datta-dāsa-bhavaiḥ sarvair uttarasthair vaṇig-janaḥ .
[Sāgaranandin's Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa, vol. I, 2223, p. 93]
datta-prāyāṇi vaṇijāṁ ..... vaṇig Viṣṇudattādiḥ .
[Viśvanātha, 6/141[c] with the svopajña-vṛtti thereon]

5) ... .. (Ś)āri[putraḥ] — tasmād ātma-saṁ(s)ā(ra)sya ...... (Buddhaḥ —) (Upatiṣ)y(a) ... [Ś., folio designated C 1, obverse side, 1. 3]
...... Bu(ddha)[ḥ] — Upati(ṣya) ...... [Ś., folio designated C 1 (the same folio as noted above), reverse side, 1. 3]
...... (B)u(d)dh(aḥ) — U(patiṣ)y(a) ...... [Ś., folio designated K I, reverse side, 1. 1 (reconstructed out of frg. no. K 64a, 1. 1)]

with Somadatta[1]. It has to be noted that the proper name 'Somadatta" ends in "°-datta", and reminds the readers of the similar name "Cārudatta", the hero of Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa and of its later version, Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇa, which two also belong to the miśra variety of the prakaraṇas as the Ś.

However, Somadatta appears to have been a Brāhmaṇa by caste[2]. In this context we might be permitted to place on record a tempting suggestion that Somadatta, like Cārudatta of Bhāsa and Śūdraka noted above, was perhaps a merchant by profession[3].

Anyway, Somadatta (with two aliases, viz., Śāriputra and Upatiṣya) has been referred to variously in the stage directions and the speeches as "Somadatta" [4], "Śāradvatī[-putra]" [5], "Śāriputra" [6], "Śāri" (an abbreviated form of the full word "Śāriputra")[7], "Upatiṣya" [8],

---

1) We have discussed earlier in Chapter II above that "Somadatta" was the proper name of the hero whose matronymic was "Śāriputra" (or rather, in the fuller form, "Śāradvatīputra"), and that all these names referred to the one and the same person. This identification is based on the coordination of the fragments themselves which disprove decisively the popular three-drama theory.

2) .... sottiya-kula-sabhāvasa ...... Somadattena na bhuttaṁ ... [Ś., frg. no. K 30 (including frg. nos. 31, 42 & 105) b, 1. 2]

It is also striking that both Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana are narrated as born in two Brāhmaṇa families in the Mahā-vagga account and its later version in the Dhamma-pad-aṭṭha-kathā.

3) ...... yamānenās(m)i śreṣ(ṭh)i-put(r)e(ṇa) ...... [Ś., folio designated K IV, reverse side, 1. 2 (reconstructed out of the frg. nos. K 89a, 1. 1 ; 23a, 1. 1, etc.)]

4) ...... — Gaṇi[kā] — Somadatta ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 16a, 1. 3]

5) ...... — Dhānaṁ [a scribal error for Dhanaṁ(jaya)] — Śāradvatī[-putra] ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 10a, 1. 2]

6) ... — tataḥ praviśanti Śramaṇa-(Śār)i(putra-Maudgalyāyanāḥ) ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 54a, 1. 2]

7) ...... [—] (Ś)āri[putraḥ] — tasmād ātma-saṁ(s)ā(ra)sya ...... [Ś., folio designated C 1, obverse side, 1. 3]

...... — Śāri[putraḥ] — (a)...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 58a, 1. 1]

8) ...... Bu(ddha)[ḥ] — Upati(ṣya) ...... [Ś., folio designated C 1, reverse side, 1. 3]

Other extracts have been given above.

"Nāyaka" [1] and "Nāya" (an abbreviated form of the full word "Nāyaka")[2]. Thus the hero is sometimes referred to by his name in its fuller form, popular form, stage abbreviation and aliases, and sometimes by his designation in its full form and stage abbreviation[3] No uniformity is found to have been maintained.

However, the sober hero of the Ś. belongs evidently to the dhīra-praśānta type[4].

---

1) ...... praviśati nāyako Vid[ūṣa](k) ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 9a, 1. 1]
Nāyakaḥ smayate (°ti — sic) — ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 1. 4]

2) ...... — Nāya[kaḥ] — prathamaḥ kalpaḥ — ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, 1. 1]

3) These and several other similar stage abbreviations of the proper names and designations like "Maga[dhavatī]", "Gaṇi[kā]", "Vidū[ṣaka]", "Dhānaṁ" [a scribal error for "Dhanaṁ(jaya)"], etc., which we find scattered in the stage directions preserved in the printed fragments, would help us conjecture that the two manuscripts of the Ś. originally contained two stage-scripts of the same drama. Should we proceed further as to suggest that the Ś. was once enacted on the stage within the dominion of the Kuṣāṇas and during their regime ?

Anyway, one thing is certain that the occasional mention of the hero and some other roles by their designations points out to an old tradition practised by the scribes (and the dramatists themselves?) of the stage versions of dramas and this peculiar practice is also attested by Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa. But this old tradition is found to have died out of use in the later classical dramas where the roles are normally referred to by their respective names.

4) The different technicalities of a dhīra-praśānta nāyaka have been shown above in our analysis of the mahā-kāvya features.

However, it would be interesting to note in the present context that the word "dhīrodātta" occurs in the fragment no. (K) 53b, 1. 2 (to be read with the later restorations) as follows:—

...... parivārā hasantī dhīrodatta [°dātta ?] ......

[Contd.]

ii) *Two heroines* — We have seen earlier that according to the theorists on dramaturgy there should be two heroines in a miśra prakaraṇa and of these two the first has to be a lady (kulajā) and the second a courtezan (veśyā). The one has to remain indoors while the other has to stay outdoors. As a general rule, they should never meet each other on the stage in any scene. They may however meet each other under exceptional circumstances — if the plot of the play necessitates such a meeting — but on such occasions the lady should speak in Sanskrit and the hetaera in the Śaurasenī dialect.

Sometimes the hetaera comes out of her dwelling as an abhisārikā to meet her lover in a place of appointment.

Anyway, the name of the hetaera should end in "°-senā" [1] or "°-dattā" or "°-siddhā" or "°-lekhā" or "°-patākā".

Now, there are two heroines in the Ś. Of these two the first is Somadatta's wife of unknown name and the second his fiancée, a courtezan [Gaṇi(kā)] of Rājagṛha named Maga[dhavatī]. The name "Maga[dhavatī]" sounds rather unusual in the sense that it does not end in "°-dattā", etc. But this may not necessarily prove to be a deviation from the obviously a posteriori rule based on social and dramatic conventions because the rule in question is prāyika.

However, from a thorough scrutiny of the edited fragments it

[Contd.]

In this passage the word "dhīrodātta" should not be treated as a technical term applicable to Somadatta, the calm-natured hero, because that would go directly against the theory and practice of the prakaraṇas. The word in question should rather be looked upon as an adjective used in a non-technical sense [like the expression "vinīta-capala-madhura ......" in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 30a, 1. 2] if this adjective has to be construed with Somadatta at all.

1) senā lekhā patākā ca dattety uttaravartinī ..
sarveṇa saṁniyoktavyaṁ veśyānāṁ nāma peśalam .
[Sāgaranandin's Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa, vol. I, 2224-2225, p. 93]

dattāṁ siddhāṁ ca senāṁ ca veśyānāṁ nāma darśayet .
[Viśvanātha, 6/141ab]

would be clear that the two heroines do not appear to have met each other in any scene and that the hetaera speaks in an older form of the Śaurasenī dialect. But we are not given to say that the hetaera went on tryst to meet with Somadatta. Nevertheless one thing is certain that in a scene depicting some sort of a cocktail party (āpānaka = pāna-goṣṭhī) she is found to insist on Somadatta's drinking intoxicant wine in the presence of Dhanaṁjaya, the rake[1]. This scene obviously reflects the taste and life of the citizens (nāgara-vṛtta) approved by the Indian polygamous society about the beginning of the Christian era, and is quite in keeping with the objective rules as laid down in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra.

iii) *Vidūṣaka* — The term "Vidūṣaka" may be explained in three ways as follows :—

a) viśeṣeṇa punar-melanārthaṁ dūṣayati veśyāṁ nāgaraṁ vā kvacit pramādyantam apavadate labdha-praṇayatvād iti Vidūṣakaḥ ;

b) viśeṣeṇa āpātato (na tu pāryantikatayā — tathātve nāyaka-nāyikayor melana-prātikūlyena śṛṅgāra-bhaṅga-prasaṅgāt) dūṣayati melanaṁ sthagayati, sāpāyaṁ vā vidhatte, vilambayati vā vaidheyatvād, vācālatvāt, pramādād vā mantra-gupti-bhraṁśeneti Vidūṣakaḥ ;

c) viśeṣeṇa hāsena sāntvanena ca dūṣayati dūrīkaroti nāyaka-duḥkham iti Vidūṣakaḥ[2].

The threefold explanation given above shows clearly that a Vidūṣaka has to be a close companion of the hero (nāyaka-sahāya = anunāyaka). As an unselfishly[3] devoted friend of the

1) ... -Ga(ṇi)[kā] — (dā)ḷ(i)ma-vicūritena saso-vaccala-rucakena lavaḷī-phalāvadaṁ saṁ āsavam balakāreṇa pā(ya) ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, reverse side, ll. 1-2]

2) In any case the etymology of the word "Vidūṣaka" has to be shown as follows :—

vi- + √duṣ- (= ṇy-anta dhātu) + -[ṇ]vu[l]- (> -aka-) in the kartṛ-vācya.

This derivation fits in well with the connotation.

3) On the contrary, a Viṭa (= rake) is a selfish fellow. The particulars of a Viṭa will however be dealt with a little later.

hero under all circumstances (sarva-kāla-mitra) the Vidūṣaka acts as a dependable pander (kāma-saciva = narma-saciva) in the love-affair between the hero and the heroine, and sometimes plays the part of a reliable mediator (sandhi-vigraha-mantrin) in the love-quarrel of the couple. Further, as a faithful friend the Vidūṣaka is fond of both the hero and the heroine. Thus a Vidūṣaka is an amusing play-thing (krīḍanaka)[1] of the hero in sambhoga and dispels the despondence of the latter through consolation in vipralambha. Moreover, the conciliatory move taken by the Vidūṣaka averts a major crisis in the love-quarrel between the hero and the heroine and thus paves the path for the union of the couple even though his foolishness or garrulousness or carelessness may cause undesirable disclosure of love-secrets of the hero and thus stop or barricado or delay the union for the time being. In any case the Vidūṣaka plays an important part in the fruition of the love-affair between the hero and the heroine[2].

Besides this friendly association of the Vidūṣaka with the love-affair of the couple he has other functions to do. Thus, as one of the two pāripārśvikas (assistants) attached to the sūtradhāra (regisseur) he is required to play an indispensable role in the performance of the prastāvanā (= sthāpanā = āmukha = prelude) to the drama. His presence in the prarocanā is essential because he is regarded as one of the principal actors in the theatrical troupe.

Apart from this technical necessity the Vidūṣaka has another dramatic importance. He serves the purpose of comic relief which brings in a diversion (rasāntara) in a serious situation and aims at driving away the tense monotony. He evokes laughter through the abnormalities (vikāras) of his aṅga, vacas and veṣa. By his aṅga-hāsya or āṅgika aspect we are to understand his physical deformities,

---

1) This jocose companion of the hero was intended obviously as an object of public entertainment and the rule regarding the introduction of this popular element into the Sanskrit stage appears to have been formulated originally in answer to public demand. The social status of the Vidūṣaka will be determined a little later.

2) This point has a deeper technical significance that hāsya-rasa has to be subservient to śṛṅgāra-rasa and that there should thus be poṣya-poṣaka-bhāva between them.

natural or assumed by the actor concerned, and queer movements[1]. The vaco-hāsya or vācika aspect includes his hoarse voice and blatant speeches which consist mostly of cūrṇa (uncompounded) words and relate often to some silly or irrelevant topics. Sometimes his obtuse statements verge on vulgarity. Occasionally he also passes brief and witty remarks[2]. He is talkative and even quarrelsome at times. Again, his veṣa-hāsya (nepathya-hāsya) or āhārya aspect means his uncouth dress and make-up like a tawny monkey[3]. With all the unusualities about him the Vidūṣaka himself laughs and makes other people laugh at his cost.

The Vidūṣaka is after all a popular stock character of Sanskrit drama which thus makes a practical provision for the professional buffoon [„Narr"] of the society on the Sanskrit stage. In other words, the frolicsome role of the Vidūṣaka corresponds to the actual Vaihāsika [vividhena vikṛtāṅga-vaco-veṣātmakena hāsena jīvatīti ṭhakā bhāvyam ; = Clown] of the society as known to us from the realistic rules of Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra. The merry Clown is the confidant between his patron nāgara and some hetaera favoured by his patron. The Clown is thus a nāgara-sahacara. It is quite natural that this popular figure of mirth should find an easy access into the Sanskrit stage and pass gradually into a funny mannerism of Sanskrit drama. There is thus enough of stereotyped characteristics crystallized by stage conventions in the traditional Vidūṣaka. Nevertheless he has been accorded a despicable status by the society even though he is said to have belonged

---

1) An elaborate treatment of the particulars of this āṅgika aspect (like the ape-like appearance, hideous bald head, etc.) has been eschewed here in view of the fact that the Ś. fragments preserve some details of the vācika aspect only.

2) The clever jokes and prudent epigrams of a Vidūṣaka prove that he (as well as the actor impersonating such a role) is really an intelligent person though he pretends to be a typical fool.

3) We desist from going into the details of this āhārya aspect (like the cap, crooked stick, etc.) as we have to be concerned with the vācika aspect only of the Ś.

to the Brāhmaṇic caste[1]. As a Brāhmaṇa-bruva (= Bṛahma-bandhu = deteriorated Brāhmaṇa) he has been classed along with the lower community of the Śakāra (= Māgadhī-speaking villain), Viṭa (= rake), etc. The contemptible social standing of the Vidūṣaka points out clearly to the fact that he was originally an embodiment of degraded Brāhmaṇahood which was a pitiable object of scorn and ridicule in the society. In short, the Vidūṣaka is a subtle satire of the Indian society upon the follies of debased Brāhmaṇahood.

However, the proper name of a Vidūṣaka is usually some such word which is formed with the help of a taddhita-pratyaya (secondary suffix) in the sense of an apatya (offspring or scion)[2]. The proper name may also refer to some blossom or spring season or some such thing[3].

Now, let us turn to the Vidūṣaka in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś.[4] and see how

---

1) Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra opine that the Vidūṣaka of a Brāhmaṇa dhīra-praśānta hero should properly be a [muni- ?] śiṣya. The interesting passage in question may be cited below :

atha dhīroddhatādīnāṁ netṝṇāṁ pratyekaṁ vibhinnān Vidūṣakān āha —

snigdhā dhīroddhatādīnāṁ yathaucityaṁ viyoginām .
liṅgī dvijo rājajīvī śiṣyaś (śiṣyāś — sic) caite Vidūṣakāḥ . .

snigdhāḥ suhṛdaḥ . ādi-śabdād dhīro[dā]tta-dhīra-lalita-dhīra-śāntā gṛhyante . ..... aucitya'natikrameṇa ..... yathā-sambhavaṁ ..... ucitaś ca liṅgī devatānām, Brāhmaṇasya śiṣyaḥ, rājñāṁ tu śiṣyavarjās trayaḥ, evaṁ vaṇig-āder apīti . .

[Nāṭya-darpaṇa with the svopajña-vivṛti, 4/168]

2) taddhitāpatya-vihitaiḥ pratyayair Brāhmaṇādayaḥ .
rājño vidūṣakāmātya-sūta-kañcukinas tathā . .

[Sāgaranandin's Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa, vol. I, 2205-2206, p. 92]

3) kusuma-vasantādy-abhidhaḥ ...... vidūṣakaḥ syāt ......

[Viśvanātha, 3/42[ad]]

4) The popular three-drama theory has been exploded decisively in Chapter II above and it is therefore erroneous to hold that the Ś. and the so-called Hetaera-drama has one Vidūṣaka each and that these two Vidūṣakas are different from each other. The coordination of the

[Contd.]

far the afore-said technicalities can be traced in the printed fragments of this drama. There cannot be any dubiety about the fact that the popular role of a joker must have been introduced by Aśvaghoṣa in his Ś. in clear pursuance of the stage conventions regarding social dramas prevalent in his time. Moreover, such a familiar figure of frolic must have been intended by the preacher-kavi for captivating the commonalty about him and thereby preparing his way for an attractive preaching. Otherwise there cannot be any justification for introducing such an anti-nirvāṇa element in a decidedly nirvāṇa-kāvya[1]. Technically speaking, Kaumudagandha, the Vidūṣaka of the Ś., stands for hāsya-saṁcāri-rasa which fosters the relatively prominent śṛṅgāra-saṁcāri-rasa as suggested in the love-affair between Śāriputra (alias Somadatta), the hero, and Magadhavatī, the hetaera heroine. This hāsya-puṣṭa śṛṅgāra-saṁcāri-rasa, again, does not run contrary to the pāryantika aṅgibhūta śānta-rasa as delineated in Śāriputra's conversion because of the intervention of the sthāyi-bhāvavat vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa as suggested in Śāriputra's unshakable resolve for enlightenment. Therefore, hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasa does not affect śānta-rasa[2]. In other words, the frivolous Vidūṣaka does not virtually disturb the sober theme of the drama. The fact that his name and speeches are found in many fragments is a clear indicator of his appearance in several scenes even though we are not in a position to affirm the specific Acts in every case where he makes his appearance. Nevertheless one thing is quite certain that he is

[Contd.]

fragments themselves proves conclusively that they belong to the one and the same drama, viz., the Ś. by Aśvaghoṣa, and that there is therefore only one Vidūṣaka, viz., Kaumudagandha [= Sanskrit name restored from the dialectal form "Komudagandha"].

1) As we already know, the introduction of similar alluring elements in Aśvaghoṣa's other mokṣa-kāvyas has to be explained away in this manner.

2) The mutual relationship of śānta-rasa and the khaṇḍa-rasas, both favourable and apparently antagonistic to śānta-rasa, in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas in general will be discussed in full details later on. The technical rasa-mīmāṁsā will show the ways to virodha-parihāra and śānta-rasa synthesis.

present in the nirvahaṇa-sandhi where he marks the miraculous change in Śāriputra's countenance as a result of listening to some discourse on Buddhistic nairātmya-vāda (delivered by Aśvajit ?)[1]. This shows that Kaumudagandha is a close companion of Śāriputra till the most important turning point in the life of the latter. But we are not given to say whether the former helps the latter in the love-affair with the hetaera heroine named Magadhavatī though the collocation of Śāriputra, Magadhavatī and Kaumudagandha in some fragments might prove favourably. Anyway, Kaumudagandha has been judiciously left out of the last scene of the ninth and the last Act in order to suggest that this acknowledged element of hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasa would spoil the śānta-rasa dénouement.

After appreciating this positive proof of rasa-propriety and śānta-rasa synthesis we now propose to record our observations regarding the typical peculiarities of Kaumudagandha as a Vidūṣaka. At the outset we must remember the fact that the Ś. fragments supply us with some portions of the speeches of this Vidūṣaka which contain certain elements of his vaco-hāsya only and it is therefore useless to indulge in the idle speculations about his aṅga-hāsya and veṣa-hāsya which have not been recorded and as such cannot be verified in any way supposing even that the Ś. might have been enacted on the stage. However, the preserved portions of his speeches consist mostly of cūrṇa words. There are also a few compound words comprising not more than three members in each case[2]. His acrid repartee appears to have

---

1) ... — Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] — (bho upa)jjhāya [= Aśvajit ?] e(tassa pavva)jitassa vacanaṁ suṇiya apuru(va)-(mukha-vaṇṇena) añ(ñ)aṁ viya ... [Ś., folio reconstructed out of frg. nos. (K) 14, 15 & 32, obverse side, 1. 3]

This passage has also been cited above in connection with the delineation of adbhuta khaṇḍa-rasa in nirvahaṇa-sandhi.

2) ...... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — bho Dhānañjaya [a scribal error for Ḍhaṇa°] sigghaṁ miṭṭhā(')miṭṭhaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, 1. 2]

...... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — aï kileso gambhīra-vaṭu(m) ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 29b, 1. 2]

been recorded in his conversation with some Sanskrit-speaking monk[1]. He also seems to burst into laughter on one occasion[2]. His typical gluttony is also illustrated in some fragments[3].

---

1) ......] Tāpa(saḥ) — ?] ...... yaḥ svastho 'dhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ [a portion of some quarter of a verse in Hariṇī metre (= a sama-vṛtta with seventeen syllables in each quarter having caesuras after the sixth, tenth and seventeenth syllables) = (⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑) - - - - - ⏑ - ⏑ ⏑ - ⏑ -] ... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ......(nn)o 'ddhvānañ (sic) carāmi bubhukkhitoḥ bahu dadhi pi ......

[Ś., frg. no. (K) 34b, 11. 1-2]

The sardonic parody of the sober speech of the recluse by the gluttonous Vidūṣaka is discernible unmistakably in the retention of the selfsame Hariṇī metre and the introduction of the Sanskrit visarga sound (= guttural "ḥ") (despite its normal transformation into the gutturo-labial "o" sound) in the word "bubhukkhitoḥ" in the Old Śaurasenī dialect in order to give it a pseudo-Sanskrit garb. The bitterness of the sarcastic caricature of monkish self-mortification is also suggested through the deliberate retention of the Sanskrit conjunct "ddhv" in the word < 'ddhvānañ > which was no doubt intended to be pronounced with great mock-effort on the part of the professional Fool.

However, these features of a fine piece of raillery should not be mistaken for intentional patches of Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit or unwary cases of scribal error. This issue has already been raised in connection with the linguistic assessment of Aśvaghoṣa.

2) ..... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ...... hīhī (hihī — sic) aho sam......

[Ś., frg. no. (K) 95a, 1. 1]

From this meagre fragment it is not possible to assert whether this laughter is a hearty outburst of the Vidūṣaka's jovial mood or an expression of his bitter banter in some retort.

3) ... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — bho Dhānañjaya (a scribal error for Dhana°) sigghaṁ miṭṭhā(')miṭṭhaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, 1. 2]

...... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ...... bubhukkhitoḥ bahu dadhi pi ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 34b, 1. 2]

...... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ...... (ma)hanto khu āmodo gaṇikā-kule ...... [Ś., folio designated K IV, reverse side, 1. 3 (reconstructed out of frg. nos, K 50a, 1. 2 ; 23a, 1. 1, etc.)]

Further. he seems to belong to the Brāhmaṇa caste[1].

Lastly, his typical name, "Kaumudagandha" (in Sanskrit > "Komudagandha" in Old Māgadhī)[2], refers to kumuda flower and is formed with the help of an appropriate taddhita-pratyaya[3].

iv) *Duṣṭa* — Like the Gaṇikā and the Vidūṣaka discussed above, the Duṣṭa (= Villain) is also a realistic and popular role. His presence in an action-packed prakaraṇa has thus been necessitated by stage-conventions. He is known otherwise as the Dhūrta (= Knave) because of the evil designs he represents. He is also called the Śakāra (= Māgadhī-speaking Rogue) because of his typical speech-habit of uttering the palatal hard sibilant "ś" sound and reducing to it the other two hard sibilants, viz., the cacuminal "ṣ" and the dental "s" sounds.

However, the Duṣṭa resembles a Dhīroddhata hero in respect of the stubborn qualities[4].

Anyway, the Duṣṭa is an embodiment of the besetting sins. Thus, he is passionate and irascible by nature. He is also flippant and avaricious. As a brother-in-law of some king, he wears gaudy dress and jewels. He is a dullard and a boastful braggart. He is also dominated by jealousy, falsehood and cruelty, and devoted to deceit and witchcraft. In brief, he is a packetful of follies.

---

1) ...... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ... .. upadeso edisassa Bambhaṇa-janassa anuggāhako bh(āti) — ...... [Ś., folio reconstructed out of frg nos. (K) 14, 15 & 32, reverse side, 1. 3]

2) ..... — Duṣṭa[ḥ ?] — haṅgho Komudagandha ...... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — (jiṇ)ṇuy(ā)n ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 4, reverse side, 1. 1]

3) The relevant portion of the morphological process of the word "Kaumudagandha" may be shown as follows :—

kumudasya gandha iti kumudagandhaḥ [ṣaṣṭhī-samāsaḥ] ; kumuda-gandha iva gandho yasya sa iti Kumuda-gandhiḥ [aupamya-garbha upamāna-pūrva-pade Bahuvrīhi-samāse pūrva-khaṇḍottara-pada-lopa ittvañ ca) ; Kumudagandher apatyaṁ pumān (ity aṇā bhasyekāra-lope, ādi-vṛddhau ca) Kaumudagandha iti padaṁ sādhyam.

4) The Duṣṭa also reminds us of the antagonistic pratināyaka of a mahā-kāvya.

This evil-minded villain of a miśra prakaraṇa represents obviously the contemptible rogue of the society.

Now, the designation "Duṣṭa" [1] and some portions of his speeches in the Old Māgadhī dialect occur in several fragments of the Ś.[2] These fragments do not enable us to say whether he was intended to be a foil to Śāriputra, the hero, in the love-affair with Magadhavatī, the hetaera heroine, though such an unconfirmed but normal suggestion is rather tempting. Admittedly there is no direct evidence traceable in the fragments to prove his vice and vehemence Nevertheless we might scent some evil machinations of his wily nature in his reference to some episode of cruel throttling in the fragment no. (K) 53a, 11. 1-2 (to be read along with the later restorations)[3].

v) *Viṭa* — The designation "Viṭa" (= Rake) is given to a fellow who has lost his wealth in seeking mundane pleasures and has thus been impoverished and relegated to the status of a professional parasite[4] attached to the hero or some rich patron for maintaining his own family. The term "Viṭa" [5] signifies his qualities as a pleasant talker. He is conversant with some arts. He has a poetic temperament. He is also sweet-tempered and amiable in society.

---

1) The name of the Duṣṭa, unlike that of the Vidūṣaka, is not traceable in the printed fragments of the Ś.

2) Here we might call to our minds once again that the popular three-drama theory has been exploded in Chapter II above and that the Duṣṭa must be treated as a character of the Ś. itself and not associated with some absolutely hypothetical "Hetaera-drama".

3) ... [Duṣṭaḥ —?] ... (kaṇ)ṭha-baddhe kaṇṭha-viṭṭhit(ālā)n[e?] śa[ṁ]vutt(e) — ... (Śomada)ttena śaha śamāgaccha(tu)] hi...

It should be noted in this context that some throttling episode is also the topic of the conversation between the Vidū[ṣaka] and a servant, whose name is found abbreviated as "Gobaṁ" [< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?], in the frg. no. (K) 30 [including the frg. nos. (K) 31, 42 & 105]. The supposition that the two episodes are identical is rather tempting.

4) The selfish Viṭa is inferior to the unselfish Vidūṣaka.

5) The word "Viṭa" has been derived as follows :—

√viṭ- [= √viṭ(a) ākrośe iti bhauvādikaḥ parasmaipadī seḍ dhātuḥ] + -[k]a- [ig-upadha-lakṣaṇa] in the kartṛ-vācya.

Further, he is witty, eloquent and familiar with the ways of the courtezans. His powerful eloquence and smart manner make him an impartial arbitrator in the love-quarrel between the hero and the hetaera heroine.

However, a Viṭa is also a realistic character in a miśra prakaraṇa because he is mentioned as one of the nāgara-sahacaras in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra.

Now, some essential characteristics of a Viṭa are traceable in the preserved portions of the speeches assigned to Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) scattered over several fragments of the Ś. He appears to be addressed as "vayasya" (in Sanskrit > "vayassa" in the Old Śaurasenī dialect ; = a friend) by both Śāriputra (alias Somadatta), the hero, and Magadhavatī, the hetaera heroine[1]. It is also interesting that Dhanaṁjaya himself addresses the hero and the heroine by their respective names[2] and is thus their mutual friend. Further, Dhanaṁjaya (= Dhanañjaya)[3] is called

---

1) ...... — Nāya[kaḥ] — vayasya gaccha t(vam) ... tatraiva gac(ch)āmi — Dhānaṁ [a scribal error for Dhanaṁ (= an abbreviated form of Dhanaṁjaya)] — ārttha-siddhaye [a scribal error for arttha -°] — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — bho Dhānañjaya [a scribal error for Dhana°] sigghaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, 11. 1-2 (to be read along with the later restorations)]

...... [—] Gaṇi[kā] — vayassa tuvaṁ sakkhī — Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — bāḍhaṁ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 4]

2) ...... — Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — Śāradvatī-[putra ?] ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 10a, 1. 2]

...... [—] (Dh)ānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — vayasya [= Śāradvatīputra ?] ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 70b, 1. 2]

..... — Dhānaṁ [< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya] — bāḍhaṁ Ma[gadhavati ?] ... — Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — Magadhavati atitīkṣṇaḥ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 1. 4 and reverse side, 1. 3]

3) The selfsame nasal infix "m[um]" is liable to be changed into anusvāra (= "ṁ") or para-savarṇa ñam ("ñ", "m", "ṅ", "ṇ" and "n") in compulsory internal sandhi with the "yay" consonants (= mutes and semivowels). Therefore, both "Dhanaṁjaya" and "Dhanañjaya" are correct saṁjñā-śabdas.

by his name by the Vidūṣaka[1]. All these evidences prove conjointly that Dhanaṁjaya is quite familiar with Śāriputra, Magadhavatī and Kaumudagandha, and is on friendly terms with all of them. His pleasant demeanour makes him a professional friend and a faithful confidant between Śāriputra and Magadhavatī. He flatters both and looks to the interest of both. He is a clever mediator in their love-quarrel[2]. His name is mentioned in a speech [by Kaumudagandha addressed to Gobaṁ (< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?) ?] which eulogizes his kindness in saving the life of somebody (most probably Śāriputra) from throttling[3].

1) ..... — Vidū[ṣakaḥ] — bho Dhānañjaya [a scribal error for Dhanañjaya] sigghaṁ ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, 1. 2]

2) ..... [Nāya(kaḥ) — ?] ..... tasminn aparādhe kan daṇḍam anutiṣṭhāmi — Gaṇi[kā] — ..... (arhe)ssi daṇḍaṁ [—] Nāya[kaḥ] — kaḥ sandeha(ḥ) [—] Gaṇi[kā] — vayassa tuvaṁ sakkhī — Dhānaṁ [< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya] — bāḍhaṁ Ma[gadhavati ?] ...... [Gaṇi(kā) — ?] ...... ādaṁso dhārayitavvo — ...... āsavam balakāreṇa pā(ya) ... — Dhānaṁ [< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya] — Magadhavati atitīkṣṇaḥ khalv ayaṁ daṇḍaḥ ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, 11. 3-4 and reverse side, 11. 1-3]

The above scene seems to have been laid inside Magadhavatī's house.

3) ...... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ...... Dhānañjayo [a scribal error for Dhanañjayo] yassa pasādena ...... [na?]ḍakena ... (ni)russāsaṁ kariya idāni kathañci ussasati ...... du-guṇa-(b)u(bh)u(k)kh(ā) ...... sottiya-kula-sabhāvasa ...... Somadattena na bhuttaṁ ...... [—] Gobaṁ [< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?] — icchāmi ...... bhaṭṭi-dālake ... bhuj(j)itāhi ...... kaḷamodanākaṁ bhuṁjitaye ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 30 (including frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105) a, 1. 1 and b, 11. 1-4]

From the above excerpt it is clear that the word "bhaṭṭi-dālake" in the speech of Gobaṁ [< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?] refers to Somadatta and means "gṛha-pati-putra" (= the son of a householder). The word does neither refer to Dhanañjaya nor mean a prince in the present context because "rāja-sambhoga" remains outside the province of a prakaraṇa. If Dhanañjaya were a prince the Vidūṣaka could not

[Contd.]

Besides the prominent and popular roles in the Ś. discussed above there are also some minor ones like Gobaṁ (< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?], a servant of Somadatta[1], a maidservant [Ceṭi(kā)] attached to Somadatta and Magadhavatī each (?)[2], some Sanskrit-speaking mendicant [Tāpa(sa) ; Buddhist or heretic ?][3], some Sanskrit-speaking Buddhist monk [Śramaṇa][4] and a

---

[Contd.]

call him by his personal name as in the Ś., frg. no. (K) 13b, l. 2 (already cited above).

However, the maidservant addresses Dhanaṁjaya as "bhaṭṭā" (= master) in the following passage :—

..... — Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — gatā(')si ... — Ceṭi(kā) — bha(ṭṭā) ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13a, l. 3 (to be read along with the later restorations)]

1) Ś., frg. no. (K) 30 (including the frg. nos. K 31, 42 & 105) b, ll. 1-4 (already cited above)]

2) ... [Ceṭi ?](kā) — bhaṭṭā iya(ṁ) mhi — Dhānaṁ (< Dhanaṁ < Dhanaṁjaya) — gatā(')si Somadattassa śvaśura-kulam (°laṁ — sic) — Ceṭi(kā) — bha(ṭṭā) ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 13a, l. 3 (to be read along with the later restorations and frg. no. K 103a, l. 1)]

The above scene is laid most probably inside the house of Somadatta where the Ceṭikā is a domestic maidservant.

..... [— Ceṭi(kā) — ?]. ... (a)jjuke diḍhaṅ khu appā ..... (C)e(ṭ)i [kā ?] ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 44b, ll. 2-3]

The typical vocative form in the above excerpt indicates that this Ceṭikā is attached to Magadhavatī.

3) ..... — Tāpa(saḥ) — ekan tu icchāmi — yaḥ svastho 'dhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ — [Ś., frg. no. (K) 34a, l. 3 and b, l. 1]

...... — Tāpa(saḥ) — ki...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 48b, l. 1]

We have seen earlier that this Tāpa(sa) speaks in Sanskrit — and not in Old Ardha-Māgadhī.

4) ... — tataḥ praviśanti Śramaṇa-(Śār)i(putra-Maudgalyāyanāḥ) ..... tau Śāriputra-Maudgalyāyanau Śramaṇe(n)··· [Ś., frg. no. (K) 54a, l. 2 and b, l. 2]

.... Śrama[ṇaḥ] — praj(ñ)āto ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 109b, l. 2]

Prākṛta-speaking Ājīvika-śramaṇa[1]. Excepting Gobaṁ, whose name and relatively lengthy speech have been preserved in one fragment[2], the remaining roles are known to us by their respective designations and scanty speeches scattered in different fragments. All such characters lend a realistic charm to the Ś. which is after all an action-packed miśra prakaraṇa[3]. In these characters we find some living personages of the Indian society of Aśvaghoṣa's own time. These varied traces of an urban life, which is punctuated by the fashionable mediocrity, unsophisticated and sundry folk, and the men of the different monastic orders of Aśvaghoṣa's own society have been skilfully grafted with his rich historical imagination upon the Buddha-Śāriputra episode of hallowed memory.

Apart from the afore-said concrete characters there are also three abstract ones, viz., i) Buddhi, ii) Dhṛti and iii) Kīrtti, which appear in only one fragment[4]. These allegorical roles are the dramatic personifications[5] of the three essential properties of the Buddha's self[6].

1) .... (pa)ryyākula Ājīvikaḥ [Ajīvika — sic] ...... gilāyamānaṁ Ājīv(i)ka-sama(ṇaṁ) ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 29a, l. 1 and b, l. 1 (to be read along with the later restorations)]

..... [Ājīvika- ?]śrama[ṇaḥ] — na khu e(ke) ...... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 40b, l. 1]

The scanty portion of the speech preserved in the above fragment does not appear to record unequivocally any distinguishing trait of the dialect attributed to the Ājīvika-śramaṇa.

2) Ś., frg. no. (K) 30b, ll. 1-4 (already quoted beforehand).

3) rājarṣi-divya-carita-hīnam . amātya-vipra-vaṇik-carita-śarīram ...... śreṣṭhi-tāpasa-viṭādi-jana-bhūṣitaṁ ca .... purodho-'mātya-vipra-vaṇig-bhṛta-vārtā-yuktam ...... manda-kulā-strī-kṛtaṁ kāvyam ...... [Sāgaranandin's Nāṭaka-lakṣaṇa-ratna-kośa, 2782-2787, p. 115]

4) Ś., frg. no. (K) 1.

5) We have already discussed in Chapter II above that symbolism is a Vedic reminiscence in the Classical Sanskrit literature where there is an unbroken continuity of this tradition of ideal usage in both śravya and dṛśya types of kāvyas.

6) We will see later on in Chapter IV that these three virtues comprise also the essentials of the Buddha's teachings as represented in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas.

8. *Speeches* — As per the standardized rules of the allotment of Sanskrit and its different dialects to the diverse classes of the dramatis personae in a miśra prakaraṇa, the roles of higher ranks like the hero, Viṭa, scholarly monks, and allegorical characters should speak in Sanskrit while the hetaera heroine, Vidūṣaka and Ceṭikā in Śaurasenī, the Śakāra in Māgadhī, and the Ceṭa in Ardha-Māgadhī. The speeches in Sanskrit are mainly in prose and are occasionally interspersed with verses. Again, the speeches in the different Prākṛtas are mostly in prose though at times there may be some verses in Māhārāṣṭrī dialect.

Now, in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. we find almost the same allotment of Sanskrit and Prākṛtas to the different classes of characters. Thus Sanskrit[1] has been assigned to Śāriputra (alias Somadatta), the hero, Dhanaṁjaya, the Viṭa, the Buddha, his three personified virtues, viz., Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrtti, and his disciples, viz., Kauṇḍi[nya], Upādhyāya (= Aśvajit ?), etc.[2]. Their speeches are in both prose and poetry. There are also some stage directions in Sanskrit prose. Again, Old Śaurasenī has been assigned to Maga[dhavatī], the hetaera heroine [Gaṇi(kā)], Kaumudagandha, the Vidū[ṣaka], and the Ceṭi[kā](s), Old Māgadhī to the Duṣṭa, the Villain, and Old Ardha-Māgadhī to Gobaṁ (< Govaṁ < Govardhana ?), a servant of Somadatta (?)[3]. There are also some stage directions in Prākṛta.

1) The prominent linguistic aspects of Aśvaghoṣa's Sanskrit have been discussed above.

2) That the Buddha and his symbolized virtues and disciples speak in elegant Classical Sanskrit instead of some dialect is an important factor in Aśvaghoṣa studies inasmuch as it determines his sectarian standpoint as lying between the pro-'Prākṛta' Hīna-yāna and the pro-Sanskrit Mahā-yāna.

It is obvious that Aśvaghoṣa must have received the support of his sect. Otherwise he would not have recorded the Buddha's teachings in Sanskrit. It is also striking that the Ājīvika-śramaṇa has been allotted some Prākṛta though its type remains ambiguous.

3) There are also some fragments of speeches in indeterminate Prākṛta-type.

The preserved Prākṛta passages[1] are in prose only. There is no verse in Māhārāṣṭrī dialect.

9. *Nāndī, Raṅga-dvāra and Sthāpanā* — Technically speaking nāndī, the propitiatory stanza, forms an important part (aṅga) of the pūrva-raṅga ceremony which comprises certain preliminary rites to be performed before the enactment of a drama[2]. To be precise, the nāndī stanza is counted usually as the twelfth of the twentytwo aṅgas of the pūrva-raṅga function. The subject-matter of this stanza is the prayer to the gods for warding off evils and bestowing blessings upon the theatrical troupe, stage, dramatist, audience, state, government and populace in general. This stanza is recited by the sūtradhāra the regisseur, in madhyama-svara. He perhaps composes[3] and pronounces this formal benediction on behalf of his theatrical troupe

1) The important linguistic aspects of Aśvaghoṣa's Prākṛtas have been dealt with earlier.

2) It is obvious that in the early state of Indian dramaturgy the theories pertaining to the pūrva-raṅga rites, and its nāndy-aṅga in particular, must have been commensurate with the actual practices thereof once obtaining among the different theatrical parties. But with the onward roll of time the practices of certain aṅgas appear to have gradually died out of use long ago and as such the corresponding theories have been divorced to some extent from the particulars of the actual practices. Eventually the archaic theories regarding the observance of the pre-drama rites, which have survived even today in their codified forms, have been smothered in obscurity and confusion. We would therefore make an attempt to present a sensible account of the nāndy-aṅga and examine the question of its relationship with the prastāvanā of a drama.

3) The sūtradhāra and his theatrical party are apparently concerned with the observance of the nāndī rite. It follows therefore that the composition of the nāndi stanza is not the business of the dramatist and that this stanza remains beyond the domain of the drama proper. We will see presently that the raṅga-dvāra stanza is the maṅgalācaraṇa composed by the dramatist himself and that this stanza is uttered by the sthāpaka who resembles in many respects the nāndī-pāṭhaka sūtradhāra.

and then leaves the stage. At the end of the nāndī-pāṭha the sthāpaka enters the stage[1] to utter the raṅga-dvāra stanza which virtually marks the commencement of the drama proper[2] and is thus a nāndī-like maṅgalācaraṇa composed by the dramatist himself. The sthāpaka resembles the sūtradhāra in respect of the attainments, costume and make-up[3], and this is why the former has been identified confusedly with the latter despite their personal and functional differences. The sthāpaka is also referred to loosely as the sūtradhāra[4]. Sometimes the same sūtradhāra performs also the function of his colleague the sthāpaka, for the sake of temporal economy and simplification of the technically complex and obscure process of the pūrva-raṅga rites which are no longer performed in their entirety[5]. Further, the dramatic raṅga-dvāra is liable to be confused with the pre-dramatic nāndī because both are benedictory in character. Such confusions are shown by the conflicting textual traditions of the classical dramas themselves. Thus the stage direction, viz., "nāndy-ante sūtradhāraḥ", which is found in the different manuscripts to occur on either side of the actual raṅga-dvāra stanza, must be interpreted accordingly. When this stage direction precedes the raṅga-dvāra stanza we are to understand that at the end of the nāndī recital the sūtradhāra leaves the stage [nāndī-pāṭhānte raṅga-bhūmer niṣkrānte sūtradhāre] and thereafter the sūtradhāra-like

1) pūrva-raṅgaṁ vidhāyaiva sūtradhāro nivartate .
pravisya sthāpakas tadvat kāvyam āsthāpayet tataḥ . .
[Viśvanātha, 6/26]

2) uktaṁ ca [maharṣiṇā Bharatena] — "raṅga-dvāram ārabhya kaviḥ kuryāt ....." ity-ādi . [Viśvanātha's svopajña-vṛtti ad 6/24-25]

3) ..... sthāpakaḥ ..... sūtradhāra-sadṛśa-guṇākāraḥ .
[Viśvanātha's svopajña-vṛtti ad 6/26]

4) sūtradhāra-sadṛśatvāt sthāpako 'pi sūtradhāra ucyate .
[Viśvanātha's svopajña-vṛtti ad 6/31]

5) idānīṁ pūrva-raṅgasya samyak prayogābhāvād eka eva sūtradhāraḥ sarvaṁ prayojayatīti vyavahāraḥ . [Viśvanātha's svopajna-vṛtti ad 6/26]

sthāpaka[1] enters the stage [tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāra-sadṛśa-guṇākāraḥ sthāpakaḥ] in order to utter the raṅga-dvāra stanza and conduct the sthāpanā [= prastāvanā = āmukha ; = prologue]. The very nomenclature "sthāpanā" is related clearly to the designation "sthāpaka." On the contrary, when the same stage direction succeeds the raṅga-dvāra stanza we are to understand that after the recital of the raṅga-dvāra benediction [nāndī-sadṛśa-maṅgalācaraṇātmakasya raṅga-dvārāṅgasya pāṭhānte] the sthāpaka is now ready to perform the sthāpanā. The confusion is worse confounded when in the different textual recensions of the same drama the afore-said stage direction is found on either side of the raṅga-dvāra stanza. Anyway, this lack of uniformity in the manuscripts of the different dramas and even of the same drama may be apportioned to the unscrupulous scribes concerned. But we are tempted to suggest that such anomalies refer back to some school of dramaturgy which, unlike the Bharata school, combined the nāndī and the raṅga-dvāra into a single maṅgalācaraṇa aṅga for ensuring a consolidated effect and minimising the time scheduled for the entire pūrva-raṅga. In this case the composition of the common stanza falls naturally to the share of the dramatist himself. This explanation is applicable to the post-nāndī-cum-raṅga-dvāra stage direction meant for the sthāpaka only or the sūtradhāra-cum-sthāpaka. This is mostly the case. On the other hand, the pre-raṅga-dvāra stage direction presupposes the performance of the nāndī-pāṭha by the sūtradhāra, and relates to the sthāpaka's entry into the stage for chanting the raṅga-dvāra stanza and conducting the sthāpanā or the sūtradhāra-cum-sthāpaka's remaining on the stage for the raṅga-dvāra and the sthāpanā. This peculiarity is noticed in Bhāsa's dramas.

After the theoretical details we might now turn to Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. and R. and treat them together for gathering some of his ideas about the preliminary benediction and prologue of these two dramas. The two dramas would supplement each other in some respects and help a consolidated discussion. The Ś., frg. no. (K) 3, obverse side, l. 1

1) Otherwise it would be a technical error to say that the sūtradhāra himself re-enters the stage. It may be said that he performs also the function of the sthāpaka for economy of time and simplification of the function. But in that case too the question of the sūtradhāra's re-entry into the stage cannot be justified.

begins with the auspicious word "siddham" which is followed immediately by a badly blurred maṅgala-sign consisting of two perpendicular lines drawn side by side with one horizontal line added to the left. This fragment appears to be the leftmost portion of the original folio and as such the text of the Ś. starts rightly after the said maṅgala-sign. After this maṅgala-sign in the first line we find the word "Pāripārśvikaḥ" followed by a dash which indicates that the succeeding letters originally constituted his speech. But of this speech the initial syllable, viz., "pa", is the only (?) portion preserved in the same line. The Pāripārśvika is an assistant of the sūtradhāra. It is not possible to say whether this Pāripārśvika is the Vidūṣaka of the drama though the latter is referred to in the third line of the reverse side. Should we indulge in a wistful thinking that the scanty remains of a speech (apparently in Old Śaurasenī) in the second line of the reverse side[1] was meant for the Naṭī ? The words "oṁ mattam [sic (!) ; a scribal error for "amattam" ?] amalinam" in the second line of the obverse side have the appearance of some maṅgalācaraṇa. Are we to suppose that this maṅgalācarṇa is the raṅga-dvāra stanza uttered by the sthāpaka ? The third line of the obverse side appears to record the customary announcement of the title of the drama[2] (presumably by the sthāpaka). It is obvious that the name of Aśvaghoṣa, the dramatist, was also mentioned in the original folio though the extant mutilated fragment does not contain this reference.

Thus we find that the Pāripārśvika and the Vidūṣaka are mentioned as present on the stage and presumably engaged in conversation and that there is also some sort of a raṅga-dvāra passage (apportioned presumably to the sthāpaka). In this typical sthāpanā setting with the requisite participants (kuśīlavas) on the stage we expect the usual stage direction, viz., "nāndy-ante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ [= sthāpakaḥ]", before the afore-said raṅga-dvāra passage. But this stage direction is not found preserved in the printed fragment

1) kayyaṁ patikayya(ṁ) vā —
2) ...... [Śār ?]i[putr ?]e [prakara]ṇe ......

in question[1] though the corresponding stage direction of the prologue to the R. has survived in Dharmakīrtti's Vāda-nyāya and Cakradhara's Nyāya-mañjarī-granthi-bhaṅga[2]. The entry of the sūtradhāra, or rather the sthāpaka, as indicated by the above stage direction of the R. proves clearly that this stage direction must have preceded the raṅga-dvāra passage in the original text. Therefore, one point is certain that Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. and R. must have had some regular prologue for each of them.

10. *Kāvya-saṁhāra and Praśasti* — From the treatment of the prologue we might turn now to that of the epilogue. The concluding part of the last Act of a drama belongs naturally to the fifth and the last sandhi, viz., nirvahaṇa-sandhi (= upasaṁhṛti = upasaṁhāra) which comprises thirteen or fourteen aṅgas according as the fourteenth aṅga, viz., praśasti, is omitted or included in the enumeration. According to the standard view and the actual usage of the Classical Sanskrit dramas this praśasti is the compulsory last aṅga of the last sandhi. The praśasti is equal in essence to the prārthanā aṅga of the third sandhi, viz., garbha-sandhi, and as such both praśasti and prārthanā cannot be used in a drama. Any one of the two essentially similar aṅgas must be dropped in favour of the retention of the other which thus happens to be compulsory for its own sandhi. To be precise, the inclusion of praśasti in nirvahaṇa-sandhi would result in the exclusion of prārthanā in garbha-sandhi and vice versa. Again, the total number of the aṅgas of nirvahaṇa-sandhi should be adjusted to that of garbha-sandhi. Thus, the total number of the sandhy-aṅgas in nirvahaṇa-sandhi would be fourteen (with praśasti), and that in garbha-sandhi twelve (without prārthanā).

1) Admittedly the first line of the reverse side appears to preserve an incomplete stage direction, viz., "......... (tataḥ p)r(avi)ś(ati) ......". But this stage direction occurs after the raṅga-dvāra passage and announcement of the name of the drama in the second and third lines of the obverse side (already cited above), and as such relates most probably to the Naṭī whose speech (in Old Śauraseni) has been preserved partly in the second line of the reverse side.

2) The details of these citations have been discussed in Chapter II above.

This numerical distribution has been normally followed in the extant dramas. Sometimes the total number of the sandhy-aṅgas in nirvahaṇa-sandhi is thirteen (without praśasti) and that in garbha-sandhi also thirteen (with prārthanā)[1].

So praśasti, the fourteenth sandhy-aṅga of nirvahaṇa-sandhi becomes compulsory only when it is included in this last sandhi (to the obvious exclusion of prārthanā in garbha-sandhi). But kāvya-saṁhāra, the thirteenth sandhy-aṅga of nirvahaṇa-sandhi, is compulsory under all circumstances. Thus, when both kāvya-saṁhāra and praśasti occur the former forms the penultimate aṅga and the latter the final one[2].

Now let us examine the nature and form of kāvya-saṁhāra and praśasti each. Kāvya-saṁhāra means achievement of the objective[3] by the hero. It is thus the conclusion proper of a drama (nāyaka-phalāgama = kāryārthopasaṁhāra = kāvyārtha-samāpti)[4]. This sandhy-aṅga appears usually in the form of an introductory prose portion followed by a verse[5]. The prose passage consists of a question

---

1) It is interesting that mukha-sandhi (= the first sandhi) pratimukha-sandhi (= the second sandhi) and vimarśa-sandhi or avamarśa-sandhi (= the fourth sandhi) have been apportioned twelve, thirteen and thirteen sandhy-aṅgas respectively, and that their fixed total (i. e., 38) along with that (i. e., 26 = 12+14 or 13+13) of garbha-sandhi (= the third sandhi) and nirvahaṇa-sandhi (= the fifth and the last sandhi) would yield the same grand total (64 = 12+13 +12+13+14 or 12+13+13+13+13).

2) The remaining first twelve sandhy-aṅgas of nirvahaṇa-sandhi are not compulsory. Further, there is no hard and fast rule regarding the order of their use. They are left to the discretion of a dramatist who may use them if the dramatic sentiments in question necessitate their use.

3) Vara-pradāna-samprāpti = varāpti = dharmārthādy-upagama = sarvābhīṣṭopalabdhi ≐ kṛtārthatā-kathana.

4) .... sarvasminn evepsite sampanne prastutaṁ kāvyam eva saṁhriyata iti kāvya-saṁhāraḥ .

[Nāṭya-darpaṇa by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 1/65c (to be read along with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

5) Sometimes this sequence ischanged and the verse is placed before the prose part. At times it is only the prose portion or the [Contd.]

and a reply. The question is addressed to the hero by some other role (nāyaketara pātra), and is couched usually in the typical form like "kiṁ te bhūyaḥ priyam upakaromi ?". The reply that follows is a leading question by the hero, and is put in the stereotyped form like "kim ataḥ param api priyam asti ?". This prose formula is followed usually by a verse which deals with the achievements by the hero.

After kāvya-saṁhāra comes praśasti. Praśasti means prayer for general welfare (śubha-śaṁsana = deva-dvi-jāti-nṛpa-go-deśa-carācara-praśānti). This benediction appears normally in the form of an introductory prose formula like "tathāpīdaṁ astu (bharata-vākyam)" which is followed by a verse containing the good wishes[1]. Strictly speaking the expression "bharata-vākya" is not a synonym of praśasti itself because praśasti is the technical term given to the final sandhy-aṅga of nirvahaṇa-sandhi and stands normally for the prose formula and the benedictory verse taken together. The expression "bharata-vākya" is virtually a stage direction which indicates that the actual drama has been brought to its close and so the concluding benediction has to be uttered by the hero or some other actor[2] still present on the stage in the capacity of an actor (= bharata = kuśīlava = naṭa) — and not in that of the particular role (= pātra) he impersonates. At the end of the drama proper the actors present on the stage in the last scene have ceased to be dramatis personae any more by this time.

Though pronounced by the actor concerned the last benediction is composed by the dramatist himself as the final maṅgalācaraṇa of his drama. It is only after praśasti that all the actors of the last scene leave the stage.

[Contd.]
verse that occurs. In some dramas kāvya-saṁhāra does not take the shape of either the typical prose formula or the verse but appears instead in the speeches. There is no absolute uniformity of usage in respect of kāvya-saṁhāra.

1) Sometimes the prose portion is omitted and the verse only is found in use.

2) ...... jagataḥ kalyāṇāśaṁsanā praśastiḥ . tac ca nāyakas tad-anyo vā paṭhati .

[Nāṭya-darpaṇa by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 1/65[a] (to be read along with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

However, in some dramas the features of both kāvya-saṁhāra and praśasti are borne out by the different avacchedas of the same verse, which thus serves the double purpose.

Such a combination is no surprise to us because kāvya-saṁhāra as the personal gain of the hero (nāyaka-phalāgama) is the viśeṣa (particular) while praśasti as the general welfare (jagad-dhita) is the sāmānya (universal) and it is quite natural that the former should culminate in the latter and that both these sandhy-aṅgas should be used in their proper sequence[1]. The clear transition from the accomplishment of the dramatic kārya (kāryārtha-sampatti = nāyaka-phalāgama) to the general welfare (carācara-praśānti) would suggest that praśasti was originally an extended application of kāvya-saṁhāra.

Anyway, both kāvya-saṁhāra and praśasti are genuine parts of the drama proper and as such they are composed by the dramatist himself though they are uttered by the actors concerned.

Now let us examine the concluding passage of the Ś. in its mutilated form and see whether it should be termed kāvya-saṁhāra or praśasti or both. Before we enter into the technical discussion we propose to cite the passage in question in the following :—

...... — (Buddhaḥ —) ... ... —

atah paraṁ jñānam idaṁ yatendriyau
nirantaram bhāvayatuṁ[2] vimuktaye .
śi-[3] subhikṣam[4] akhilām aka⏑-[5]
nirāmay(au pā)tu ⏑ - ⏑ - ⏑ -[6] .. [niṣkrāntāḥ] sarvve ..

[Ś., folio designated C 4, reverse side, 11. 1 & 3-4]

The verse quoted above is composed obviously in the vaṁśastha metre which being a twelve-syllable sama-vṛtta consists uniformly of "ja", "ta", "ja" and "ra" gaṇas [⏑-⏑--⏑⏑-⏑-⏑-] in each pāda.

---

1) idam aṅgam [= kāvya-saṁhāra] avaśyaṁ nibandhanīyaṁ praśasti-nāntarīyakatvād iti .

[Nāṭya-darpaṇa by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 1/65° (to be read along with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

2) This scribal error should be corrected to "bhāvayi°".

3) Should we read "śivāṁ" ?

4) This scribal error should be rectified to "°kṣām".

5) Should we surmise that the original reading was "akalmaṣau" ?

6) Should we supplement the six-syllable gap by "yuvāṁ hite ratau" ?

Fortunately for us the first hemistich has been preserved in full. But the second, eleventh and twelfth syllables of the third quarter, and the last six syllables (ranging from the seventh syllable to the twelfth one) of the fourth quarter in the second hemistich are missing[1].

However. the simple prose reconstruction of the above verse appears to be as follows :—

...... idaṁ [mayā Buddhena proktam] jñānam [nairātmya-viṣayakaṁ tattvam] .... yatendriyau [jita-karaṇau] ... ... [yuvāṁ Śāriputra-Maudgalyāyanau ?] pātu [avatu].

Here the word "pātu" is the active verb of which the word "jñānam" is the agent and the object is most probably some such word like "yuvām" (implied by its two adjuncts, viz., "yatendriyau" and "nirāmayau").

However, the above verse has been put into the mouth of the Buddha as a benediction on the hero, Śāriputra, and his close associate, Maudgalyāyana. The underlying idea of this concluding benediction is the Buddha's advice to his two prominent disciples, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, to live the disciplined life of mendicants having sound physique and mind, and indulge in constant meditation on the absolute nairātmya-tattva for attaining emancipation from metempsychosis[2].

The extant text of this benedictory verse shows clearly that it concerns only the hero, Śāriputra, and his intimate companion, Maudgalyāyana, and as such here we find the real dénouement (kāryārthopasaṁhāra) of the Ś. This vara-pradāna-samprāpti (= sarvābhīṣṭa-siddhi = nāyaka-phalāgama) marks the end of the drama (kāvyārtha-samāpti).

After this verse we find the syllabic remains of a stage direction like "[niṣkrāntāḥ or iti ni°] sarvve (exeunt omnes)".

But what strikes us most is the fact that the existing text of the above verse[3] does not exhibit any direct evidence in favour of the general welfare which is much expected in this context. This

1) The probable supplements have been suggested earlier.

2) The religio-philosophical implications of this benedictory verse will be analysed in details in the light of Aśvaghoṣa's interpretation of Buddhism in Chapter IV.

3) This verse breaks off suddenly in the middle of the fourth quarter and as such the last two gaṇas [i. e., 3 + 3 = 6 syllables] are [Contd.]

expectation is quite in keeping with the long-standing practice of the post-Aśvaghoṣan classical dramas. Further, we have hinted at earlier that Aśvaghoṣa being a kavi of the Hīna-yāna-Mahā-yāna transitional period betrays his leanings to the altruistic viewpoint of the early Mahā-yāna[1]. So the suggested supplements like "yuvāṁ hite ratau" in place of the last six missing syllables of the fourth quarter of the above verse do not run contrary to the indirect evidences.

At any rate, the set of circumstances stated above go conjointly in favour of the conclusion that the verse under consideration contains the features of kāvya-saṁhāra. Nevertheless it must be admitted on all hands that this benedictory verse is not coupled with the typical prose formula[2] and that this verse has been put into the mouth of the Buddha — and not Śāriputra, the hero. But these are no deviations proper from the usage because the said prose formula has been omitted in some other dramas as well, and the Buddha being superior in rank to the hero, Śāriputra, is better entitled than the latter to utter the concluding benediction of the Ś. Moreover, the

[Contd.]
missing. Thereafter the early portion of the final stage direction [i. e., 3 (niṣkrāntāḥ) or 5 (iti niṣkrāntāḥ) syllables] is also lost. Thus some 9 (6 + 3) or 11 (6 + 2 + 3) syllables are missing in all from the last quarter of the verse under consideration and the stage direction that follows. Besides, there ought to be some inter-word gaps and some punctuation mark at the end of the verse and lastly the question of the rightmost margin after the third line on the reverse side of the original folio (now designated C 4). Therefore, there is virtually no space left for some introductory prose formula and another verse on the general welfare at the right end of the third line.

1) We have also discussed beforehand that the concluding portion of Aśvaghoṣa's S. bears a clear testimony to this Mahā-yāna tendency.

However, we reserve our further observations on Aśvaghoṣa's philosophical standpoint for Chapter IV.

2) The words "ataḥ paraṁ", which occur in the beginning of the kāvya-saṁhāra verse quoted above, have nothing to do with the stereotyped wordings of the regular prose formula like "(kim) ataḥ param api priyam asti ?".

Ś. belongs to the early period of the Classical Sanskrit literature when both drama and dramaturgy were naturally less conventional and rigid. Therefore, the last verse of the Ś. embodies kāvya-saṁhāra only, or at best both kāvya-saṁhāra and praśasti in the different avacchedas if the suggested supplements also are taken into consideration (ignoring the absence of the prose formula in the present case)[1].

11. *The aims of a Prakaraṇa* — According to the theorists of dramaturgy the varied actions of a prakaraṇa should deal with dharma, artha and kāma, the three aims in the life of a dhīra-praśānta hero. The pursuit of these objects is punctuated with impediments[2].

Thus, a prakaraṇa should be concerned chiefly with the delineation of tri-varga and no prominence should be given to the fourth puruṣārtha, viz., mokṣa[3].

But Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. deviates evidently from the above theory. In this drama — as in the two ornate epics, viz., the B. and the S. — mokṣa or nirvāṇa is the siddhānta-pakṣa which cancels the tri-varga pūrva-pakṣa. The central theme is the metamorphosis of a gṛhastha into a bhikṣu[4]. It is quite natural that Aśvaghoṣa being a preacher-

1) The extant fragments of the Ś. do not enable us to say whether prārthanā of garbha-sandhi was used originally by Aśvaghoṣa instead of praśasti of nirvahaṇa-sandhi.

2) ... ... nāyakam ..
dhīra-praśāntaṁ sāpāyaṁ dharma-kāmārtha-tat-param .
[Dhanañjaya's Daśa-rūpaka, 3/44]
...... nāyakas ... ...
sāpāya-dharma-kāmārtha-paro dhīra-praśāntakaḥ ..
[Viśvanātha, 6/225[acd]]
dharmasya svarga-sādhanatvena, kāmasya putra-paśv-ādi-viṣayakatvena, arthasya bhoga-sādhanatvena sāpāyatvam . [Rāmacaraṇa Tarka-vāg-īśa's commentary on Viśvanātha above]

3) *This standpoint is commensurate with the theory that* śṛṅgāra-rasa should be aṅgin (predominant) in a prakaraṇa. The question of the aṅgibhūta rasa in its relationship with the khaṇḍa-rasas will be taken up a little later.

4) It is most likely that the R. also had the same exalted idea. We have discussed in Chapter II above that the central theme of this drama has been preserved in Chinese.

kavi should depict tri-varga as upasarjanībhūta and nirvāṇa as mukhya[1]. Lastly, it is also proper that the dhīra-praśānta hero, Śāriputra (alias Somadatta), should renounce the world and cling ultimately to nirvāṇa[2].

12. *The aṅgibhūta rasa and the khaṇḍa-rasas* — According to the theory śṛṅgāra-rasa should be given prominence to in a prakaraṇa[3]. So the remaining khaṇḍa-rasas should be subservient to the predominant sentiment. Of the subordinate sentiments, again, adbhuta-khaṇḍa-rasa has to be delineated in the nirvahaṇa-sandhi.

But in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś., as in his two ornate epics, the B. and the S., śānta-rasa synthesis has been aimed at[4]. In other words, śānta is the pāryantika and aṅgibhūta rasa whereas śṛṅgāra, hāsya, etc. are khaṇḍa-rasas. Of the subordinate sentiments vīra[5] plays the relatively important part of a sthāyi-bhāva to śānta-rasa while the rest are transient saṁcāri-rasas in relation to this śānta-rasa. It is obvious that the role of Maga[dhavatī], the Gaṇi[kā], is associated with

1) This nirvāṇa aim is in keeping with the śānta-rasa synthesis to be dealt with a little later.

2) It is queer that the theory should associate a dhīra-praśānta hero with the aṅgibhūta śṛṅgāra-rasa and the tri-varga instead of aṅgibhūta śānta-rasa and mukhyabhūta mokṣa. This contradiction in terms is coupled with the delicate question of the acceptability of śānta-rasa in the kāvyas. Should we surmise that Aśvaghoṣa adhered to some such school of dramaturgy which sanctioned predominance to mokṣa and śānta-rasa in a prakaraṇa ?

3) bhavet prakaraṇe ....
śṛṅgāro 'ṅgī ....
[Viśvanātha, 6/224c & 225a]

4) This śānta synthesis in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is quite commensurate with his missionary zeal.

5) ... — Maga[dhavatī] — ... pekkhāmi dassanam pi me imassa dullabha(ṁ) ... (añ)ñ... ki(la) ...... Nāyakaḥ smayati [a scribal error for °te] — Maga[dhavatī] — naṅ kahin te geham — Nāya[kaḥ] — bhava(t)i ... [gṛ ?](h)[a ?]n ta(t) loke parigrahavatāṇ g[ṛ ?]hiṇāṅ g[ṛ ?]hā(ṇ)i ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, 11. 3-4]

śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa[1], and that of Kaumudagandha, the Vidū[ṣaka] with hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasa[2]. Again, adbhuta-khaṇḍa-rasa is coupled apparently with nirvahaṇa-sandhi[3]. There is also no contradiction proper between śānta-rasa and śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa because the former is pāryantika and hence bādhaka while the latter is āpāta and so bādhya. Besides this bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva there is also the intervention of vīra-sthāyi-bhāva between the predominant and subordinate sentiments[4].

Anyway, śānta-rasa synthesis in the Ś. is a clear deviation from the theory of dramaturgy[5].

13. *The vṛtti in a Prakaraṇa* — According to the theory the vṛtti in a drama should correspond to the main aim (puruṣārtha) and sentiment (aṅgibhūta rasa) delineated therein[6]. So kaiśikī ought to be the vṛtti in a prakaraṇa inasmuch as this type of rūpaka deals with tri-varga and śṛṅgāra-rasa[7].

1) ... — Gaṇi[kā] — kiṁ khu dāni surada-vimadda-kkha(ma) .. [Nāya(kaḥ) — ?] ... tasminn aparādhe kan daṇḍam anutiṣṭhāmi — ...
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 8, obverse side, ll. 2-4]

2) ... [Tāpa(saḥ) — ?] ... yaḥ svastho 'dhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ ... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ... ... 'ddhvānañ (sic) carāmi bubhukkhitoḥ ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 34b, ll. 1-2]

3) ... — Vi(dū)[ṣakaḥ] -- (bho upa)jjhāya [= Aśvajit ?] e(tassa pavva)jitassa vacanaṁ suṇiya apuru(va-mukha-vaṇṇena) añ(ñ)aṁ viya ... [Ś., frg. nos. (K) 14, 15 & 32 (reconstructed together into a single folio), obverse side, l. 3]

4) The question of rasa-doṣa-pratiprasava in connection with śānta-rasa synthesis will be dealt with in details a little later.

5) We have seen earlier that Aśvaghoṣa owes this śānta-rasa synthesis to the Mahā-Bhārata.

6) puruṣārtha-sādhako vicitro vyāpāro vṛttiḥ ... rasa-bhāvābhinaya-sambhinno hi sarvo nāṭye vyāpāraḥ .
[Nāṭya-darpaṇa by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 3/103 (to be read along with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

7) kaiśikī hāsya-śṛṅgāra........ hāsya-śṛṅgārābhyāṁ strī-bāhulya-vicitra-prakāra-nepathya-kāma-vyavahārāṇāṁ sad-bhāvam āha .
[Nāṭya-darpaṇa by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, 3/103[ab] (to be read together with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

But in Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. (and supposedly R.) the vṛtti should be sā(t)tvatī because that would be appropriate for the nirvāṇa aim and aṅgibhūta śānta-rasa depicted therein[1]. Here we mark a clear deviation from the standard theory. Should we attribute this deviation to the missionary dramatist's adherence to some pro-śānta school of dramaturgy ?

In this context we might add that the edited fragments of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. record the use of a considerable variety of the classical metres. Thus there are some fairly citable examples of simple and shorter metres like śālinī[2], praharṣiṇī[3] and śikhariṇī[4]. Besides, there

---

1) sātvatī sattva-vāg-aṅgābhineyaṁ karma mānasam .
...... śamā-'dbhutam . .
sat sattvaṁ prakāśas tad yatrāsti tat satvan manas tatra bhavā sātvatī ... sattvābhinaya-vāg-abhinayā-'ṅgābhinaya-yuktaṁ mānasaṁ karma sātvatīty arthaḥ ..... śama iti ca śama-sthāyi-bhāvaḥ (śamaḥ sthā° — sic) śānto raso draṣṭavyaḥ — ari-ṣaḍ-varga-jayasya sattvaika-nibandhanatvāt .
[Nāṭya-darpaṇa, 3/107 (to be read with the svopajña-vṛtti)]

2) karmma (karmmā — sic) kṣetram bījam utpatti-cetas
tṛṣṇā kleda-cchādanañ cā(p)y (avandh)ya(m) .
(evaṁ lokaḥ sas)y(ava)j j(ā)yamāno
jñānāditye -◡- -◡- -t . .
[Ś., folio designated C 4, reverse side, 1. 1]
(karmma kṣet)r(am) b(ījam) u(tpat)t(i-cetas)
- - - - -◡- -◡- - .
evaṁ loka(ḥ) sasyavaj jāyamāno
jñānā(d)i- -◡- -◡- - . .
[Ś., folio designated K IV (reconstructed out of frg. nos. K 50b, etc.), obverse side, 1. 3]

3) sorṇṇa-bhrūs (°-bbhrus — sic) tanu-mṛdu-jāla-pāṇi-pā(daḥ)
- - -◡◡◡◡-◡-◡- - .
vaśyātmā viharati ni[ḥ]spṛhaḥ kṛtārt(th)o
j[ñ]ānasya ppraśama-rasasya (sic) caiva pūrṇṇa(ḥ) . .
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 11. 3-4]

4) t[a ?]m[o ?] y[e ?]n[a ?] kṣ[i ?]pt[aṁ ?] ◡◡◡◡
(m)[a ?](y)ūkh[ai ?]r ◡◡◡-

[Contd.]

are some instances of relatively stiffer and longer metres like hariṇī[1], suvadanā[2] and sragdharā[3]. Again, a close study of the printed fragments would show that Aśvaghoṣa had probably a predilection for śārdūlavikrīḍita[4].

[Contd.]

(r)[a ?]j[o ?] (y)[a ?]sy[a ?] (dh)v[a ?](s)t[aṁ ?]
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑- -⏑⏑⏑- .
⏑- yenāvāptam (°vaptam — sic) paramam amṛtan durllabham ṛtaṁ
mano-buddhis tasmiṁnn (sic) aham abhirame śānti-parame . .
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 11. 1-2]

1) [⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑- - - - -⏑-⏑⏑-⏑- (= 'a' ?)]
⏑⏑⏑⏑ ⏑ yaḥ svastho 'dhvānañ carāmy aparigrahaḥ (= 'b' ?) .
ja⏑⏑⏑⏑- - - - -⏑-⏑⏑-⏑- (= 'c' ?)
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑- - - - -⏑-⏑⏑-⏑- (= 'd' ?) . .
⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑- -(nn)o 'ddhvānañ (sic) carāmi bubhukkhitoḥ (sic) (= 'a' ?)
bahu dadhi pi- - - - -⏑-⏑⏑-⏑- (= 'b' ?) .
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 34b, 11. 1-2]

2) (pakṣī)va vyomni yāti vra(jati ?) ⏑⏑⏑- - -⏑⏑⏑-
(niḥ)sa(ṅ)g[a ?](s) t[o ?](y)[ava ?]d gām praviśati bahudhā mūrttiṁ vibha(jati) .
khe varṣaty ambu-dhārāṁ jvalati ca yugapat sandhyāmbuda (°ndhyambuda — sic) iva
sva-cchandāt parvva[teṣu ?] (v)rajati ca vi(dhiv)[a ?](d) dh[ar ?](m)m[a ?](ñ) c[a ?] (ca)[rati ?] . .
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 11. 1-2]

3) paśyatty (sic) asyānnya-(ca)kṣur (sic)
i⏑⏑⏑⏑⏑- -⏑- -⏑- -
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 27a, 1. 3]

4) guhyaṅ gūhati duṣkarāṇi (k)urute tat-saṅgatai-⏑- (= 'a' ?)
- - -⏑⏑-⏑-⏑⏑⏑- - -⏑- -⏑- (= 'b' ?) .
- - -⏑⏑-⏑-⏑⏑⏑- - -⏑- -⏑- (= 'c' ?)
- - -⏑⏑-⏑-⏑⏑⏑- -(dhā)c ca na bbhraśyati (sic) (= 'd') . .
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 7, obverse side, 11. 2-3 (to be read together with the later restorations)]

Anyway, the free handling of the easy and difficult classical metres in the Ś. (besides those in the B. and the S. discussed above) proves that Aśvaghoṣa was adept in metrics.

From the foregoing discussions regarding the different prakaraṇa features we therefore arrive at the cogent conclusion that Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. correspond properly with the rules of dramaturgy relating to a prakaraṇa. In brief, practice is not much removed from theory. The few deviations are not devoid of propriety. Are we to suppose that Aśvaghoṣa followed some pro-śānta school of dramaturgy ?

Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa's S. is important to the historian of classical drama and dramaturgy as the earliest known decisive document of a prakaraṇa.

f) *Śānta-rasa synthesis* — After treating of the pertinent technicalities of kāvya-vibhāga in connection with Aśvaghoṣa's B., S., Ś. and R. we might now examine the particulars about śānta-rasa and its relationship with other khaṇḍa-rasas, and judge in the light of such details the first three of the afore-said four kāvyas[1].

According to the upholders of śānta-rasa synthesis śānta-rasa has been acclaimed as the rasa par excellence (rasendra = rasādhirāja = rasottama). A great importance has been attached to this rasa inasmuch as it is the only primeval rasa (prakṛti-rasa) which is the state of equilibrium of the eight khaṇḍa-rasas like śṛṅgāra, hāsya, etc. (śṛṅgārādi-sarva-khaṇḍa-rasa-sāmyāvasthā). This original rasa (ādi-rasa) is said to be the quintessence of the remaining khaṇḍa-rasas (sarva-khaṇḍa-rasa-sāra). Thus, śānta-rasa is the fountain-head from which the eight evolute rasas (vikṛti-rasas) have emanated. In other words, śānta-rasa is the basic sentiment (mūlabhūta rasa) of which śṛṅgāra, hāsya, etc. are the different modified manifestations (vaiṣamya-prakāras).

---

1) We have seen in Chapter II above that the R. is known to us through its gist in Chinese, and that no manuscript of this drama is available now. Barring the brief stage direction from the early portion of the prologue (discussed above) no other citation from the body of this drama has been traced as yet in any other work. Nevertheless the said gist proves indubitably that the preached matter depicts śānta-rasa even though this point cannot be substantiated with the help of any quotation from the Sanskrit text.

To approach the whole matter from a different perspective, śānta-rasa is the only real rasa which assumes the unreal (āpāta) forms of the khaṇḍa-rasas. That is to say, śānta-rasa is the rasa proper while the eight khaṇḍa-rasas are the upādhi-bhedas.

In any case, śānta-rasa has been assigned the best status of the predominant (pradhāna) sentiment while the eight khaṇḍa-rasas have been awarded the cadres of the subordinate (upasarjanībhūta) sentiments. Of these khaṇḍa-rasas one is relatively important whereas the others are merely fleeting sentiments. Technically speaking, the relatively prominent sentiment is given the status of a sthāyi-bhāva while the evanescent sentiments are called saṁcāri-rasas. This sthāyi-bhāva[1] appears to be favourable (anukūla = poṣaka) to śānta-rasa. Of the remaining seven saṁcāri-rasas some seem to be helpful and some antagonistic (pratikūla = virodhin) by nature. Vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa plays usually the role of sthāyi-bhāva in śānta-rasa while adbhuta-saṁcāri-rasa and śṛṅgāra-saṁcāri-rasa are friendly and antagonistic respectively to the selfsame śānta-rasa. Thus vīra-sthāyi-bhāva proves to be friendlier to śānta-rasa when this sthāyin intervenes between the main sentiment and some such favourable saṁcāri-rasa like adbhuta. Again, vīra-sthāyin serves the purpose of a neutraliser in between śānta-rasa and some such opposing saṁcāri-rasa like śṛṅgāra. Strictly speaking, śānta-rasa is absolutely transparent like crystal (sphaṭikavat svaccha-varṇa) and as such it is beyond the mundane range of duality like maitrī and virodhitā.

Further, the presiding deity (adhidevatā) of this pure (śuddha-sattva-sva-rūpa) and sublime (uttama) rasa has been mentioned variously as Para-Brahman, Nārāyaṇa, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha.

However, śānta-rasa is the aesthetic counterpart of mokṣa, the fourth and the highest (uttama = parama) puruṣārtha. On the contrary, the eight vikṛti-rasas pertain to the first three puruṣārthas, viz., i) dharma, ii) artha and iii) kāma. In other words, śānta-rasa alone is superterrestrial (alaukika = lokottara) while the khaṇḍa-rasas are worldly (laukika = sāṁsārika). So śānta-rasa is attainable through the sublimation of the eight sāṁsārika rasas.

---

1) This sthāyi-bhāva-tulya khaṇḍa-rasa has to be distinguished from the normal sthāyi-bhāva proper of śānta-rasa, viz., nirveda (to be discussed a little later).

But the realisation (rasāsvāda = hṛdaya-saṁvāda) of the sublime śānta-rasa depends obviously on the highly cultivated (uttama) nature (śīla) of the extraordinary readers and the audience. To be explicit, the aesthetic experience of this subtle rasa requires appropriate inborn potentialities (vāsanās = prāktana saṁskāras) and pro-śānta taste (ruci) of the discerning persons. Thus śānta-rasa is meant for the persons of mature intellect (vṛddhas) and dispassionate dispositions (virāgins = aparāmṛṣṭa-bāhyārthas). It is quite natural that this spiritual aesthesis should appeal to the highly cultured class of advanced intellect (kevala-sattva-buddhi = rajas-tamo-vihīna-mati) and exceptionally exalted nature (aloka-sāmānya-mahānubhāva-citta-vṛtti) — and not to the ordinary mass of self and pelf. A person of hedonistic nature (śṛṅgārin) cannot certainly appreciate the supermundane śānta-rasa[1]. Thus the appeal of śānta-rasa is restricted to the uttama-prakṛtika adhikārins only while that of the eight vikṛti-rasas is stretched to the wide range of the commonalty consisting of the madhyama-prakṛtika and adhama-prakṛtika persons. In brief, rasāsvāda-bheda depends on adhikāri-bheda which again is caused by vāsanā-bheda.

It is in accordance with the basic difference in the aesthetic susceptibilities of the adhikārins that the kāvyas may be divided into two broad classes, viz., i) mokṣa-pradhāna and ii) tri-varga-pradhāna. Both these categories of kāvyas have their respective groups of readers and audience. The former class attracts naturally the persons of saintly character while the latter one captivates the worldly-minded (tri-varga-sevin) people. Anyway, these classes of kāvyas grew up in an environment governed by the religio-social philosophy of varṇāśrama. This philosophy of life is linked up suitably with the four puruṣārthas and as such with the mokṣa-pradhāna and tri-varga-pradhāna groups of kāvyas.

Now, the mokṣa-pradhāna or śānta-rasa-pradhāna class of kāvyas is said to have the earliest exposition in the Mahā-Bhārata even though the appropriate background for this first śānta-rasa synthesis was prepared long ago by the age-old tradition of the sacerdotal and

1) Similarly bhayānaka-khaṇḍa-rasa cannot be apprehended properly by a vīra-prakṛtika person and vīra-rasa by a bhayānaka-prakṛtika one.

philosophical literature (śruti)[1] regulating the Erscheinungsformen of the dharma-para life established in the society and the renunciation of the mokṣaika-rasa life of the hermits. So the śānta-rasa synthesis in the Mahā-Bhārata is not at all an unknown feature.

This synthesis has been handed down through the ages both in literary practice and theory of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. Thus, the wide range of this practice comprises the religio-philosophical and allegorical kāvyas, both śravya and dṛśya, which deal with the noble deeds of some god or religious leader or saint, and accept the predominance of śānta-rasa[2]. These kāvyas cover a great variety of the classical epics[3], prose tales[4], dramas[5] and

1) The same „Strömung" of the religio-philosophical literature also flows through the popular pro-śruti didactic literature (siddhānta-śāstras) of later date like the Smṛti and Purāṇa texts. But we leave this topic here because we are concerned with the śānta-rasa synthesis of the Mahā-Bhārata and this Epic legacy in the later pro-śānta classical kāvyas and literary criticism.

2) There are no doubt many other tri-varga-niṣṭha kāvyas which do not depict śānta-rasa at all or portray it as a khaṇḍa-rasa only. But we leave them out of consideration in the present context because we are concerned with the śānta-rasa-pradhāna kāvyas only.

3) For example, Aśvaghoṣa's B. and S., an anonymous epic in Sanskrit on the life of the Buddha (discussed in Chapter II above), etc.

4) For example, Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-māla, etc.

We might note here that the Lalita-vistara (of the Sarvāstivādins) and the Mahā-vastu (of the Lokottaravādins) are also prose texts on the life of the Buddha. But they are composed in some unchiselled and free form of mixed Sanskrit and are marred by loose plot-construction and supernatural exaggerations. So they have no claims to be looked upon as classical prose kāvyas in Sanskrit.

5) For example, Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. and R., two Sanskrit dramas in Tokharian translation on the life of the Buddha (referred to in Chapter II above), etc.

[Contd.]

hymns[1].

Again, the same śānta-rasa tradition is traceable in the diverse treatises on the literary theories of a wide circle of critics who accept śānta as an independent rasa[2]. Of these critics Bharata has to be mentioned at the outset because his Nāṭya-śāstra

[Contd.]

It is also interesting that the actual performances of some dramas on the life of the Buddha have been mentioned in the Avadāna-śataka and the Bkaḥ-ḥgyur.

1) For example, Mātṛceṭa's Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra, etc.

We might add in this context that Aśvaghoṣa's two hymns on the Buddha are incorporated in his S., Canto 17 and B., Canto 26 (in the Tibetan and Chinese translations).

2) In this context we might refer to the views of some pūrva-pakṣins who deny firmly the existence of śānta-rasa both in śravya and dṛśya types of kāvya. According to them śānta-rasa has to be explained away as included in śuddha-śṛṅgāra (= mokṣa-śṛṅgāra) or dayā-vīra or śuddha-bībhatsa or vicitra-śṛṅgārādi-rasāṣṭaka. In other words, śānta-rasa has been said to be a sublime (śuddha = vicitra = alaukika = lokottara = saṁsārottara) state (rasatāpatti-daśā) of some (specified above) or all of the eight sāṁsārika sthāyi-bhāvas. From the common standpoint of these theorists it therefore appears that any acceptance of śānta as the separate and ninth rasa would be an uncalled-for superfluity (pṛthaktayā svīkāreṇa gaurava-doṣaḥ prasajyeta). Strictly speaking, these pūrva-pakṣins speak virtually of the merger of śānta-rasa into some or other of the unanimously accepted eight rasas (antarbhāva-vāda) — and not of the entire negation of śānta-rasa in any form (abhāva-vāda).

Besides the above antarbhāvavādins there are also other groups of pūrva-pakṣins who may be divided into three classes for the facilitation of our brief discussion. Thus, according to some critics śānta is accepted as a khaṇḍa-rasa in śravya-kāvya only — and not in dṛśya-kāvya. To be explicit, the eight sāṁsārika rasas (like śṛṅgāra, vīra, etc.) are based on the worldly (laukika) sthāyi-bhāvas (like rati, utsāha, etc.), which are nothing but the natural modifications

[Contd.]

has preserved for us the earliest known codification of the rules on dramaturgy and poetics even though this text has undergone palpably many minor and some major modifications in the different recensions. Thus his critical treatment of the psychological realisation of the eight sāṁsārika rasas (like śṛṅgāra, vīra, etc.) has given us more or less a fair picture of this topical analysis even if we admit of the variations in the textual readings. This primary treatment has been the starting point for further analysis and elaboration in the later expository literature.

But the śānta-rasa section, which appears only in certain textual traditions of the Nāṭya-śāstra, has given rise to a great deal of controversy among the post-Bharatan critics. According to some this problematic section cannot be regarded as genuine because it is not found in their recensions of the text where Bharata does neither specify śānta in the list of the rasas nor mention the sthāyi-bhāva, ālambana and uddīpana vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāri-bhāvas appropriate for the sublime (saṁsārottara) śānta-rasa. But it is striking enough that he has made direct provision for the corresponding constituents of the eight sāṁsārika rasas. Under these circumstances the śānta section in question cannot be looked upon as an integral part of Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra. This spurious section is therefore an interpolation by the later protagonists of śānta-rasa who

[Contd.]
(vikāras like rāga, dveṣa, etc.) of the innate ignorance (avidyā = anādi-vāsanā), and as such can be staged. On the contrary, śānta, even though as a khaṇḍa-rasa, means an exceptionally sublime (aloka-sāmānya = lokottara) state of the mind, which has to be free from all modifications (rāga-dveṣādi-vikāra-rahita) and actions (naiṣkarmya-lakṣaṇa), and so this rare climax (paryanta-bhūmi) cannot be staged. Thus, in this view śānta is comprehensible as a khaṇḍa-rasa in śravya-kāvya only — and is not fit for dṛśya-kāvya.

But according to the second group of critics śānta is accepted as a khaṇḍa-rasa in dṛśya-kāvya only — and not in śravya-kāvya.

Lastly, there are some theorists who accept śānta as a khaṇḍa-rasa in both śravya and dṛśya types of kāvya.

However, none of the above theorists accepts śānta as a predominant sentiment in any type of kāvya.

took the liberty of tampering with the original text of the Nāṭya-śāstra[1].

Further, some pūrva-pakṣins go to the extent that śānta-rasa has been invented by Udbhaṭa in course of his commentary on Bharata[2]. But in the absence of this exegesis we are not in a position to check the correctness of this theory.

Against the above views of the pūrva-pakṣins the pro-śānta siddhānta-pakṣins hold that the data furnished by the extant indisputable portions of Bharata's text go in favour of the authenticity of the controversial śānta section. Thus Bharata refers to some śama dramas meant for the select persons of mature intellect (vṛddhas) and dispassionate disposition (virāgins) besides the usual sāṁsārika (= tri-varga-niṣṭha) dramas[3]. Further, it must be admitted on all hands that Bharata was aware of the śānta-rasa synthesis of the Mahā-Bhārata. So śānta-rasa cannot be altogether foreign to Bharata. Moreover, a close study of the authentic portions of his text would reveal clearly the fact that he was not antagonistic to śānta-rasa. Furthermore, many post-Bharatan critics, who interpret and dilate upon Bharata's rasa doctrine, approve of śānta-rasa. Lastly, the wide range of the afore-mentioned kāvyas, which depict śānta as the predominant sentiment, would lend an indirect support to the śānta section in Bharata.

Therefore, we come to the inevitable conclusion that śānta-rasa

1) Should we presume that these anti-śānta theorists were antarbhāvavādins (noted above) ?

2) Some critics think that Rāhula has created śānta-rasa. According to others Vāsuki has invented this rasa. But so long as their texts are not brought to light we cannot verify the validity of such theories.

It would be interesting to add here that both the Lalita-vistara and the Sūtrālaṅkāra (= the Chinese version of Kumāralāta's Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti discussed beforehand in Chapter II) mention dramaturgy as a part of Sarvārthasiddha's course of training. But the nature of such references is too vague to give us any idea of śānta-rasa synthesis.

3) The mutual relationship obtaining among the kāvyas, puruṣārthas and adhikārins has been discussed earlier.

was known to Bharata and that the śānta portion in certain recensions of his Nāṭya-śāstra cannot be dispensed with as absolutely incoherent and absurd.

From the foregoing discussions it is now clear that there is an unbroken continuity of a regular śānta-rasa tradition both in literary practice and theory.

After these preliminary observations let us now delve into the technical constituents of śānta-rasa.

Thus the sthāyi-bhāva (dormant emotion) of śānta-rasa is naturally the inborn potentiality for emancipation (pūrva-janma-sukṛta = āśaya-śuddhi = avidyā-nāśa = tṛṣṇā-kṣaya = tattva-jñāna = samyag-jñāna). This divine discontent has been termed variously as nirveda and śama[1]. Anyway, this sthāyi-bhāva is the bīja (seed) for the apprehension (āsvāda) of śānta-rasa.

Again, the ālambana-vibhāva of śānta-rasa is Brahman (= Paramātman) or some upāsya-tattva.

The appropriate uddīpana-vibhāvas are upaniṣad-ādi-tattva-śāstra-pāṭha, gurūpadeśa, tīrtha-darśana, sādhu-samāgama, etc.

The proper anubhāvas are saumya-dṛṣṭi, yama, niyama, etc. The suitable sāttvika-bhāvas are stambha, romāñca, svara-bhaṅga, aśru, etc.

Lastly, the vyabhicāri-bhāvas of śānta-rasa are tapo-niyamaja-glāni, nānā-śāstra-vicintanaja-mati, vitarka, dhṛti, harṣa, etc.

The saṁyoga of the afore-mentioned sthāyi-bhāva, ālambana and uddīpana vibhāvas, anubhāvas (including sāttvika-bhāvas), and vyabhicāri-bhāvas results in śānta-rasa.

Now let us turn to Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas for considering the technicalities of śānta-rasa synthesis delineated therein.

As we have seen earlier, Aśvaghoṣa was professedly a missionary kavi[2]. His aim was to preach the Buddhistic path of peace

1) From the viewpoints of the various antarbhāvavādins the sthāyi-bhāva of śānta-rasa has to be explained away as included in rati, utsāha, jugupsā and raty-ādi-sthāyy-aṣṭaka in their śuddha (pure) and vicitra (sublime) states according as śānta-rasa has been merged in śuddha-śṛṅgāra (= mokṣa-śṛṅgāra), dayā-vīra, śuddha-bībhatsa and vicitra-śṛṅgārādi-rasāṣṭaka respectively.

2) S., 18/63-64 and B., 28/74 [in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations, p. 286]. These passages have been quoted beforehand.

(nirvāṇa-mārga) to the different categories of the laity about him under the garb of established kāvya-forms[1]. A close study of the common didactic content of his kāvyas (despite the difference in the story materials)[2] would give some Einblicke in his Gedankenwelt. Thus these kāvyas have on the whole a common theme that a man of the world (rāgin gṛhastha) is converted into a recluse (virāgin bhikṣu)[3]. In these kāvyas [viz., the B., S., Ś. and R. (if we were allowed to embark upon some workable hypothesis about its hitherto unknown plot on the basis of its sources)] we find the portrayal of some ardent spirit in quest of the Lebenszweck. This searching soul quivers with the glow of some sought-after truth, fights and triumphs over the storm of passion, and enters into the citadel of absolute tranquillity (nirvāṇa) in which ātman (= buddhi-saukṣmya = vijñāna-skandha) ceases to operate as a separate entity[4].

This nirvāṇa norm permeates the Weltanschauung of both Aśvaghoṣa and his dhīra-praśānta heroes[5]. Thus the world of

---

1) His purpose of preaching and propaganda of Buddhistic nairātmya-vāda is quite palpable in the extant textual remains of the B., S. and Ś. The same motif is also clear even in the substance of his R. available in Chinese.

2) The narrative materials of the S., B. and Ś. can be gathered more or less from the textual remains and translations available to us. But the plot of the R. remains admittedly still unknown to us though we might make some surmise about it from the sources discussed in Chapter II above.

3) Does this preference for the theme of conversion in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas indicate that he himself was a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa ? The sermons and psalms as found in his works would favour this legendary conjecture. But no categorical statement is possible in this matter.

4) The nature of nirvāṇa will be dilated upon in Chapter IV. We will also see that the propagation of this philosophy of life for the enlightenment of the public contains virtually the germ of early Mahā-yāna.

5) We discussed beforehand that the Buddha was the hero in both the B. and the S. In the latter mahā-kāvya Nanda, a dhīra-

[Contd.]

multivarious phenomena is but apparent (āpāta-sattāka). From this viewpoint the externalia of tri-varga-sevā would be useless. So nirvāṇa is the siddhānta-pakṣa which annuls saṁsāra, the pūrva-pakṣa. Nevertheless the metaphysically unreal world has empirical existence and as such tri-varga-sevā also has its sāṁsārika justification. In other words, śānta-rasa, the aesthetic counterpart of the philosophical nirvāṇa, reigns supreme in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas though the sāṁsārika khaṇḍa-rasas like vīra, śṛṅgāra, etc. are portrayed there as subdued sentiments. Despite the professed predominance of śānta-rasa the khaṇḍa-rasas had to be introduced by Aśvaghoṣa in pursuance of the established principles of kāvya patterns (= kāvya-dharmas). Thus śānta-rasa synthesis serves the purpose of some sort of a compromise between puritanic preaching and lalita kāvya-forms[1].

However, this śānta-rasa synthesis appears to have derived some influence from that of the Mahā-Bhārata discussed above.

Now, let us take an account of the technicalities of śānta-rasa

[Contd.]
lalita nonentity by nature, was guided by the dhīra-praśānta Buddha and metamorphosed into a dhīra-praśānta personality. We also saw that Śāriputra was the dhīra-praśānta hero of the Ś. Lastly, the śānta teachings of the R. (as found in the Chinese substance mentioned above) would tempt us to guess that Rāṣṭrapāla too might be a dhīra-praśānta hero. In any case a hero of the dhīra-praśānta type suits well in temperament with śānta-rasa synthesis.

1) We have seen earlier that Aśvaghoṣa belonged to the transitional period between late Hīna-yāna and early Mahā-yāna and that his kāvyas fell in with the growing Mahā-yāna tendency in art which ignored the Aṅguttara interdiction.

We have also pointed out that the B. showed some restraint over the use of the lalita elements while the S. and the Ś. indulged in a gradual excess of such features. This excess incurred the displeasure of the staunch Buddhist translators who misunderstood the purpose of the frail distractions of the two last-mentioned kāvyas despite the deeper import of śānta-rasa synthesis intended therein. However, no judgment is possible about the lalita aspects of the R. because the Sanskrit text of the body of this drama is lost.

and its relationship with the khaṇḍa-rasas as delineated in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Thus the sthāyi-bhāva of śānta-rasa is nirveda or śama (= saṁvega = pūrvāśaya-śuddhi = pravrajyā-'nukūla-karma-phala-saṁskāra). This bodhy-anukūlatā is latent in the humane minds of the bodhi-sattvas (= bodhy-unmukha sattvas). This inborn śānta-rasa-bīja must be in the naturally sober and sensitive minds of the Buddha, Nanda, Śāriputra and most likely Rāṣṭrapāla.

The ālambana-vibhāva is the Buddhistic nairātmya-tattva[1].

The uddīpana-vibhāvas are the kṣaṇika saṁsāra (with janman, jarā, vyādhi and mṛtyu), tapo-vana-darśana, Bauddha-bhikṣu-samāgama, nairātmyopadeśa-śravaṇa, etc.

The anubhāvas are yama, niyama, saumya-dṛṣṭi, etc. The sāttvika-bhāvas are stambha, vaivarṇya, etc.

The vyabhicāri-bhāvas are mati, vitarka, dhṛti, harṣa, etc.

The saṁyoga of the afore-mentioned sthāyi-bhāva, ālambana and uddīpana vibhāvas, anubhāvas and sāttvika-bhāvas, and vyabhicāri-bhāvas results in śānta-rasa.

This śānta-rasa controls the khaṇḍa-rasas[2] like vīra, sṛṅgāra, etc. which converge (paryavasyanti) finally in the former. To be explicit, śānta is the abiding sentiment (= pāryantika rasa) while the subdued (upasarjanīkṛta) khaṇḍa-rasas (= sāṁsārika-rasas = tri-varga-rasas) are mere transitory sentiments (kṣaṇika-rasas) which are denied of any crescendo (paryanta-vairasya-bhū) and which culminate ultimately in śānta-rasa. In this way śānta-rasa synthesis is achieved and the khaṇḍa-rasas subservient to śānta-rasa are cases of rasavat alaṅkāra.

Now we might take an account of the khaṇḍa-rasas as portrayed in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Of these khaṇḍa-rasas vīra is relatively

1) It is not the Hīna-yāna ideal of arhattva of some individual ascetic only. It also contains the germ of altruism peculiar to Mahā-yāna. As we know, Aśvaghoṣa's doctrinal standpoint belongs to the transitional period between late Hīna-yāna and early Mahā-yāna.

2) Technically speaking, none of the khaṇḍa-rasas can be called rasa proper because that would lead to the unwarranted multiplicity of rasas in a single kāvya.

prominent and may thus be said to enjoy the status of a sthāyi-bhāva[1] in relation to śānta-rasa while the rest should be termed mere saṁcāri-rasas.

Thus vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa is favourable to śānta-rasa (śānta-rasā-'nukūla) and there is aṅgāṅgi-bhāva between them. The sthāyi-bhāva of this vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa is utsāha (= pratijñā = strong resolve).

However, this pro-śānta vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa takes its stand in between śānta-rasa and śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa, and thus serves the purpose of some conciliatory element in between the two incompatible sentiments[2].

This vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa plays an important part in establishing the victory of peace in the psychological conflict of Sarvārthasiddha Nanda and presumably of Śāriputra and Rāṣṭrapāla.

Let us now turn to śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa as delineated in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. This khaṇḍa-rasa is portrayed in four ways, viz., i) sambhoga, ii) sambhogābhāsa, iii) vipralambha and iv) vipralambhābhāsa. Thus the sambhoga aspect is depicted peerlessly in the narration of the sweet conjugal life of Nanda and Sundarī. The delicate charm of this intimate picture has a universal appeal for all time and clime. The similar scene of love-affair between Somadatta (alias Śāriputra) and Magadhavatī is equally captivating. There is also a brief reference to the love-dalliances between Sarvārthasiddha and Yaśodharā.

Again, the sambhogābhāsa is suggested in the one-sided (anubhaya-niṣṭha) and fruitless love-overtures by the harem damsels to Sarvārthasiddha whose dispassionate (udāsīna) mind ponders over the transience of life fraught with old age (jarā), illness (vyādhi) and death (mṛtyu), frailty of merely apparent (āpāta) physical beauty and falsity of love-affair. The same feeling also sways the mind of Śāriputra when Magadhavatī chances to meet him after his renunciation. It is also obvious that Nanda realises the baselessness of attachment in the mature stage of his penance when the coquetries of the water-sprites fail to distract his mind.

1) This sthāyi-bhāvavat vīra-khaṇḍa-rasa is distinct from nirveda or śama, the sthāyi-bhāva proper of śānta-rasa.

2) The question of rasa-virodha-doṣa and its pratiprasavas in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas will be dilated upon a little later after the treatment of the khaṇḍa-rasas.

The vipralambha aspect is depicted in the longings for reunion of love-lorn Nanda and Sundarī.

The vipralambhābhāsa is portrayed in the merely one-sided (anubhaya-niṣṭha) pining of Yaśodharā for Sarvārthasiddha after he becomes a recluse.

However, repudiation of all types of śṛṅgāra (sarva-vidha-śṛṅgāra-bādhyamānatva) is intended by Aśvaghoṣa whose main aim is to delineate śānta as the predominant rasa.

Next we pass on to hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasa. This khaṇḍa-rasa is suggested in the humorous and witty observations in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Thus in the Ś. Kaumudagandha, the Vidū[ṣaka], passes some funny remarks and parodies the Tāpa[sa]. In the B. Yaśodharā ridicules Chandaka, the charioteer, for returning alone to Kapilavāstu after leaving Sarvārthasiddha in the forest[1]. In the S. Sundarī bursts into bitter satire upon Nanda's supposed infidelity to her in course of her hysterical lamentations in separation from him[2]. Nanda is also taunted by Ānanda for practising penance for enjoying the company of the heavenly damsels.

Next we take up bībhatsa-khaṇḍa-rasa. This khaṇḍa-rasa appears by way of ābhāsa only because of the want of reciprocity (anubhaya-niṣṭhatva). Thus the feeling of abhorrence of womenfolk (strī-vighātana) is evoked in the mind of Sarvārthasiddha at the disgusting sight of the enticing harem damsels. Again, the practice of some grotesque forms of self-mortification as narrated by an ascetic to Sarvārthasiddha rouses resentment instead of interest in the latter[3].

---

1) In the B. Sarvārthasiddha is apprised by an ascetic of some queer forms of self-mortification followed in the forest. This description sounds as a Buddhistic propaganda by Aśvaghoṣa against such heretic forms of worship and appears to have been intended by him for producing a ludicrous effect. But from the technical point of view this description should be treated as hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasābhāsa — and not hāsya-khaṇḍa-rasa — inasmuch as it fails to amuse serious Sarvārthasiddha.

2) Such cases of pungent sarcasm are illustrations of ākṣepa alaṅkāra of the "vidhi-mukhena niṣedha-rūpaḥ" variety to be dealt with later on under the Alaṅkāras.

3) This narration appears to contain some amount of Buddhistic propaganda against certain peculiar forms of worship.

Further, the self-composure and fortitude of sober Sarvārthasiddha stir up strong repugnance in the soldiers of Māra who express this feeling of disdain through their scornful appearance and bizarre dress. Similarly the contempt of ugliness and frailty of women (strī-vighāta) as described by some misogynist monk to forcibly ordained Nanda, when he is still enamoured of Sundarī, fails to rouse chagrin in the latter. In the Ś. Śāriputra disdains mundane pleasures while Magadhavatī still loves him.

Next let us turn to raudra-khaṇḍa-rasa. This khaṇḍa-rasa also appears as ābhāsa only because of the absence of reciprocation (anubhaya-niṣṭhatva). Thus Sarvārthasiddha's calm demeanour and dogged determination for attaining enlightenment in course of deep meditation spark off violent indignation in the soldiers of Māra. But the expression of their frightful wrath fails to produce any effect in Sarvārthasiddha.

Then we come to bhayānaka-khaṇḍa-rasa. It also appears as ābhāsa only because there is no mutuality of feeling (anubhaya-niṣṭhatva). Thus the horrid physiques, dresses and weapons of the army of Māra fail to strike terror into Sarvārthasiddha's tranquillized mind.

Next we turn to karuṇa-khaṇḍa-rasa. Thus the Mallas and other unenlightened followers of the Buddha give vent to their grief after his death.

Lastly, we come to adbhuta-khaṇḍa-rasa. Thus the miraculous feats and phenomena as described in several places in the B., S. and Ś suggest this khaṇḍa-rasa[1].

After the foregoing treatment of the predominant śānta-rasa and the different khaṇḍa-rasas in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas we might now deal with the question of the mutual relationship obtaining between the saṁsārottara śānta-rasa and the group of sāṁsārika khaṇḍa-rasas. As we know, śānta-rasa is the aesthetic counterpart of philosophical

1) We saw beforehand that Aśvaghoṣa belonged to late Hīnayāna and composed his kāvyas on the Lebenswandel of the historical Buddha — and not any Buddha-idea of late Mahā-yāna. It was therefore quite natural for the kavi to hold in check any excess of miracles which would disprove the credible historicity. But the supernatural exaggeration of the Lalita-vistara and the Mahā-vastu committed the literary flaw termed loka-virodhitva.

nirvāṇa. Like nirvāṇa śānta-rasa also is free from all the sāṁsārika modifications of the mind, viz., attachment (= rāga = kāma), frivolity (= cāpala = kautuka), repulsion (= dveṣa = ghṛṇā), anger (= krodha), horror (= bhī) and grief (= duḥkha). In other words, the sobriety of śānta-rasa is not compatible with the six sāṁsārika khaṇḍa-rasas, viz., i) śṛṅgāra, ii) hāsya, iii) bībhatsa, iv) raudra, v) bhayānaka and vi) karuṇa. The six khaṇḍa-rasas, again, may be reduced conveniently into one basic khaṇḍa-rasa, viz., śṛṅgāra. There is thus an antagonism between śānta-rasa and śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa (inclusive of its five evolutes). Nevertheless all possibilities of psychological contradiction (rasa-virodha-doṣa) can be avoided from the technical standpoint. Thus the intervention (vyavadhāna) of the two pro-śānta khaṇḍa-rasas, viz., vīra and adbhuta, counteracts the problem of immediate collocation (nairantarya) of the two opposite categories of sentiments, viz., śānta-rasa and śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa (including its associates). Again, there is no real polarity (virodha) proper of śānta and śṛṅgāra (with its parivāra) because the former is decisively final (pāryantika) and predominant (bādhaka) while the latter is only occasional (paryanta-vairasya-bhū) and subordinate (bādhya). Further, the confirmation of śānta-rasa (śānta-rasa-viniścaya) cancels the possibility of any dubiety, (sandigdhatva-doṣa) which would otherwise occur in the event of ambivalence (tulyobhaya-koṭikatva). Besides the bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva there is also the crystal (sphaṭika-svaccha) nature of śānta-rasa which is immune to friendship (maitrī) and enmity (virodhitā) with the khaṇḍa-rasas. Thus, in an atmosphere of pronounced neutrality of śānta-rasa synthesis the khaṇḍa-rasas are merely apparent and no virodha can be poignant.

Beside the afore-said cases of rasa-virodha-doṣa-pratiprasava there are some instances in which rasa-doṣa cannot be supported from the standpoint of the later literary critics. Thus the mention (both "sāmānyata upādānam" and "viśeṣata upādānam") of rasa and some bhāvas should be looked upon as the kāvya-doṣa known as "rasādi-sva-śabda-vācyatva"[1]. But we might add here a point in favour of Aśvaghoṣa that his kāvyas belonged undoubtedly

---

1) Some technical details of this rasa-doṣa will be borne out by the relevant illustrations from Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts to be cited later on under the "Doṣas".

to an early period of the classical Sanskrit literature when the later refinements and strictures of the kāvya-technicalities could not take place.

Anyway, one thing is certain that śānta-rasa is Aśvaghoṣa's forte. This śānta norm is preached by him in his four authentic kāvyas[1]. It is obvious that these kāvyas come in the wake of the śānta-rasa tradition established earlier by the Mahā-Bhārata. It is therefore natural that the delineation of śānta-rasa synthesis in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is modelled on that in the Mahā-Bhārata. Aśvaghoṣa emulates his ideal both in śravya and dṛśya types of kāvyas which furnish us with the earliest known specimens of the Classical Sanskrit literature. These actual kāvya-specimens set at naught all the speculative pūrva-pakṣas (discussed above) on the merger (antarbhāva) of śānta-rasa in śuddha-śṛṅgāra, śuddha-vīra, etc. and the partial acceptance of śānta as a khaṇḍa-rasa only in either śravya-kāvya or dṛśya-kāvya or both. We therefore conclude that Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas are extremely important to the histories of Sanskrit literature, poetics and dramaturgy.

g) *Guṇas* — We saw above that śānta was the predominant sentiment in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Let us now treat of the kāvya-properties (guṇas) appropriate for śānta-rasa. But before we deal with the details of these pro-śānta guṇas we might enter here some preliminary observations on the guṇas in general from the standard viewpoint of the ālaṅkārikas. Thus the guṇas are the inherent qualities of rasa (rasa-samaveta dharmas). In other words, the guṇas reside in rasa in samavāya relation. Being thus intimate to rasa the guṇas become indispensable (niyata) and favourable (anukūla) to rasa. Though abstract by nature (sva-rūpataḥ) these guṇas are suggested by means of śabda and artha. There is therefore vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva between the suggested guṇas on the one hand and

---

1) This much is doubtless that nirvāṇa is the aim of Aśvaghoṣa's four kāvyas and as such śānta-rasa is the main sentiment in all of them. But the B., S. and Ś. only admit of the analytical treatment of both śānta-rasa and khaṇḍa-rasas. On the contrary, the Chinese gist of the R. enables us to gather some idea about śānta-rasa only — and nothing about khaṇḍa-rasas.

the suggestive śabda and artha on the other[1]. However, the guṇas are the positive properties of rasa. These guṇas are three in number, viz., i) prasāda, ii) mādhurya and iii) ojas.

This standard three-guṇa theory has been followed mainly in the present treatment of the pro-śānta guṇas[2]. Thus prasāda and mādhurya are the two guṇas which are suitable for śānta-rasa. We propose to deal with them at first in due order and then touch upon the other qualities traceable in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. To begin with, prasāda (perspicuity) means the clarity of artha through appropriate śabda. This comprehensibility is achieved through abundance of single words (cūrṇa-padas), occasional use of compound words (samasta-padas) consisting of not more than three members and in every case easy syntactical construction of such words[3]. This simplicity is commensurate with the rāga-dveṣa-rahita character of śānta-rasa. This perspicuity[4] is also best suited to Aśvaghoṣa's preaching purpose[5].

Let us now cite some instances from Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts in the following :—

a) snigdhābhir ābhir hṛdayaṁgamābhiḥ
samāsataḥ snāta ivāsmi vāgbhiḥ.
ratiś ca me dharma-nava-grahasya
vispanditā saṁprati bhūya eva .. [B., 7/46]

---

1) Though virtually rasāśraya under all circumstances the vyaṅgya guṇas are attributed indirectly to the vyañjaka śabda and artha in the secondary way (gauṇa or bhākta or lākṣaṇika or aupacārika vyāpāra) only through relationship with rasa. In other words, śabda and artha suggest not only the guṇa-samavāyin rasa but also the rasa-samaveta guṇas.

2) But there are still certain qualities in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas which correspond with some technical and non-technical guṇas of other views as well. It will therefore be necessary to refer to such guṇas in course of our discussion.

3) In these respects prasāda agrees with mādhurya (mādhurya-saṁvādin = mādhurya-samānādhikaraṇa).

4) It is obvious that the standard prasāda-guṇa covers Vāmana's śabda-guṇa termed artha-vyakti.

5) This prasāda-guṇa corresponds to sphuṭatva of Mātṛceṭa and Rudradāman.

b) tṛptir nāstīndhanair agner nāmbhasā lavaṇāmbhasaḥ .
nāpi kāmaiḥ satṛṣṇasya tasmāt kāmā na tṛptaye .. [S., 11/32]

c) ...... [Śramaṇaḥ — ?]
tri(bh)iś (tṛ° — sic) śiṣyaiḥ parivṛtaḥ
śobhate muni-candramāḥ (.)
......(n) tr(i).... ....
......(y)ukta iva candramāḥ (..)[1]
[Ś., folio designated C 1, reverse side, 11. 2-3][2]

Next we take up mādhurya (sweetness). This guṇa is suggested by means of mostly single words (cūrṇa-padas)[3] and occasionally compound words (samasta-padas) of not more than three members consisting of melodious (madhura = śruti-mano-hara) consonants, simple and conjunct[4]. This pada-lālitya[5] lends an attractive garb to Aśvaghoṣa's preaching[6].

Let us now quote some instances from Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts in the following :—

a) api nāma vihaṅgānāṁ vasantenāhṛto madaḥ .
na tu cintayato 'cintyaṁ janasya prājñamāninaḥ ..
[B., 4/52]

b) vaiḍūrya-nālāni ca kāñcanāni
padmāni vajrāṅkura-kesarāṇi .
sparśakṣamāṇy uttama-gandhavanti
rohanti niṣkampa-talā nalinyaḥ .. [S., 10/24]

---

1) Should we read "nakṣatrāṇān tribhiḥ śubhraiḥ saṁyukta iva candramāḥ" ?

2) Such illustrations give us an average idea of the lucid quality of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. But there are still some enigmatic cases which baffle an easy approach to interpretation and which may thus be set apart for separate treatment later on under the "Doṣas".

3) In this point the standard mādhurya-guṇa covers Vāmana's śabda-guṇa termed mādhurya (= pṛthak-padatva).

4) In these respects mādhurya agrees with prasāda discussed above (prasāda-saṁvādin = prasāda-samānādhikaraṇa).

5) This agreeable (ślakṣṇa = sūnṛta = priya) quality of speech has been noted earlier in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata.

6) This sweetness has been referred to by Mātṛceṭa and Rudradāman as well.

c) ...... — Maga[dhavatī] — naṅ kahin te geham — Nāya[kaḥ] — bhava(t)i ..... [gṛ ?](h)[a ?]n ta(t) loke parigrahavatāṅ g[ṛ ?]hiṇāṅ g[ṛ ?]hā(ṇ)i (m)...... manaso gṛhabhūtam eva — ... ...

[Ś, frg. no. (K) 4, obverse side, l. 4 and reverse side, l. 1][1]

But beside these cases of mādhurya there are still some stray uses of single and compound (both short and long) words comprising harsh [paruṣa = ulbaṇa = ūrjita = (vi)citra] consonants (both single and conjunct). Such uses are to be treated as cases of ojas[2]. Let us take some illustrations in the following :—

a) kecit tīkṣṇair ayo-daṁṣṭrair bhakṣyante dāruṇaiḥ śvabhiḥ.
kecid dhṛṣṭair ayas-tuṇḍair vāyasair āyasair iva .. [B., 14/14]

---

1) Such instances give us an average idea of mādhurya in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. But there are certain cases in which the compound words are found to consist of more than three members even though the component consonants are melodious by nature. Let us cite some examples in the following :—

a) paṇavaṁ yuvatir bhujāṁsa-deśād
avavisraṁsita-cāru-pāśam anyā .
savilāsa-ratānta-tāntam ūrvor
vivare kāntam ivābhinīya śiśye .. [B., 5/56]

b) darīcarīṇām atisundarīṇāṁ
mano-hara-śroṇi-kucodarīṇām (°ṇāṁ — sic) .
vṛndāni rejur diśi kinnarīṇāṁ
puṣpotkacānām iva vallarīṇām (°ṇāṁ — sic) .. [S., 10/13]

c) sorṇṇa-bhrūs (°-bbhrus — sic) tanu-mṛdu-jāla-pāṇi-pā(daḥ)
... ... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, ll. 3-4]

In these cases one thing is noteworthy that the length of the compounds does not hinder the intended sense. Strictly speaking, such lengthy compounds are traces of ojas. But ojas is said to be the vortex of life of prose only in both Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī rītis. This guṇa is not allowed in poetry in Vaidarbhī rīti though approved in Gauḍī rīti. We will see later on that the rīti followed by Aśvaghoṣa in his kāvyas should be termed Vaidarbhī. So the use of the long compounds in the afore-cited cases would appear to be questionable.

2) This guṇa has been accepted earlier in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata.

b) varāha-mīnāśva-kharoṣṭra-vaktrā
vyāghrarkṣa-siṁha-dvi-radānanāś ca .
ekekṣaṇā naika-mukhās tri-śīrṣā
lambodarāś caiva pṛṣodarāś ca .. [B., 13/19]

c) tvag-asthi-māṁsa-kṣatajātmakaṁ yadā
śarīram āhāra-vaśena tiṣṭhati .
ajasram ārtaṁ satata-pratikriyaṁ
balānvito 'smīti kathaṁ vihanyase .. [S., 9/9][1]

All these examples are in keeping with some ulbaṇa khaṇḍa-rasa or other and as such propriety (aucitya)[2] is not hampered.

But it is necessary to add here that ojo-guṇa has been suggested occasionally in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts in connection with some tīvra khaṇḍa-rasas only. There cannot be any contradiction (virodha) between this guṇa and mādhurya-guṇa which resides in the predominant śānta-rasa (as also in the śṛṅgāra and karuṇa khaṇḍa-rasas). In other words, ojo-guṇa is merely vyāpya-vṛtti while mādhurya-guṇa is essentially vyāpaka-vṛtti (though it is also vyāpya-vṛtti in relation to śṛṅgāra-khaṇḍa-rasa and karuṇa-khaṇḍa-rasa). Therefore, the apradhāna ojo-guṇa does not counteract (na hi vyāhantum īṣṭe) the pradhāna mādhurya-guṇa because "prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti".

However, mādhurya-guṇa has also been taken to mean flawless use of words (ukti-viśuddhi = śabda-sauṣṭhava = sauśabdya = sup-tiṅ-vyutpatti)[3]. In this sense mādhurya appears to be the essence of all the śabda-guṇas enumerated by Bharata and Vāmana[4].

We have discussed above the standard guṇas in relation to śānta-rasa. This time we turn to the other technical and non-technical guṇas of other views as well. By the technical guṇas we are to understand audārya, samādhi, etc. accepted by Daṇḍin, Vāmana and

---

1) Ojas has been accepted as a guṇa by Mātṛceṭa and Rudradāman as well.

2) Aucitya will be dealt with separately later on.

3) This sense has been referred to by Bharata, Bhāravi and Bhāmaha.

4) In this sense mādhurya-guṇa is considered indispensable to kāvya along with audārya-guṇa to be taken up shortly.

their followers. Some of these are also referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata and the early kāvya-specimens of the ornate Sanskrit literature. Again, by the non-technical guṇas we are to comprehend hitatva, anūnatva, etc. referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahā-Bhārata, Mātṛceṭa, Aśvaghoṣa, etc. Strictly speaking, these guṇas mean some basic qualities of speech (vākya-guṇas). An ideal dialogue has to be composed in the go-puccha technique and some of the original vākya-guṇas turn out to be kāvya-guṇas as well through extended application (vākya-dharmāṇāṁ kāvye 'py upacāraḥ — kāvyasya mahā-vākyatvāt).

After these introductory remarks on such guṇas in relation to the theoretical side and the literary tradition we might now explain and illustrate some of them. Firstly, audārya (= udāratva ; also called udāra) means wealth of import (= artha-gaurava = artha-gāmbhīrya = abhidheya-sampad)[1]. This guṇa appears to be the essence of the artha-guṇas enumerated by Bharata and Vāmana. This audārya of artha as well as mādhurya of śabda discussed above is considered indispensable to kāvya. Aśvaghoṣa refers to audārya as "arthavat" [2]

Next "padārthe (vaktavye) vākya-vacanam", "vyāsaḥ (= vistaraḥ)' and "samāsaḥ (= avistaraḥ)" come under Vāmana's artha-guṇa termed ojas (= artha-prauḍhi). Aśvaghoṣa's occasional epithet-mongering corresponds to vākya-vacana in the sense of padārtha[3]. He

1) This guṇa has been referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata.

2) tato vacaḥ sūnṛtam *arthavac* ca
suślakṣṇam ojasvi ca garvitaṁ ca . [B., 7/50ab]
We have seen above that Aśvaghoṣa's audārya has been eulogized by I-tsing.
However, this quality of speech has been referred to by Mātṛceṭa, Rudradāman and Bhāravi as well.

3) bhaṁ bhāsuraṁ cāṅgirasādhidevaṁ [= (Bṛhaspati-devatāka) Puṣya-nakṣatra] ... [B., 2/36a]
Agastya-juṣṭāṁ diśam aprayātām [= (Agastya-muni-sevitāṁ) dakṣiṇām āśām > dakṣiṇāśā-sthitaṁ mṛtyu-lokam] .
[B., 9/26b]

also mentions vyāsa and samāsa[1].

Then Daṇḍin's samādhi [= hypallage] is the fanciful superimposition (adhyāsa = adhyavasāna) of some dharma from its rightful dharmin to another dharmin through gauṇī sādhyavasānā lakṣaṇā. In Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas we find some cases which attest to such transference. These cases may be quoted in the following :—

a) *niṣṭhīvya* [= parityajya] kāmān upaśānti-kāmāḥ [S., 5/38[c]]

b) atha tatra śucau latā-gṛhe
kusum*odgāriṇi* [= puṣpa-prasavini] tau niṣedatuḥ . [S., 8/8[ab]]

c) ..... V(i)dū[ṣakaḥ] — kim puna *vi(c)cha(ḍ)ḍa(m)*
[= visarjanam] ..... [Ś., frg. no. (K) 22a, 1. 1][2]

Next we take up hitatva (= boddhavyopakārakatva). This is obviously a non-technical quality[3]. Aśvaghoṣa mentions this practical quality of speech in the following :—

a) tato *vacas* tasya niśamya mantriṇaḥ
priyaṁ *hitaṁ* caiva nṛpasya cakṣuṣaḥ . [B., 9/72[ab]]

b) ślakṣṇam api ca na jagāv ahitaṁ
hitam apy uvāca na ca paiśunāya yat . . [S., 3/33[cd]][4]

Lastly, we come to upapattimattva (= hetumattva = yukti-yuktatva = āgama-saṁhitatva = anākulatva) which means flawless

---

1) tasmād *vyāsa-samāsābhyāṁ* tan me vyākhyātum arhasi .
[S., 12/17[ab]]

snigdhābhir ābhir hṛdayaṁgamābhiḥ
samāsataḥ snāta ivāsmi vāgbhiḥ . [B., 7/46[ab]]
anūnam *avyastam* [= samastam] ... vacaḥ .. [B., 9/72[cd]]

It is interesting that Mātṛceṭa also mentions samāsa as a quality of speech.

2) The italicized śabdas in the three citations must be understood in their secondary arthas. The literary meanings are marred by grāmyatva-doṣa — or rather jugupsā-dāyakā-'ślīlatva-doṣa. So samādhi is a doṣā-'bhāva — and not a guṇa proper. In other words, samādhi is a guṇa only in a bhākta sense.

3) This quality of speech has been referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata.

4) Bhāravi also refers to hitatva.

logical construction of the sentences constituting a speech[1]. This quality is achieved through asaktatva (= ativyāpti-doṣa-rahitatva), anūnatva (= avyāpti-doṣa-rahitatva) and adrutatva (= asambhava-doṣa-rahitatva).

Strictly speaking, upapattimattva is the absence of the doṣas termed nyāya-virodhitva, āgama-virodhitva and nirhetutva. From this viewpoint upapattimattva may be called a guṇa only in a bhākta sense.

Again, upapattimattva may be explained as the presence of the three requisite properties of a vākya, viz., i) ākāṅkṣā, ii) yogyatā and iii) āsatti. Without these essential properties an assemblage of words (pada-kadambaka) would not constitute a vākya[2].

Now, upapattimattva and its features are mentioned in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Let us take some illustrations in the following :—

a) ity ātma-vijñāna-guṇānurūpaṁ
mukta-spṛhaṁ *hetumad* ūrjitaṁ ca .
śrutvā narendrātmajam *uktavantaṁ* ....
[B., 9/52[abc]]

b) tato munis tasya niśamya *hetumat*
prahīṇa-sarvāsrava-sūcakaṁ *vacaḥ* . [S., 18/49[ab]]

c) iti sma tat tad *bahu-yukti-yuktaṁ*
jagāda cāstaṁ .... [B., 7/32[ab]]

d) iti śrutvā *vacas* tasya ślakṣṇam *āgama-saṁhitam* .
[B., 4/83[ab]]

e) ity Arāḍo *yathāśāstraṁ* vispaṣṭārthaṁ samāsataḥ .
.... *vyabhāṣata* .. [B., 12/45[abd]]

f) *anūnam* avyastam *asaktaṁ adrutaṁ*
dhṛtau sthito rāja-suto 'bravīd *vacaḥ* .. [B., 9/72[cd]][3]

---

1) This quality of speech has been referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata.

2) ..... anyathā daśa-dāḍimādi-śabdavad eka-vākyatā na syāt . yathāhuḥ [Jaimini-caraṇāḥ] — "arthaikatvād ekaṁ vākyaṁ sāpekṣaṁ ced vibhāge syād" [Mīmāṁsā-sūtras, 2/1/46, Bibl. Ind. edn., Vol. I, p. 131] iti . [Mallinātha on Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya, 2/27]

..... daśa dāḍimāni, ṣaḍ apūpāḥ, kuṇḍam, ajājinaṁ, palala-piṇḍa iti vākyaṁ (= pada-kadambakam) vicāra-yogyaṁ na bhavati . [Tripurahara on Vāmana's Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 3/2/15]

3) Bhāravi also refers to upapattimattva as a quality of speech.

The several dialogues, which are found in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas, are composed palpably in the go-puccha technique. The neatness of logical construction is evident in these speeches.

From the foregoing data we therefore conclude that Aśvaghoṣa must be credited with some knowledge of the technical and non-technical qualities of kāvya which he appears to show — even though we are not in a position to say which ālaṅkārika school might be in his mind. Nevertheless one thing is certain that his kāvya-guṇas are commensurate with the predominant śānta-rasa and the subordinate khaṇḍa-rasas in question.

h) *Rīti* — After the treatment of the guṇas in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas we might now turn to the question of rīti used in his works. Thus, according to the standard theory of the ālaṅkārikas the topic of rīti is coupled with the issues of guṇa and rasa. Rīti suggests its appropriate guṇa and guṇa suggests its suitable rasa. In other words, rīti is guṇa-vyañjaka, guṇa is rīti-vyaṅgya and rasa-vyañjaka, and rasa is rīti-vyaṅgya-guṇa-vyaṅgya. So there is vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva between the two members of each pair. Again, rīti is the sākṣād-upakāraka of guṇa and ārād-upakāraka of rasa. To put the whole matter in the reverse order (vyutkrama), the predominant sentiment of a kāvya regulates the proper (rasā-'nukūla) guṇa, which also necessitates its suitable (guṇā-'nuguṇā) rīti.

In accordance with this siddhānta śānta-rasa would fit in with mādhurya-guṇa[1] and Vaidarbhī rīti. This rīti is also known as upanāgarikā vṛtti.

Now, śānta is the main sentiment in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas and prasāda-samānādhikaraṇa mādhurya[2] is the appropriate guṇa. It is

---

1) As we know, mādhurya is suggested through mostly single words (cūrṇa-padas) and occasionally compound words (samasta-padas) of not more than three members consisting of melodious (madhura) consonants, both simple and conjunct. This guṇa is also prasāda-samānādhikaraṇa.

2) We saw earlier that Aśvaghoṣa left some traces of ojas in the occasional uses in verses of long compounds comprised of sweet (madhura = komala) and hard (paruṣa = ulbaṇa) consonants — even though such compounds did not barricado the intended meanings. [Contd.]

therefore natural that Vaidarbhī should be the suitable rīti[1). Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts may be judged from the standard theory of the later ālaṅkārikas to be the earliest known specimens of Vaidarbhī rīti — even though we are not given to say whether he was aware of the technical concept of rīti as guṇātmaka (= guṇa-vyañjaka) śabda-sanniveśa.

i) *Doṣas* — According to the standard theory the term "Doṣa" has to be understood in the sense of a literary blemish by means of which rasa and its paraphernalia (rasa-parivāra) in a kāvya are tarnished (duṣyata apakṛṣyate rasādir aneneti doṣaḥ . karaṇa-vācye ghañ). This rasā-'pakarṣaṇa happens in three ways, viz., i) rasa-pratīti-pratibandha, ii) rasa-pratīti-prakarṣa-pratibandha and iii) rasa-pratīti-vilamba.

Anyway, the diverse doṣas may be divided into two broad categories, viz., i) nitya and ii) anitya. The nitya-doṣas are regarded as defects under all circumstances. On the contrary, the anitya-doṣas are looked upon as flaws under certain circumstances only.

In any case, the doṣas may occur in respect of śabda (= pada, padāṁśa and vākya) or artha (rasa, bhāva, etc.) according as these defects affect śabda-bhāga or artha-bhāga only. In other words, the relationship of the doṣas with the śabda-bhāga or the artha-bhāga is determined through anvaya (tat-sattve tat-sattā) and vyatireka (tad-asattve tad-asattā). Thus, śabda-gatatva and artha-gatatva of the doṣas depend on śabda-parivṛtty-asahatva and śabda-parivṛtti-sahatva respectively. However, the śabda-doṣas and artha-doṣas have been subdivided variously by the standard ālaṅkārikas.

Now we might turn to Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas for a critical examination of the doṣas from the viewpoint of the standard ālaṅkārikas.

[Contd.]
Such cases were introduced by Aśvaghoṣa in connection with some khaṇḍa-rasa or other. We could not call them devoid of propriety (aucitya). Further, these stray instances could not constitute Gauḍī rīti because the average Vaidarbhī rīti was established in chatri-nyāya

However, the question of aucitya will be dealt with separately later on.

1) The vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva between rasa and guṇa, and guṇa and rīti has been determined beforehand.

Aśvaghoṣa himself refers to some defects of speech which have to be explained in terms of the standard theory of the doṣas. There are also some aspects in his kāvya-texts which should be judged as doṣas from the standpoint of the standard ālaṅkārikas. Let us take an account of these doṣas in the following :—

1. *Duḥśravatva* —
   a) kaścit kvacic chraiṣṭhyam upaiti loke .
      [B., 1/46[b]]
   b) adyārthavat te śrutavac chrutaṁ tac
      chrutānurūpaṁ pratipadya dharmam (dharmaṁ — sic) .
      [S., 18/25[ab]]
2. *Śabda-gata Aślilatva* —
   a) ...... naraḥ sādhanavān iva . . [S., 1/9[d]]
   b) ...... yo vāntam annaṁ punar ādadīta . [B., 9/46[b]]
   c) aśanaṁ khalu vāntam ātmanā
      kṛpaṇaḥ śvā punar attum icchati . . [S., 8/21[cd]]
3. *Aprayuktatva* —
   a) dadau dvijebhyaḥ kṛśanaṁ ca gāś ca . . [B., 2/36[d]]
   b) Lekharṣabhasyeva vapur dvitīyaṁ ...... [B., 7/8[a]]
   c) Saṁkrandano divam ivānusṛto marudbhiḥ . .
      [S., 1/62[d]]
4. *Apratītatva* —
   a) avendravad divy ava śaśvad arkavad
      guṇair ava śreya ihāva gām ava .
      avāyur āryair ava sat-sutān ava
      śriyaś ca rājann ava dharman ātmanaḥ . . [B., 11/70]
   b) babhūva sa hi saṁvegaḥ śreyasas tasya vṛddhaye .
      dhātur edhir ivākhyāte paṭhito 'kṣara-cintakaiḥ . .
      na tu kāme [or preferably "kāmeṣu" (instead of
      "tu kāme") ; kāmān — sic] manas tasya
      kenacij jagṛhe dhṛtim [°tiḥ — sic] .
      triṣu kāleṣu sarveṣu
      nipāto 'stir iva smṛtaḥ . .
      [S., 12/9-10]
5. *Sandigdhatva* —
   a) na me kṣamaṁ saṁśayajaṁ hi darśanaṁ ....
      [B., 9/74[a]]

6. *Kliṣṭatva* —
   a) himāri-ketūdbhava-saṁbhavāntare
      yathā dvijo yāti vimokṣayaṁs tanum .
      himāri-śatru-kṣaya-śatru-ghātane
      tathāntare yāhi vimokṣayan manaḥ . . [B., 11/71]
   b) kāmasya pūrvaṁ hi vayaḥ śaravyaṁ
      na śakyate rakṣitum indriyebhyaḥ . . [B., 10/38[cd]]
   c) kanaka-valaya-bhūṣita-prakoṣṭhaiḥ
      kamalanibhaiḥ kamalān iva pravidhya .
      avanata-tanavas tato 'sya yakṣāś
      cakita-gatair dadhire khurān karāgraiḥ . . [B., 5/81]
7. *Avimṛṣṭa-vidheyāṁśatva* —
   a) tāsāṁ tadā sasvana-bhūṣaṇānāṁ
      vātāyaneṣv apraśamo babhūva . . [B., 3/18[cd]]
   b) bhraṣṭasya dharmāt pitṛbhir nipātād
      aślāghanīyo hi kulāpadeśaḥ . . [S., 18/31[cd]]
8. *Cyuta-saṁskāratva* —
   a) yadā ca jitvāpi mahīṁ samagrāṁ
      vāsāya dṛṣṭaṁ puram ekam eva . [B., 11/47[ab]]
   b) saṁdhāya mitraṁ balavantam āryaṁ ...... [S., 17/56[c]]
   c) ajasram ārtāṁ karuṇaṁ rudantīm . . [B., 9/26[d]]
   d) tāṁ cāru-dantīṁ prasabhaṁ rudantīṁ ...... [S., 6/35[a]]
9. *Kathita-padatva* —
   a) Hari-turaga-turaṅgavat turaṅgaḥ ...... [B., 5/87[a]]
   b) Nandaḥ priyāyā mukham īkṣamāṇo
      bhūyaḥ priyānandakaro babhūva . . [S., 4/23[cd]]
10. *Samāpta-punar-āttatva* —
   a) so 'śvattha-mūlaṁ sasuto 'bhyagacchad
      asvāsthyakārī manasaḥ prajānām . . [B., 13/7[cd]]
11. *Bhagna-prakramatva* —
   a) anikṣiptotsāho yadi khanati gāṁ vāri labhate
      prasaktaṁ vyāmathnañ (°thnan — sic) jvalanam
      araṇibhyāṁ janayati .
      prayuktā yoge tu dhruvam upalabhante śrama-phalaṁ
      drutaṁ nityaṁ yāntyo girim api hi bhindanti saritaḥ . .
      [S., 16/97]
12. *Apuṣṭārthatva* —
   a) na me kṣamaṁ ...... hi darśanaṁ
      grahītum avyakta-° . [B., 9/74[ab]]

13. *Kaṣṭārthatva* —

a) ekaṁ vininye sa jugopa sapta
saptaiva tatyāja rarakṣa pañca .
prāpa tri-vargaṁ bubudhe tri-vargaṁ
jajñe dvi-vargaṁ prajahau dvi-vargam . . [B., 2/41]

b) iti tri-vegaṁ tri-jhaṣaṁ tri-vīcam
ekāmbhasaṁ pañca-rayaṁ dvi-kūlam (°laṁ — sic) .
dvi-grāham aṣṭāṅgavatā plavena
duḥkhārṇavaṁ dustaram uttatāra . . [S., 17/60]

14. *Anavīkṛtatva* —

a) avaiti yo nānyam avaiti tebhyaḥ
so 'tyantikaṁ mokṣam avaiti tebhyaḥ . . [S., 16/48[cd]]

15. *Vidyā-viruddhatva* (= *Nyāya-virodhitva*, *Āgama-virodhitva*) *Vyāhatatva and Nirhetutva* —

a) na me kṣamaṁ ... hi darśanaṁ
grahītum ... parasparāhatam . [B., 9/74[ab]]

16. *Nirmukta-punar-uktatva* —

a) tutuṣus tuṣitāś caiva śuddhāvāsāś ca devatāḥ .
sad-dharma-bahu-mānena sattvānāṁ cānukampayā .
[S., 2/55]

17. *Rasādi-sva-śabda-vācyatva* —

a) ... vaśyātmā viharati ni[ḥ]spṛhaḥ kṛtārt(th)o
jñānasya (jā° — sic) ppraśama-rasasya (sic) caiva
pūrṇṇa(ḥ) [. .]
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 4]

b) ahaṁ punar bhīrur atīva-viklavo
jarā-vipad-vyādhi-bhayaṁ vicintayan .
labhe na śāntiṁ na dhṛtiṁ kuto ratiṁ
niśāmayan dīptam ivāgninā jagat . . [B., 4/98]

c) pitaram abhimukhaṁ sutaṁ ca bālaṁ
janam anuraktam anuttamāṁ ca lakṣmīm .
kṛta-matir apahāya nirvyapekṣaḥ
pitṛ-nagarāt sa tato vinirjagāma . . [B., 5/83]

d) upaviśya tatra kṛta-buddhir
acala-dhṛtir adri-rājavat .
Māra-balam ajayad ugram atho
bubudhe padaṁ śivam ahāryam avyayam (°yaṁ — sic)
[S., 3/7]

From the foregoing assessment of the doṣas in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas in the light of the standard theory of the ālaṅkārikas we might now pass on to the discussion on the alaṅkāras.

j) *Alaṅkāras* — The term "Alaṅkāra" is explained as the means of embellishing the body of a kāvya, i. e., śabda and artha (alaṅkriyate bhūṣyate 'nena kāvya-śarīraṁ śabdārtha-rūpam ity alaṅkāraḥ . karaṇa-vācye ghañ). So the function of an alaṅkāra is the beautification of either śabda-bhāga or artha-bhāga only or of both. In other words, an alaṅkāra may be either śabda-niṣṭha or artha-niṣṭha or śabdārthobhaya-niṣṭha according as the field of operation is śabda or artha alone or both. The śabda-gatatva or artha-gatatva or śabdārthobhaya-gatatva of an alaṅkāra is to be determined by means of anvaya (tat-sattve tat-sattā) and vyatireka (tad-asattve tad-asattā)[1]. To be elaborate, śabda-parivṛtty-asahatva is the criterion of a śabdālaṅkāra, and śabda-parivṛtti-sahatva of an arthālaṅkāra. Again, both śabda-parivṛtty-asahatva and śabda-parivṛtti-sahatva in the different avacchedas ascertain conjointly a śabdārthobhayālaṅkāra. Thus, there are three broad categories of the alaṅkāras[2].

Anyway, the alaṅkāras are artificial properties (āhārya-dharmas) attributed to the kāvya-śarīra. These extraneous attributes are thus concerned mainly with the exterior of a kāvya. To be precise, a śabdālaṅkāra beautifies śabda-bhāga directly (pratyakṣataḥ = sākṣāt), artha-bhāga indirectly (parokṣataḥ), and rasa, the parama-vyaṅgyārtha, rather remotely (parokṣatarataya). Again, an arthā-'laṅkāra lends charm to artha-bhāga directly (pratyakṣataḥ) and rasa indirectly (parokṣataḥ). In any case, the alaṅkāras should be attuned properly to rasa through the beautification of the kāvya-śarīra (śabdārthopaskāra-dvāreṇa yathaucityam alaṅkārā ārād-upakārakā rasasyeti vyāsedhāmaḥ)[3].

---

1) As we know, the same anvaya-vyatirekā-'nuvidhāyitva determines the śabda-gatatva and artha-gatatva of the doṣas as well.

2) According to the ancient ālaṅkārikas the śabdārthobhayā-'laṅkāras were treated as śabdālaṅkāras.

3) Otherwise the alaṅkāras which are not favourable to rasa (na rasā-''nuguṇyabhājaḥ) should be looked upon as defective adjuncts.

However, the alaṅkāras serve the purpose of enhancing the natural charms of śabda and artha and as such these means of artificial embellishment should be distinguished carefully from the lakṣaṇas[1] and the guṇas of a kāvya. The lakṣaṇas of the older ālaṅkārikas are the natural features of śabda and artha (kāvya-śarīrabhūta-śabdārtha-gata-nisarga-siddha dharmas) whereas the guṇas of the standard ālaṅkārikas of later date are the inherent properties of rasa (kāvyātmabhūta-rasa-samaveta dharmas). Both the lakṣaṇas and the guṇas are thus essential to a kāvya. But the alaṅkāras, as we know, are artificial and optional. Nevertheless the importance of the alaṅkāras has been acclaimed by the older ālaṅkārikas. Thus the alaṅkāras are rīti-vyāpaka (= rīti-nirapekṣa) dharmas while the guṇas (of śabda and artha) are rīti-vyāpya (= rīti-sāpekṣa) dharmas. According to this viewpoint the rītis (or "mārgas") are the different combinations of the guṇas of śabda and artha (śabdārtha-guṇa-samudāya-viśeṣas). So the rītis are to be regarded as both guṇa-vyāpaka and alaṅkāra-vyāpya at the same time.

This vyāpya-vyāpaka-bhāva has been rejected later on and the relative statuses of the alaṅkāras and the guṇas have been revised from newer viewpoints. Thus the alaṅkāras have been looked upon as the anitya dharmas of śabda and artha — even when these dharmas are spontaneous (apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya) and indirectly favourable (ārād-upakāraka) to rasa. On the contrary, the guṇas have been treated as the nitya dharmas by the ālaṅkārikas of both rīti and rasa-dhvani schools — even though the guṇas of the rītivādins are attributed to śabda and artha while the guṇas of the standard rasa-dhvanivādins reside in rasa. The difference lies obviously in the two distinct subjective approaches to kāvya. But this reshuffling of the mutual relationship between the alaṅkāras on the one hand and the guṇas on the other could not minimise the understandable popularity and rich variety of the objective alaṅkāras.

---

1) We might mention here en passant that some of the lakṣaṇas of the ancient ālaṅkārikas came to be merged in the guṇas and the alaṅkāras of the later ālaṅkārikas. But this is not the suitable place for pursuing this point further into a detailed analysis and examination of the technicalities.

After the foregoing prolegomena we might now turn to the treatment of the alaṅkāras in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. As we know, Aśvaghoṣa belongs to the early stage of the ornate Sanskrit literature and his date may be fixed tentatively at 100 A. D. It is therefore rational to assess Aśvaghoṣa's experiments with the alaṅkāras mainly with the help of Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra (circa 2nd century A. D.) which may be said to be somewhat contemporaneous with Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas. Both Aśvaghoṣa and Bharata are nursed undeniably by the great Epic tradition, and as such it will not be unwarranted to expect that there should be some affinity between them in respect of their handling of the early alaṅkāras. Thus in both we find an amorphous stage of the early alaṅkāras which are on the whole premature and unrefined. In this stage the concepts of the basic alaṅkāras are wide enough to encompass their later evolutes. In other words, the border-lines of the early unchiselled alaṅkāras are naturally indeterminate to allow unawares some cases of overlapping (ativyāpti). A critical analysis of some varieties of the early alaṅkāras would reveal the fact that they contain in principle the rudiments of some standard alaṅkāras of later date. Thus the standard alaṅkāras like anuprāsa, ananvaya, utprekṣā, etc. may be said to be envisaged by both Aśvaghoṣa and Bharata even though the older nomenclatures of such alaṅkāras are different from their ancient counterparts.

The afore-mentioned basic alaṅkāras and their early evolutes implied by them may be said to be the common stock of both Aśvaghoṣa and Bharata. Besides these there are still many other ornate twists in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts which cannot be claimed to be covered by the alaṅkāra-types mentioned and implied by Bharata. In these conscious experiments in Aśvaghoṣa's texts it is possible to find the premature uses of many later alaṅkāras — even though the hypothesis about Aśvaghoṣa's awareness of such alaṅkāras would be anachronistic.

However, the afore-said alaṅkāras and identifiable figurative twists in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts are on the whole spontaneous (apṛthag-yatna-nirvartya) though there are some cases of schematic artificiality.

Anyway, let us now cite some instances under the different

alaṅkāra-heads[1] in the following :—

1. *Punar-uktavad-ābhāsa* —
   a) himāri-ketūdbhava-saṁbhava̅ntare ......
   himāri-śatru-kṣaya-śatru-ghātane ...... [B., 11/71[ac]]
   b) ... vajrāgni-saṁbhinna-darī-guheva . [S., 6/33[b]]
2. *Anuprāsa* —
   a) srastāṁsa-komalālamba-mṛdu-bāhu-latā 'balā . [B., 4/30[ab]]
   b) iti muditam anāmayaṁ nirāpat
   Kuru-Raghu-Pūru-puropamaṁ puraṁ tat .
   abhavad abhaya-daiśike maharṣau
   viharati tatra śivāya vīta-rāge . . [S., 3/42]
   c) .... (cary)yam utta(ma-v)āryyaṁ muni-caryyam
   avinivāryya-vīryyam āryam ...
   [Ś., folio designated C 1, obverse side, ll. 3-4]
   d) ...... ryyam muni-caryyam anivāryyam a[ryya] [to be read "āryyam"] ...
   [Ś., reconstructed folio designated K I, obverse side, l. 3]
3. *Yamaka* —
   a) savilāsa-ratānta-tāntam ... [B., 5/56[c]]
   b) so 'niṣṭa-naiṣkramya-raso mlāna-tāmarasopamaḥ .
   cacāra viraso dharmaṁ niveśyā 'psaraso hṛdi . . [S., 11/2]
4. *Śabda-śleṣa* —
   a) Vedopadiṣṭaṁ samam ātmajaṁ ca
   somaṁ papau śānti-sukhaṁ ca hārdam . . [B., 2/37[cd]]
   b) babhūva sa hi saṁvegaḥ śreyasas tasya vṛddhaye .
   dhātur edhir ivākhyāte paṭhito 'kṣara-cintakaiḥ . . [S., 12/9]
5. *Upamā* —
   a) maṇi-kuṇḍala-daṣṭa-patra-lekhaṁ
   mukha-padmaṁ vinataṁ tathāparasyāḥ .
   śata-patram ivārdha-vakra-nāḍaṁ
   sthita-kāraṇḍava-ghaṭṭitaṁ cakāśe . . [B., 5/53]
   b) tasyā mukhaṁ padma-sapatnabhūtaṁ
   pāṇau sthitaṁ pallava-rāga-tāmre .
   chāyāmayasyāmbhasi paṅkajasya
   babhau nataṁ padmam ivopariṣṭāt . . [S., 6/11]

---

1) The names of the citable alaṅkāras and their arrangement are conveniently in pursuance of the standard texts on the alaṅkāras

c) yathekṣur atyanta-rasa-prapīḍito
bhuvi praviddho dahanāya śuṣyate .
tathā jarā-yantra-nipīḍitā tanur
nipīta-sārā maraṇāya tiṣṭhati . . [S., 9/31]

d) yathā hi bhīto niśi taskarebhyo
dvāraṁ priyebhyo 'pi na dātum icchet .
prājñas tathā saṁharati prayogaṁ
samaṁ śubhasyāpy aśubhasya doṣaiḥ . . [S., 16/79]

6. *Mālopamā* —

a) haṁsena haṁsīm iva viprayuktāṁ
tyaktāṁ gajeneva vane kareṇum .
ārtāṁ sanāthām api nātha-hīnāṁ
trātuṁ vadhūm arhasi darśanena . . [B., 9/27]

b) yatholkā hastasthā dahati pavana-prerita-śikhā
yathā pādākrānto daśati bhujagaḥ krodha-rabhasaḥ .
yathā hanti vyāghraḥ śiśur api gṛhīto gṛha-gatas
tathā strī-saṁsargo bahu-vidham anarthāya bhavati . .
[S., 8/61]

7. *Ananvaya* —

a) idaṁ babhāṣe vadatām anuttamo
yad arhati Śrīghana eva bhāṣitum (°tuṁ — sic) . .
[S., 18/49cd]

b) rajas-tamobhyāṁ parimukta-cetasas
tavaiva ceyaṁ sadṛśī kṛtajñatā . [S., 18/52ab]

8. *Smaraṇa* —

a) priyāṁ priyāyāḥ pratanuṁ priyaṅguṁ
niśāmya bhītām iva niṣpatantīm (°ntīṁ — sic) .
sasmāra tām aśru-mukhīṁ sabāṣpaḥ
priyāṁ priyaṅgu-prasavāvadātām (°tāṁ — sic) . . [S., 7/6]

b) latāṁ praphullām atimuktakasya
cūtasya pārśve parirabhya jātām (°tāṁ — sic) .
niśāmya cintām agamat tadaivaṁ
śliṣṭā bhaven mām api Sundarīti . . [S., 7/8]

9. *Rūpaka* —

a) prajñāmbu-vegāṁ sthira-śīla-vaprāṁ
samādhi-śītāṁ vrata-cakravākām .
asyottamāṁ dharma-nadīṁ pravṛttāṁ
tṛṣṇārditaḥ pāsyati jīva-lokaḥ . . [B., 1/71]

b) imāś ca vikṣipta-viṭaṅka-bāhavaḥ
prasakta-pārāvata- dīrgha-ni[ḥ]svanāḥ .
vinākṛtās tena sahāvarodhanair
bhṛśaṁ rudantīva vimāna-paṅktayaḥ . . [B., 8/37]

c) jñāna-plavam adhiṣṭhāya śīghraṁ duḥkhārṇavaṁ tara . .
[B., 12/9[cd]]

d) priyābhidhānaṁ tyaja moha-jālaṁ ....
[S., 5/45[c]]

10. *Pariṇāma* —

a) snāto Nairañjanā-tīrād uttatāra śanaiḥ kṛśaḥ .
bhaktyāvanata-śākhāgrair datta-hastas taṭa-drumaiḥ .
[B., 12/108]

b) prāsāda-saṁstho bhagavantam antaḥ-
praviṣṭam aśrauṣam anugrahāya .
atas tvarāvān aham abhyupeto
gṛhasya kakṣyā-mahato 'bhyasūyan . . [S., 5/8]

11. *Sandeha* —

a) kaccid Vasūnām ayam aṣṭamaḥ syāt
syād Aśvinor anyataraś cyuto vā . [B., 7/7[ab]]

12. *Bhrāntimat* —

a) tarakṣu-siṁhākṛtayas tathānye
praṇedur uccair mahataḥ praṇādān .
sattvāni yaiḥ saṁcukucuḥ samantād
vajrāhatā dyauḥ phalatīti matvā . . [B., 13/52]

13. *Ullekha* —

a) vāsa-vṛkṣaṁ guṇavatām āśrayaṁ śaraṇaiṣiṇām
(°ṇāṁ — sic) .
ānartaṁ kṛta-śāstrāṇām ālānaṁ bāhuśālinām
(°nāṁ — sic) . . [S., 1/54]

14. *Utprekṣā* —

a) tapaḥ sākṣād iva sthita[m] . . [B., 16/23[d]]

b) bhṛśaṁ jajṛmbhe yuga-dīrgha-bāhur
dhyātvā priyāṁ cāpam ivācakarṣa . . [S., 7/3[cd]]

15. *Atiśayokti* —

a) asyottamāṁ dharma-nadīṁ pravṛttāṁ
tṛṣṇārditaḥ pāsyati jīva-lokaḥ . . [B., 1/71[cd]]

b) upapannam alabdha-cakṣuṣo
na ratiḥ śreyasi ced bhavet tava . . [S., 8/23[cd]]

16. *Dīpaka* —

a) gataṁ gataṁ naiva tu saṁnivartate
jalaṁ nadīnāṁ ca nṛṇāṁ ca yauvanam
(°naṁ — sic) . . [S., 9/28[cd]]

b) [Śāri(putraḥ) — ?]
(a)gnir hi m(e) śaraṇam [ā ?]padi sindhur uṣṇe
(mārgga)ḥ śivo (')ddhvani (sic) m(a)h(ā)-
t(ama)s(ā) (p)pr(aviṣṭe) (sic) .
[Ś., folio reconstructed out of frg. nos. (K) 14, 15 & 32, reverse side, l. 2]

17. *Tulyayogitā* —

a) sasnau śarīraṁ pavituṁ manaś ca
tīrthāmbubhiś caiva guṇāmbubhiś ca .
Vedopadiṣṭaṁ samam ātmajaṁ ca
somaṁ papau śānti-sukhaṁ ca hārdam . . [B., 2/37]

b) tenāpāyi yathākalpaṁ somaś ca yaśa eva ca .
Vedaś cāmnāyi satataṁ Vedokto dharma eva ca . .
[S., 2/44]

18. *Prativastūpamā* —

a) guṇino hi guṇānāṁ ca vyatireko na vidyate .
rūpoṣṇābhyāṁ virahito na hy agnir upalabhyate . .
[B., 12/78]

b) kāṣṭhaṁ hi mathnal labhate hutāśaṁ
bhūmiṁ khanan vindati cāpi toyam .
nirbandhinaḥ kiṁcana nāsty asādhyaṁ
nyāyena yuktaṁ ca kṛtaṁ ca sarvam . . [B., 13/60]

19. *Dṛṣṭānta* —

a) jarādayo naika-vidhāḥ prajānāṁ
satyāṁ pravṛttau prabhavanty anarthāḥ .
pravātsu ghoreṣv api māruteṣu
na hy aprasūtās taravaś calanti . . [S., 16/10]

20. *Nidarśanā* —

a) yo hi candramasas taikṣṇyaṁ kathayec chraddadhīta vā .
sa doṣāṁs tava doṣajña kathayec chraddadhīta vā . .
[B., 6/40]

b) sarva-duḥkhāpahaṁ tat tu hastastham amṛtaṁ tava .
viṣaṁ pītvā yad agadaṁ samaye pātum icchasi . .
[S., 12/25]

21. *Pratīpa* —

a) nā "śīviṣebhyo hi tathā bibhemi
naivā 'śanibhyo gaganāc cyutebhyaḥ.
na pāvakebhyo 'nila-saṁhitebhyo
yathā bhayaṁ me viṣayebhya eva .. [B., 11/8]

b) pradahan dahano 'pi gṛhyate
viśarīraḥ pavano 'pi gṛhyate.
kupito bhujago 'pi gṛhyate
pramadānāṁ tu mano na gṛhyate .. [S., 8/36]

22. *Vyatireka* —

a) paryāptāpyāna-mūrtiś ca sārdhaṁ sva-yaśasā muniḥ.
kānti-dhairye babhāraikaḥ śaśāṅkārṇavayor dvayoḥ ..
[B., 12/113]

b) prayānti mantraiḥ praśamaṁ bhujaṁgamā
na mantra-sādhyās tu bhavanti dhātavaḥ.
kvacic ca kaṁcic ca daśanti pannagāḥ
sadā ca sarvaṁ ca tudanti dhātavaḥ .. [S., 9/13]

23. *Sahokti* —

a) ..... vanaṁ ca tat tena samanvitaṁ puram.
[B., 8/13ᵇ]

24. *Vinokti* —

a) idaṁ puraṁ tena vivarjitaṁ vanaṁ ... [B., 8/13ᵃ]

25. *Aprastuta-praśaṁsā* —

a) kṛpaṇaṁ vata yūtha-lālaso
mahato vyādha-bhayād viniḥsṛtaḥ.
praviviksạti vāgurāṁ mṛgaś
capalo gīta-raveṇa vañcitaḥ .. [S., 8/15]

26. *Samāsokti* —

a) bhaktyā 'vanata-śākhāgrair
datta-hastas taṭa-drumaiḥ .. [B., 12/108ᶜᵈ]

27. *Parikara* —

a) bāla-putrāṁ guṇavatīṁ kula-ślāghyāṁ pati-vratām.
devīm arhasi na tyaktuṁ klībaḥ prāptām iva śriyam ..
[B., 6/33]

b) āryasya sādhoḥ karuṇātmakasya
man-nitya-bhīror atidakṣiṇasya.
kuto vikāro 'yam abhūta-pūrvaḥ
svenā 'parāgeṇa mamā 'pacārāt .. [S., 6/14]

28. *Kāvya-liṅga* —

a) muktaś ca durbhikṣa-bhayā-''mayebhyo
hṛṣṭo janaḥ svarga ivā 'bhireme . [B., 2/13[ab]]

29. *Arthāntara-nyāsa* —

a) gītair hriyante hi mṛgā vadhāya
rūpārtham agnau śalabhāḥ patanti .
matsyo giraty āyasam āmiṣārthī
tasmād anarthaṁ viṣayāḥ phalanti . . [B., 11/35]

b) mahac ca rūpaṁ sv-aṇu hanti rūpaṁ
śabdo mahān hanti ca śabdam alpam (alpaṁ — sic) .
gurvī rujā hanti rujāṁ ca mṛdvīṁ
sarvo mahān hetur aṇor vadhāya . . [S., 10/45]

30. *Anumāna* —

a) janāś ca harṣā-'tiśayena cañcitā
janā-'dhipā-'ntaḥ-pura-saṁnikarṣagāḥ .
yathā hayaḥ Kanthaka eṣa heṣate
dhruvaṁ kumāro viśatīti menire . . [B., 8/19]

31. *Paryāyokta* —

a) nāsyānyathātvaṁ prati vikriyā me
svāṁ vañcanāṁ tu prati viklavo 'smi . [B., 1/68[ab]]

b) ahaṁ hy anāryeṇa śarīrajena
duḥkhātmake vartmani kṛṣyamāṇaḥ . [S., 17/64[ab]]

32. *Ākṣepa* —

a) priyeṇa vaśyena hitena sādhunā
tvayā sahāyena yathārthakāriṇā .
gato 'rya-putro hy apunar-nivṛttaye
ramasva diṣṭyā saphalaḥ śramas tava . . [B., 8/34]

b) yadi prāpya divaṁ yatnān niyamena damena ca .
avitṛptāḥ patanty ante svargāya tyāgine namaḥ . .
[S., 12/15]

33. *Virodbhāhāsa* —

a) ā janmano janma-jarā-'ntagasya
tasyā ''tmajasyā ''tmajitaḥ sa rājā . [B., 2/1[ab]]

b) lokeṣu bhūto 'smi na loka-dharmā . . [S., 18/10[d]]

34. *Vibhāvanā-Viśeṣokti-sandeha-saṅkara* —

a) sthite 'pi patyau himavan-mahī-same
pranaṣṭa-śobhā vidhavā iva striyaḥ . . [B., 8/36[cd]]

b) pāṁsubhyaḥ kāñcanaṁ jātaṁ viśuddhaṁ nirmala uci
sthitaṁ pāṁsuṣv api yathā pāṁsu-doṣair na lipyate ..
[S., 13/4]

35. *Viṣama* —

a) śama-pradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣa-dharmo
daṇḍa-pradhānaḥ kva ca rāja-dharmaḥ .. [B., 9/48cd]

b) kva cā 'nuvṛttir mayi sā 'sya pūrvaṁ
tyāgaḥ kva cāyaṁ janavat kṣaṇena .. [S., 6/19cd]

36. *Anyonya* —

a) yathā ca vakṣāṁsi karair apīḍayaṁs
tathaiva vakṣobhir apīḍayan karān .
akārayaṁs tatra parasparaṁ vyathāḥ
karāgra-vakṣāṁsy abalā dayā-'lasāḥ .. [B., 8/30]

b) tāṁ Sundarīṁ cen na labheta Nandaḥ
sā vā niṣeveta na taṁ nata-bhrūḥ .
dvandvaṁ dhruvaṁ tad vikalaṁ na śobhe-
tā 'nyonya-hīnāv iva rātri-candrau .. [S., 4/7]

37. *Kāraṇa-mālā* —

a) babhāra rājyaṁ sa hi putra-hetoḥ
putraṁ kulārthaṁ yaśase kulaṁ tu .
svargāya śabdaṁ divam ātma-hetor
dharmārtham ātma-sthitim ācakāṅkṣa .. [B., 2/53]

b) atṛptau ca kutaḥ śāntir
aśāntau ca kutaḥ sukham (°khaṁ — sic) .
asukhe ca kutaḥ prītir
aprītau ca kuto ratiḥ .. [S., 11/33]

38. *Ekāvalī* —

a) madhyasthatāṁ tasya ripur jagāma
madhyastha-bhāvaḥ prayayau suhṛttvam .
viśeṣato dārḍhyam iyāya mitraṁ
dvāv asya pakṣāv aparas tu nāsa .. [B., 2/6]

39. *Sāra* —

a) mokṣasyopaniṣat saumya
vairāgyam iti gṛhyatām (°tāṁ — sic) .
vairāgyasyāpi saṁvedaḥ
saṁvido jñāna-darśanam (°naṁ — sic) .. [S., 13/22]

b) yadā ca jitvāpi mahīṁ samagrāṁ
vāsāya dṛṣṭaṁ puram ekam eva .
tatrāpi caikaṁ bhavanaṁ niṣevyaṁ
śramaḥ parārthe nanu rāja-bhāvaḥ .. [B., 11/47]

40. *Yathāsaṁkhya* —

a) atha kāñcana-śaila-śṛṅga-varṣmā
gaja-megharṣabha-bāhu-ni[ḥ]svanā-'kṣaḥ .
kṣayam akṣaya-dharma-jāta-rāgaḥ
śaśi-siṁhā-''nana-vikramaḥ prapede . . [B., 5/26]

b) agni-drumā-''jyā-'mbuṣu yā hi vṛttiḥ
ka-bandha-vāyv-agni-divākarāṇām (°ṇāṁ — sic) .
doṣeṣu tāṁ vṛttim iyāya Nando
nirvāpaṇotpāṭana-dāha-śoṣaiḥ . . [S., 17/59]

41. *Parisaṁkhyā* —

a) tatrāpi caikaṁ bhavanaṁ niṣevyaṁ
śramaḥ parārthe nanu rāja-bhāvaḥ . . [B., 11/47[cd]]

b) śivāḥ puṣkariṇīś caiva paramāgrya-guṇāmbhasaḥ .
nājñayā cetanotkarṣād dikṣu sarvāsv acīkhanan . .
[S., 1/50]

42. *Arthāpatti* —

a) kāmā hy anityāḥ kuśalārtha-caurā
riktāś ca māyā-sadṛśāś ca loke .
āśāsyamānā api mohayanti
cittaṁ nṛṇāṁ kiṁ punar ātma-saṁsthāḥ . . [B., 11/9]

b) na jihiṁsa sūkṣmam api jantum
api para-vadhopajīvanaḥ .
kiṁ vata vipula-guṇaḥ kulajaḥ
sadayaḥ sadā kimu muner upāsayā . . [S., 3/30]

c) kṛtā-''gaso 'pi praṇatān prāg eva priyakāriṇaḥ .
adarśat snigdhayā dṛṣṭyā ślakṣṇena vacasā 'sicat . .
[S., 2/24]

43. *Samuccaya* —

a) bhāva-jñānena hāvena
rūpa-cāturya-sampadā .
strīṇām eva ca śaktāḥ stha
saṁrāge kiṁ punar nṛṇām . . [B., 4/12]

b) bhāvena garveṇa gatena lakṣmyā
smitena kopena madena vāgbhiḥ .
jahruḥ striyo deva-nṛparṣi-saṁghān
kasmād dhi nā 'smad-vidham ākṣipeyuḥ . . [S., 7/24]

44. *Sva-bhāvokti* —

a) śithilākula-mūrdhajā tathānyā
jaghana-srasta-vibhūṣaṇāṁśukāntā .
aśayiṣṭa vikīrṇa-kaṇṭha-sūtrā
gaja-bhagnā pratiyātanāṅganeva .. [B., 5/58]

b) manaḥśilābhair vadanair vihaṁgā
yatrākṣibhiḥ sphāṭikasaṁnibhaiś ca .
śāvaiś ca pakṣair abhilohitāntair
māñjiṣṭhakair ardha-sitaiś ca pādaiḥ .. [S., 10/28]

45. *Rasavat* —

a) hā Caitraratha hā vāpi hā Mandākini hā priye .
ity ārtā vilapanto 'pi gāṁ patanti divaukasaḥ .. [S., 11/50]

The afore-cited instances would suffice to give an average idea of the various alaṅkāras of the standard ālaṅkārikas which can be traced in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. As we know, the use of some early alaṅkāras is confirmed by Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra while that of the rest is judged from the viewpoint of the standard ālaṅkārikas of later date. Anyway, the examples quoted above are marked by pristine spontaneity and simplicity. Similar illustrations may be multiplied at pleasure. So we might close here the treatment of the alaṅkāras and pass on to the examination of the next topic.

k) *Vakrokti* — After the treatment of the alaṅkāras let us now take an account of the concept of vakrokti in the context of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. The term "vakrokti" means an extraordinary turn of speech (vaidagdhya-bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti = alaukikī or lokottarā or lokātiśāyinī ukti). The artistic twist is achieved through the use of choice expressions. The underlying idea of vakrokti is obviously the avoidance of the common and sundry form of speech in a kāvya. This facetiousness has been acclaimed by Kuntaka as the ātman (= soul > quintessence) of an ornate kāvya[1].

1) It would be interesting to add in this context that the word "vakrokti" has been used in different senses by other ālaṅkārikas. Thus this word has been used by Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin as the generic term for all the arthālaṅkāras excepting sva-bhāvokti. The term "atiśayokti" is also used in this sense. Again, Viśvanātha's 'vakrokti" is a mere śabdālaṅkāra. Lastly, the use of elegant expressions constitutes the guṇa named "udāra(tva)" (or "audārya") by some predecessors of Daṇḍin.

Now let us turn to Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts for considering the issue whether these works exhibit his awareness of the fundamental principle of vakrokti — even though the technical details developed later on by Kuntaka cannot certainly be claimed to have been known to him. That Aśvaghoṣa eschews the pedestrian words in his kāvyas would be clear from the following examples :—

a) muktvā tv alaṁkāra-kalatravattāṁ
śrī-vipravāsaṁ śirasaś ca kṛtvā . [B., 6/59[ab]]

b) atho nataṁ tasya mukhaṁ sabāṣpaṁ
pravāsyamāneṣu śiroruheṣu . [S., 5/52[ab]]

c) maṇi-kuṇḍala-daṣṭa-patralekhaṁ
mukha-padmaṁ ...... [B., 5/53[ab]]

d) suvarṇa-keyūra-vidaṣṭa-bāhavo ......
nṛparṣayas ...... [B., 10/40[ac]]

e) .... ni[ḥ]śvāsa-niṣpīta-viśeṣakeṇa .
cintā-calākṣeṇa mukhena ...... [S., 6/4[bc]]

f) kim idaṁ mukham aśru-durdinaṁ ...... [S., 8/2[a]]

Similar fanciful expressions are also quotable from Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. In any case, it is palpable that Aśvaghoṣa is conscious of such artistic twists which add grace to the simple narration in a kāvya. But it would be anachronistic to say that Aśvaghoṣa betrays awareness of Kuntaka's theory of Vakrokti[1]. With these remarks let us pass on to the next topic.

1) *Aucitya* — Lastly, we come to the treatment of aucitya in the context of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. The principle of aucitya (propriety) necessitates the use of appropriate śabda, artha, etc. in a kāvya. Thus there are many varieties of aucitya, viz., rasaucitya, vaktṛ-aucitya, vācyaucitya, etc. All such details have been analysed and explained by Kṣemendra who has given aucitya the highest status of ātman in a kāvya[2].

Now let us turn to Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts for considering the question whether he betrays his awareness of the basic principle of aucitya — even though he cannot certainly be claimed to be conversant with the aucitya technicalities developed later on by Kṣemendra. Thus Aśvaghoṣa's choice wordings, their meanings,

---

1) It is obvious that Kuntaka has taken the materials from his predecessors and recast them in the shape of his own theory.

2) It should be noted in the present context that the violation of aucitya in any form would lead to some doṣa or other in a kāvya.

and their alaṅkāras are commensurate with rasa, etc. The simplicity and raciness in his narration, the verbal embroidery and lyrical abandon in his natural descriptions, and the logical subtlety and epigrammatic brevity in the philosophical discussions are characterised by propriety. Some instances may be cited below :—

a) jarā-maraṇa-nāśārthaṁ praviṣṭo 'smi tapo-vanam .
na khalu svarga-tarṣeṇa nā 'snehena na manyunā . .
[B., 6/15]

b) jarā vyādhiś ca mṛtyuś ca
lokasyāsya mahad bhayam (°yaṁ — sic) .
nāsti deśaḥ sa yatrāsya
tad bhayaṁ nopapadyate . . [S., 15/46]

c) tataḥ kadācin mṛdu-śādvalāni
puṁs-kokilonnādita-pādapāni .
śuśrāva padmākara-maṇḍitāni
gītair nibaddhāni sa kānanāni . . [B., 3/1]

d) gandhaṁ vamanto 'pi ca gandha-parṇā
Gandharva-veśyā iva gandha-pūrṇāḥ .
tasyānya-cittasya śug-ātmakasya
ghrāṇaṁ na jahrur hṛdayaṁ pratepuḥ . . [S., 7/10]

e) yad apy avocaḥ paripālyatāṁ jarā
navaṁ vayo gacchati vikriyām iti .
aniścayo 'yaṁ bahuśo hi dṛśyate
jarā 'py adhīrā dhṛtimac ca yauvanam . . [B., 11/60]

f) yataś ca saṁskāra-gataṁ viviktaṁ
na kārakaḥ kaścana vedako vā .
sāmagryataḥ saṁbhavati pravṛttiḥ
śūnyaṁ tato lokam imaṁ dadarśa . . [S., 17/20]

There are also other quotable cases of aucitya in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts. All the examples reveal his consciousness of the fundamental principle of propriety. But it would be utterly anachronistic to say that Aśvaghoṣa's versatility encompassed Kṣemendra's theory of aucitya[1].

---

1) It might be mentioned here en passant that the theory of aucitya is virtually an offshoot of the rasa-dhvani system of Sanskrit poetics. It is therefore obvious that Kṣemendra has taken the materials from his predecessors, recast such data into a distinct doctrine of his own, and claimed the highest status for it in literary criticism.

With these observations we close the present sub-section on the Ālaṅkārika Appraisal of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts and switch on to the third and the last sub-section of the second section in the present chapter.

C. *Aśvaghoṣa's Influence on the Posterity.*

We saw beforehand in the first sub-section of the second section of this chapter that the two Great National Epics, viz., the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata, served as the sources of inspiration for the ornate Sanskrit literature. Thus these two Epics should be looked upon as the original (ayoni) kāvyas produced by the creative talent (kārayitrī pratibhā) alone in both the cases. The themes and the patterns of ideas and expressions of these saintly products influenced in many ways the poets and dramatists of the classical period. In other words, the classical śravya-kāvyas and dṛśya-kāvyas adapted the different episodes, stock ideas and stylistic twists of the Epics and added fresh charms to them. The classical kāvyas should therefore be called Epic-based in one sense or other. Thus the Epic legacy was handed down through the generations of poets and dramatists of the classical period.

Besides the Epic heritage there were some ideas of universal nature which occurred alike to the different classical kavis.

Further, some fanciful turns of ideas and expressions grew gradually into literary fashions and the kavis followed the milieu.

It is quite natural that these circumstances should result in the coincidence (saṁvāda) of some ideas and wordings among the different kāvyas of the ornate period. This similarity may be of three types, viz., i) pratibimbavat, ii) ālekhyavat and iii) tulya-dehivat. The first type means the blind imitation of some original by an untalented poetaster. It is tantamount to plagiarism. Such wholesale borrowing is charmless and condemnable. Again, the second type means partial imitation which can still be recognised. This too is blamable. In both these cases there is little play of creative imagination. But the third type means artistic assimilation. In this case the kavi derives his inspiration from some original and recasts the older stuff into a work of art with the help of his assimilative talent (bhāvayitrī pratibhā). There is thus enough scope for innovations on the part of the gifted kavi. The derived kāvyas which come under this type are attractive improvements on their original stuffs. Such kāvyas are influenced (anya-cchāyā-yoni)

compositions and there is nothing censurable in them. The artistic assimilation (tulya-dehivat sādṛśya) cannot be looked upon as imitation (anukāra). There is therefore no vyāpti relation between parallelism (or saṁvādamātra ; = hetu) and imitation (= sādhya) because the hetu is vyabhicārin. Imitation occurs only when the type of similarity is either pratibimbavat or ālekhyavat. This criterion of imitation must be borne in mind in any study in parallelism.

After these general remarks let us now determine the nature and extent of Aśvaghoṣa's influence on the posterity. It would appear from the parallel passages to be quoted below that the type of similarity should be called tulya-dehivat inasmuch as the chance coincidence in respect of some minor features like stock ideas and expressions only must not be treated as the infallible hetu to prove conclusively any sort of imitation, the sādhya[1]. However, we might now cite some parallel excerpts from the kāvya-texts of Aśvaghoṣa and some of his successors[2] in the following :—

1. *Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa* —

a) vyavasāya-dvitīyo 'tha . ...
...... bodhāya kṛta-niścayaḥ . . [B., 12/115[ad]]
vyavasāya-dvitīyena prāptaṁ padam anuttaram . .
[Śata-pañcāśatka-stotra, verse no. 26[cd]]

b) śyenāya prāṇi-vātsalyāt sva-māṁsāny api dattavān .
Śibiḥ .... [S., 11/42[abc]]
sva-māṁsāny api dattāni ....
prāṇair api tvayā sādho mānitaḥ praṇayī janaḥ . .
[Śata-°, verse no. 12[acd]]

c) diṣṭyā durāpaḥ kṣaṇa-saṁnipāto
nāyaṁ kṛto moha-vaśena moghaḥ .
udeti duḥkhena gato hy adhastāt
kūrmo yuga-cchidra ivārṇavasthaḥ . . [S., 18/27]

---

1) na hi Vācaspatināpy akṣarāṇi padāni vā kānicid apūrvāṇi ghaṭayituṁ śakyante . tāni tu tāny evopanibaddhāni na kāvyādiṣu navatāṁ virudhyanti . [Ānandavardhana's Dhvany-āloka, 4/12 Vṛtti]

2) We need not recount here the various adaptations from the B. and the S. in some later texts which have been shown in Chapter II above.

so 'haṁ prāpya manuṣyatvaṁ sasad-dharma-mahotsavam .
mahārṇava-yuga-cchidra-kūrma-grīvārpaṇopamam . .
anityatā-vyanusṛtāṁ karma-cchidra-sasaṁśayām .
ātta-sārāṁ kariṣyāmi kathaṁ nemāṁ sarasvatīm . .
[Śata-°, verse nos. 5-6]

2. *Aśvaghoṣa and Kumāralāta* —

a) cittād ṛte kāṣṭha-samaṁ śarīram . . [B., 7/27[d]]
...... [k]āṣṭhanibho hi kāyaḥ ......
[Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Qyzyl MS. folio no. 43 (VIII) reverse side, 1. 1]

b) srajam iva mṛditām apāsya lakṣmīṁ
bhuvi bahavo nṛpā vanāny atīyuḥ . . [B., 8/83[cd]]
.... jagmuḥ pārthivā vanam .
apatyebhyaḥ śriyaṁ dattvā bhuktocchiṣṭām iva srajam ..
[B., 12/7[bcd]]
...... mālāṁ viśuṣkām ('ṣkīm — sic) iva rāja-lakṣmīm
... [Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Qyzyl MS. folio no. *104 (XXVIII), reverse side, 1. 3]

c) ...... — Buddha[ḥ] — svāga(ta)ṁ ....
bhaviṣyate dharma-senā-(°na- — sic)pata(ye) ....
[Ś., folio designated C 1, obverse side, 1. 4]
...... (pa)taye — ......
[Ś., reconstructed folio designated K I, obverse side, 1. 4]
[- - -⏑ ?] [h]i yoga-nīti-vidu(ṣo dharmasya senā-)pater vvākyai(ḥ) ... ...
[Dṛṣṭānta-paṅkti, Qyzyl MS. folio no. 1(*28), reverse side, 1. 5]

3. *Aśvaghoṣa and the Divyāvadānakāra* —

a) cakrire samudācāraṁ padma-kośanibhaiḥ karaiḥ . .
[B., 4/2[cd]]
kamalapratime 'ñjalau gṛhītvā ...... [B., 5/29[c]]
kṛtvā 'ñjaliṁ mūrdhani padmakalpaṁ........
[S., 4/32[a]]
sa padma-mukulapratimam añjaliṁ kṛtvovāca — ......
[Divyāvadāna, story no. 26 (= Pāṁśu-pradānā-'vadāna), p. 227]

b) tato nṛpas tasya niśamya bhāvaṁ
putrābhidhānasya mano-rathasya .
snehasya lakṣmyā vayasaś ca yogyām
ājñāpayāmāsa vihāra-yātrām . . [B., 3/3]
iti tasya vaco niśamya rājā ...... [B., 5/29ᵃ]
tato munis tasya niśamya vākyaṁ ...... [S., 10/18ᵃ]
tato nṛpas tasya niśāmya bhāvaṁ
putrābhidhānasya mano-rathasya .
snehāc ca yogyaṁ manasā ca buddhvā
ājñāpayāmāsa vidhāya yātrām . .
[Divyāvadāna, story no. 27 (= Kuṇālāvadāna), p. 263]
tato munis tasya niśāmya bhāvaṁ ......
[Divyāvadāna, story no. 26 (= Pāṁśu-pradānā-'vadāna), p. 230]

c) megha-stanita-nirghoṣaḥ kumāraḥ pratyabhāṣata . .
[B., 4/83ᶜᵈ]
megha-stanita-nirghoṣa ....
[Divyāvadāna, story no. 26 (= Pāṁśu-pradānā-'vadāna), p. 232]

4. *śvaghoṣa and Bhāsa —*

a) kāṣṭhaṁ hi mathnaḷ* (mathnan — sic) labhate hutāśaṁ
bhūmiṁ khanan vindati cāpi toyam .
nirbandhinaḥ kiṁcana nāsty asādhyaṁ
nyāyena yuktaṁ ca kṛtaṁ ca sarvam . . [B., 13/60]
anikṣiptotsāho yadi khanati gāṁ vāri labhate
prasaktaṁ vyāmathnañ (°thnan — sic)
jvalanam araṇibhyāṁ janayati .
prayuktā yoge tu dhruvam upalabhante śrama-phalaṁ
drutaṁ nityaṁ yāntyo girim api hi bhindanti
saritaḥ . . [S., 16/97]
tataḥ sa vātaṁ vyajanād ivoṣṇe
kāṣṭhāśritaṁ nirmathanād ivāgnim (°gniṁ — sic) .
antaḥ-kṣitisthaṁ khananād ivāmbho
lokottaraṁ vartma durāpam āpa . . [S., 17/22]
aho pratyavamarśo 'yaṁ śreyasas te puro-javaḥ .
araṇyāṁ mathyamānāyām agner dhuma ivotthitaḥ . .
[S., 12/19]

kāṣṭhād agnir jāyate mathyamānād
bhūmis toyaṁ khanyamānā dadāti .
sotsāhānāṁ nāsty asādhyaṁ narāṇāṁ
mārgārabdhāḥ sarva-yatnāḥ phalanti . .
[Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, 1/18]

b) samudra-vastrām api gām avāpya
pāraṁ jigīṣanti mahārṇavasya . [B., 11/12ab]
jitvāpi gāṁ vijayam apy upalabhya rājño
naivāsti me jaya-gato manasi praharṣaḥ . .
[Pañca-rātra, 2/31ab]

5. *Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa* —

a) ākṣipyamāṇo hṛdi tan-nimittair
na kṣobhyate yaḥ sa kṛtī sa dhīraḥ . . [S., 16/84cd]
vikāra-hetau sati vikriyante
yeṣāṁ na cetāṁsi ta eva dhīrāḥ . .
[Kumāra-sambhava, 1/59cd]

b) lakṣmī-viyukto 'pi śarīra-lakṣmyā
cakṣūṁṣi sarvā-"śramiṇāṁ jahāra . . [B., 7/2cd]
sa nyasta-cihnām api rāja-lakṣmīṁ
tejo-viśeṣānumitāṁ dadhānaḥ . [Raghu-vaṁśa, 2/7ab]

c) tan nātha-vṛttair api rāja-putrair
arājakaṁ naiva rarāja rāṣṭram (rāṣṭraṁ — sic) .
tārā-sahasrair api dīpyamānair
anutthite candra ivāntarīkṣam (°rīkṣaṁ — sic) . .
[S., 1/60]
kāmaṁ nṛpāḥ santu sahasraśo 'nye
rājanvatīm āhur anena bhūmim .
nakṣatra-tārā-graha-saṅkulāpi
jyotiṣmatī candramasaiva rātriḥ . .
[Raghu-vaṁśa, 6/22]

d) tapta-kanaka-sadṛśa-prabhayā
sa babhau pradīpta iva sandhyayā ghanaḥ . .
[S., 3/24cd]
...... jvalati ca yugapat sandhyāmbuda (sandhya°
— sic) iva ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, reverse side, 1. 2]

sandhyodayaḥ sābhra ivaiṣa varṇaṁ
puṣyaty anekaṁ sarayū-pravāhaḥ . .
[Raghu-vaṁśa, 16/58cd]
sandhyābhra-kapiśas tasya ......
[Raghu-vaṁśa, 12/28a]

e) kim atra citraṁ yadi ...... [S., 16/84a]
na cātra citraṁ yadi ...... [S., 9/3a]
kim atra citraṁ yadi ...... [Raghu-vaṁśa, 5/33a]
kim atra citraṁ yadi viśākhe ......
[Abhijñāna-Śakuntala, Act III]

f) kanaka-valaya-bhūṣita-prakoṣṭhaiḥ.....
... Yakṣāḥ ... karāgraiḥ . . [B., 5/81]
... kanaka-valaya-bhraṁśa-rikta-prakoṣṭhaḥ .
[Megha-dūta, 1/2b]

g) ... śruta-mahatā śramaṇena tena Nandaḥ .
[S., 9/50b]
sarasvatī śruta-mahatāṁ mahīyatām .
[Abhijñāna-Śakuntala, 7/35b]

h) budhaḥ para-pratyayato hi ko vrajej
janaḥ ... [B., 9/74cd]
yatnena tu pratyaya-neya-buddhir
vimokṣam āpnoti parāśrayeṇa . . [S., 5/17cd]
Nandaḥ sa ca pratyaya-neya-cetā ... [S., 5/18a]
mūḍhaḥ para-pratyaya-neya-buddhiḥ . .
[Mālavikāgnimitra, Prologue,
verse no. 2d]

Such examples[1] may be multiplied at pleasure.

It is also possible to locate similar cases of parallelism between Aśvaghoṣa on the one hand and other later kavis on the other[2].

---

1) The question of tulya-dehivat similarity in respect of ideas and expressions between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa has been discussed in further details with ample parallel passages in a research paper entitled the "Aśvaghoṣa-Kālidāsa-saṁvādaḥ" read by the present writer in course of the Kālidāsa-samāroha celebrations at Ujjain in 1964.

2) We saw earlier that Aśvaghoṣa's S., Bhāsa's Daridra-Cārudatta-prakaraṇa and Śūdraka's Mṛc-chakaṭika-prakaraṇ exhibited some
[Contd.]

In any case the type of similarity appears to be tulya-dehivat. The question of pratibimbavat or ālekhyavat imitation can arise only in the case of a poetaster of inferior merit. The chance coincidence of some fanciful ideas, similes, metaphors, inflected words and epithets is of common occurrence in simple narration and versification. Sometimes fashionable (kavi-samaya-siddha) ideas and expressions are found to have been shared by many kavis. The concurrence in such cases shows naturally that the kavis have drawn upon the same milieu. Sometimes they appear to have been indebted to the common Epic source. As pointed out beforehand, some ideas are of universal character and as such they can be claimed by all the kavis alike. The question of borrowing does not arise at all.

We therefore conclude that the master minds like Kumāralāta, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa cannot certainly be looked upon as untalented and mean plagiarists. The nature of similarity is undoubtedly tulya-dehivat and the inspiring influence of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas does not underestimate the literary merits of the kāvyas by his gifted posterity.

With these observations let us close this chapter on the critical evaluation of the linguistic and stylistic traits of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts, and turn to the next chapter for an examination of the religio-philosophical features of his works.

[Contd.]

common regular features. So it is needless to recount those common characteristics in the present sub-section.

Again, it has to be mentioned here that the indelible influence of the ideas and wordings of Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas upon Ārya-Śūra's Jātaka-mālā and Buddhaghoṣa's Padya-cūḍā-maṇi has been noted by some scholars. Therefore, we need not recapitulate the parallel passages here because evaṁ-vidhāni saṁvāda-sahasrāṇi darśayituṁ śakyante.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL MATTER IN AŚVAGHOṢA

In the previous chapter we made a modest attempt to record our different findings of a critical enquiry into the diverse particulars of the linguistic and stylistic aspects of Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvya-texts. We are now left to examine the religio-philosophical content of these works[1] and present a succinct account of this Schatz. In the present chapter we would thus base our observations on the authentic data supplied by these texts and deal with the pre-Buddhistic and Buddhistic dogmas and religious practices as recorded by Aśvaghoṣa.

Thus Buddhism is represented by Aśvaghoṣa as an improvement upon the Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics by the Buddha[2]. It is also true that Sarvārthasiddha, the Bodhi-sattva[3], was born and brought up

---

1) As we saw beforehand, Aśvaghoṣa had nothing to do with the composition of the apocryphal works ascribed to him. It would therefore be erroneous to associate his name with the philosophical principles as traceable in the unauthentic works like the Nairātmya-paripṛcchā, Mahā-yāna-śraddhotpāda-śāstra, etc. discussed earlier.

2) The points of semblance and those of difference between the Sāṁkhya-Yoga dhyānas on the one hand and the Buddhistic dhyānas on the other will be discussed a little later after the preliminary remarks.

3) devebhyas tuṣitebhyo 'tha
Bodhi-sattvaḥ kṣitiṁ vrajan .
upapattiṁ praṇidadhe
kule tasya mahī-pateḥ . . [S., 2/48]
vanam anupama-sattvā Bodhi-sattvās tu sarve
viṣaya-sukha-rasajñā jagmur utpanna-putrāḥ .
ata upacita-karmā rūḍha-mūle 'pi hetau
sa ratim upasiṣeve bodhim āpan na yāvat . . [B., 2/56]
tataḥ sa pūrvā-''śaya-śuddha-buddhir
vistīrṇa-kalpācita-puṇya-karmā . [B., 3/34ab]

in a sacerdotal atmosphere[1] of the Brāhmaṇistic varṇāśrama-dharma. Further, prior to his enlightenment Sarvārthasiddha met many mendicants of different Brāhmaṇic sects and came to know their respective tenets and the Erscheinungsformen of their creeds[2]

---

1) tenāpāyi yathākalpaṁ somaś ca yaśa eva ca .
Vedaś cāmnāyi satataṁ Vedokto dharma eva ca . . [S., 2/44]
śuklāny amuktvāpi tapāṁsy atapta
yajñaiś ca hiṁsā-rahitair ayaṣṭa . . [B., 2/49[cd]]
ārṣāṇy acārīt parama-vratāni ...... [B., 2/43[a]]
evaṁ sa dharmaṁ vividhaṁ cakāra
sadbhir nipātaṁ śrutitaś ca siddham . [B., 2/54[ab]]

2) sthitā hi hastastha-yugās tathaiva
kautūhalāc cakra-dharāḥ sadārāḥ . [B., 7/3[ab]]
śaṣpāṇi hitvābhimukhāś ca tasthur
mṛgāś calākṣā mṛgacāriṇaś ca . . [B., 7/5[cd]]
tam āśramaṁ so 'nucacāra dhīras
tapāṁsi citrāṇi nirīkṣamāṇaḥ . . [B., 7/10[cd]]
yathāgamaṁ vṛttir iyaṁ munīnāṁ
bhinnās tu te te tapasāṁ vikalpāḥ . . [B., 7/14[cd]]
uñchena jīvanti khagā ivānye
tṛṇāni kecin mṛgavac caranti .
kecid bhujaṅgaiḥ saha vartayanti
valmīkabhūtā vana-mārutena . . [B., 7/15]
kecij jala-klinna-jaṭā-kalāpā
dviḥ pāvakaṁ juhvati mantra-pūrvam .
mīnaiḥ samaṁ kecid apo vigāhya
vasanti kūrmollikhitaiḥ śarīraiḥ . . [B., 7/17]
kāya-klamair ...... tapo-'bhidhānaiḥ . [B., 7/22[a]]
kāścin niśās tatra niśākarābhaḥ
parīkṣamāṇaś ca tapāṁsy uvāsa . [B., 7/34[ab]]
vividhāgamāṁs tapasi tāṁś ca
vividha-niyamāśrayān munīn .
prekṣya ... ... [S., 3/2[abc]]
atha mokṣavādinam Arāḍam
upaśama-matiṁ tathodrakam (°drakaṁ — sic) .
tattva-kṛta-matir upāsya jahāv
ayam apy amārga iti mārga-kovidaḥ . . [S., 3/3]

It is also likely that the description of some soldiers of Māra contains covert references to other heretic sects like the Carmā-'mbara[1] and Raktā-'mbara[2] classes of the Jainas. The Nir-ambaras[3] may refer to the monks of the Dig-ambara Jaina, or preferably of the Ājīvika sect. The latter conjecture is also corroborated by the printed fragments of the Ś. where some Ājīvika anchorite is mentioned more than once[4].

It is obvious that all such sectarian views and forms of worship were looked upon as pūrva-pakṣas by Sarvārthasiddha, and self-mortification was discarded by him as a way to salvation[5].

---

1) ...... carmā-'mbarāś caiva .... [B., 13/21[d]]
2) ...... raktā-'mbarā .... [B., 13/24[b]]
3) . . . . nir-ambarāś ca . . [B., 13/21[d]]
4) ..... (pa)ryyākula Ajīvika(ḥ) [a scribal error for "Ājī°"] .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 29a, l. 1 (to be read along with the later restorations)]
..... gilāyamānaṁ Ājīv(i)ka-sama(ṇaṁ) .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 29b, l. 1]
..... Śrama [= Ājīvika-śramaṇaḥ ?] — na khu e(ke) .....
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 40b, l. 1]
5) mṛtyu-janmā-'nta-karaṇe syād upāyo 'yam ity atha .
duṣkarāṇi samārebhe tapāṁsy anaśanena saḥ . .
upavāsa-vidhīn naikān kurvan nara-durācarān .
varṣāṇi ṣaṭ śama-prepsur akarot kārśyam ātmanaḥ . .
[B., 12/94-95]
atha kaṣṭa-tapaḥ-spaṣṭa-vyartha-kliṣṭa-tanur muniḥ .
[B., 12/100[ab]]
nāyaṁ dharmo virāgāya na bodhāya na muktaye.
[B., 12/101[ab]]
sa vicārayan jagati kiṁ nu
paramam iti taṁ tam āgamam (°maṁ — sic) . .
niścayam anadhigataḥ parataḥ
paramaṁ cacāra tapa eva duṣkaram (°raṁ — sic) . .
[S., 3/4]
atha naiṣa mārga iti vīkṣya
tad api vipulaṁ jahau tapaḥ .
[S., 3/5[ab]]

Thus Buddhism had to vindicate its standpoint against the vast background of other sectarian disciplines[1].

Nevertheless Buddhism accepted and adapted to its system some aspects of Brāhmaṇism and rejected the rest as unsuitable Thus the theory of karma-phala[2] and the five gatis or stages of

---

1) ..... [Vidū(ṣakaḥ) — ?] ..... upadeso edisassa Bambhaṇa-janassa anuggāhako bh(āti) — (Śāri) [= Śāriputraḥ] — kiñ ca varṇṇāvare(ṇauṣadham u)padiṣṭam āturebhyo na roga-ppra(śaman)āya (sic) bhavati (;) kiṁ varṇṇanta..... t ... na dahana-karmā bhavati (;) āho nikṛṣṭa-varṇṇenākhyātam uṣṇa-parigatayodakan (a scribal error for "°-parigatāyo°") na prahlāda(m āvahat)i [?] .....
[Ś., frg. nos. (K) 14, 15 & 32 (taken together and reconstructed into a single folio), reverse side, ll. 3-4]

The speech allotted to Śāriputra in this citation appears to embody the apologetics for Buddhism, a Kṣatriyopajña religion, in order to make a stand against Brāhmaṇism — even though the arguments are intended to win over the Vidūṣaka, the degraded Brāhmaṇabruva. This dialogue has been divined cleverly by Aśvaghoṣa as a simple piece of Buddhistic propaganda.

2) kalpeṣv anekeṣu ca bhāvitātmā ..... [B., 1/11°]
ata upacita-karmā rūḍha-mūle 'pi hetau [B., 2/56°]
tataḥ sa pūrvā-"śaya-śuddha-buddhir
vistīrṇa-kalpācita-puṇya-karmā . [B., 3/34ab]
aneka-kalpācita-puṇya-karmā [B., 13/58°]
saṁkleśa-pakṣo dvi-vidhaś ca dṛṣṭas
tathā dvi-kalpo vyavadāna-pakṣaḥ .
ātmāśrayo hetu-balādhikasya
bāhyāśrayaḥ pratyaya-gauravasya . . [S., 5/16]
... — Buddha[ḥ] — ..... pū(rva-karmma-saṁ)skṛta(yor anahaṅkṛta)yor yuvayor .....
[Ś., folio designated C 2, reverse side, ll. 3-4]
karmmā [a scribal error for "karmma"] kṣetram bījam utpatti-cetas ...
[Ś., folio designated C 4, reverse side, l. 1]
(karmma kṣet)r(am) b(ījam) u(tpat)t(i-cetas .....)
[Ś., reconstructed folio designated K IV, obverse side, l. 3]

saṁsārika existence[1] are mentioned by Aśvaghoṣa. Again, anādi avidyā lies at the very root of this saṁsāra[2]. Further, the pursuit of i) dharma, ii) artha and iii) kāma (tri-varga-sevā) has been despised because it relates to saṁsāra only, and does not lead to transcendental bliss[3]. But mokṣa, the fourth puruṣārtha, has been accepted by way of nirvāṇa[4].

---

1) sattvānāṁ paśyatas tasya nikṛṣṭotkṛṣṭa-karmaṇām .
pracyutiṁ copapattiṁ ca ..... [B., 14/9abc]
ime duṣkṛta-karmāṇaḥ prāṇino yānti durgatim .
ime 'nye śubha-karmāṇaḥ pratiṣṭhante triviṣṭape . . [B., 14/10]
upapannāḥ pratibhaye narake bhṛśa-dāruṇe . [B., 14/11ab, etc.]
taj janma-vyādhi-mṛtyu-vyasana-parigataṁ matvā jagad idaṁ
saṁsāre bhrāmyamāṇaṁ divi nṛṣu narake tiryak-pitṛṣu ca .
[S., 11/62ab]

2) anādi-kālopacitātmakatvād balīyasaḥ kleśa-gaṇasya caiva .
[S., 16/71ab]

3) ihārtham eke praviśanti khedaṁ
svargārtham anye śramam āpnuvanti .
sukhārtham āśā-kṛpaṇo 'kṛtārthaḥ
patаty anarthe khalu jīva-lokaḥ . . [B., 7/24]
kṛtvāpi duṣkaraṁ karma
svargaṁ labdhvāpi durlabham (°bhaṁ — sic) .
nṛ-lokaṁ punar evaiti
pravāsāt sva-gṛhaṁ yathā . . [S., 11/39]
tri-varga-sevāṁ nṛpa yat tu kṛtsnataḥ
paro manuṣyārtha iti tvam āttha mām .
anartha ity eva mamātra darśanaṁ
kṣayī tri-vargo hi na cāpi tarpakaḥ . . [B., 11/58]

4) pade tu yasmin na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ
na janma naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ .
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamaṁ
na vidyate yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā . . [B., 11/59]
yasmin na jātir na jarā na mṛtyur
na vyādhayo nāpriya-saṁprayogaḥ .

[Contd.]

This nirvāṇa norm has been preached professedly by Aśvaghoṣa in his all four mokṣa-kāvyas for drawing the attention of the saṁsāra-perverted public to the sublime path of absolute nirvāṇa. The major note of all his works is thus essentially sober. In all these kāvyas the religio-philosophical sermons have been couched properly in simple words[1]. These popular sermons are integral

[Contd.]

necchā-vipan na priya-viprayogaḥ
kṣemaṁ padaṁ naiṣṭhikam acyutaṁ tat . . [S., 16/27]
śānte 'smin virajasi vijvare viśoke
sad-dharme vitamasi naiṣṭhike vimuktaḥ . . [S., 17/72[cd]]

The concept of the indescribable Buddhistic nirvāṇa as represented by Aśvaghoṣa in his authentic kāvya-texts will be explained a little later after the introductory observations.

However, we might mention here en passant that the Buddhistic norm of nirvāṇa tried to repudiate the ideal of a Brahma-niṣṭha gṛhastha as established by the catur-varga formula of the Brāhmaṇistic varṇāśrama-dharma. This attack upon the tri-varga-sāmya (with preferable emphasis on dharma) created a stir in the harmony of the family life and thus struck at the very root of the social structure in India. The antisocial and thus impracticable ideal of the Buddha, the religious visionary, encouraged the saṅgha life of the bands of mendicants. This monastic Weltanschauung could not appeal much to the worldly-minded commonalty. Again, the forcible conversion of the ordinary tri-vargasevin public in total disregard of the social reality was bound to produce discouraging misconceptions and unfavourable reactions in the society. This seed of social discontent resulted ultimately in the decline of Buddhism on the Indian soil.

Let us leave here the permissible digression on the later decadence of Buddhism in India and revert to the original question of Buddhism as represented in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvya-texts.

1) The question of aucitya in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas has been discussed earlier in Chapter III above.

parts of the smooth narratives, and are mostly of universal nature. Thus there are didactic discourses on the general topics like the futility of egotism (ahaṁ-mamety-abhimāna)[1], vanity of the corporeal combination (saṁskṛta-bhūta-śarīra)[2], sense-organs (jñānendriyas) and action-organs (karmendriyas)[3], unreality of

---

1) ahaṁ mamety eva ca rakta-cetasaḥ (°-cetasāṁ — sic)
śarīra-saṁjñas (°-saṁjñā — sic) tava yaḥ kalau grahaḥ .
tam utsṛjaivaṁ yadi śāmyatā bhaved
bhayaṁ hy ahaṁ ceti mameti cārcchati (cārchati — sic) ..
[S., 9/35]

ahaṁ vapuṣmān balavān yuveti vā
na mānam āroḍhum anāryam arhasi . . [S., 9/34[cd]]

2) idaṁ hi rogāyatanaṁ jarā-vaśaṁ
nadī-taṭānokahavac calācalam (°laṁ — sic) .
na vetsi dehaṁ jala-phena-durbalaṁ
balasthatām ātmani yena manyase . . [S., 9/6]
yathā ghaṭaṁ mṛnmayam āmam āśrito
naras titīrṣet kṣubhitaṁ mahārṇavam (°vaṁ — sic) .
samucchrayaṁ tadvad asāram udvahan
balaṁ vyavasyed viṣayārtham udyataḥ . . [S., 9/10]

3) tasmād eṣām akuśalakarāṇām arīṇāṁ
cakṣur-ghrāṇa-śravaṇa-rasana-sparśanānām (°nāṁ — sic) .
[S., 13/56[ab]]

śarīram īdṛg bahu-duḥkham adhruvaṁ
phalānurodhād atha nāvagacchasi .
dravat-phalebhyo dhṛti-raśmibhir mano
nigṛhyatāṁ gaur iva śasya-lālasā . . [S., 9/42]
nendriyaṁ viṣaye tāvat pravṛttam api sajjate .
yāvan na manasas tatra parikalpaḥ pravarttate . . [S., 13/49]

the physical strength (bala)[1], beauty (rūpa-rāmaṇīyaka)[2] and youth (yauvana)[3], regulation of the quantity of diet (āhāra)[4], transitoriness of the external world of pithless objects (saṁskṛta-jagat)[5], etc. Such general teachings are often elucidated with the help of simple as well as elaborate similes, metaphors, etc. for an

---

1) yadā himārto jvalanaṁ niṣevate
himaṁ nidāghābhihato 'bhikāṅkṣati .
kṣudhānvito 'nnaṁ salilaṁ tṛṣānvito
balaṁ kutaḥ kiṁ ca kathaṁ ca kasya ca . . [S., 9/15]
ato viditvā bala-vīrya-māninām
balānvitānām avamarditaṁ balam (°laṁ — sic) .
jagaj jarā-mṛtyu-vaśaṁ vicārayan
bale 'bhimānaṁ na vidhātum arhasi . . [S., 9/21]

2) ahaṁ vapuṣmān iti yac ca manyase
vicakṣaṇaṁ naitad idaṁ ca gṛhyatām (°tāṁ — sic) .
[S., 9/24[ab]]

3) navaṁ vayaś cātma-gataṁ niśāmya yad
gṛhonmukhaṁ te viṣayāptaye manaḥ .
niyaccha tac chaila-nadī-rayopamaṁ
drutaṁ hi gacchaty anivarti yauvanam (°naṁ — sic) . .
[S., 9/27]

4) tasmād āhāra-mūlo 'yam upāya iti-niścayaḥ .
āhāra-karaṇe dhīraḥ kṛtvā 'mita-matir matim . . [B., 12/107]
bhojane bhava mātrājño dhyānāyā 'nāmayāya ca .. [S.,14/1[cd]]
yathā cātyartham āhāraḥ kṛto 'narthāya kalpate .
upayuktas tathātyalpo na sāmarthyāya kalpate . . [S., 14/3]
... śa(r)ī(ra-dh)āraṇārttham avaśya-karttavyaś cāhāro ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 17a, 1. 3]

5) asāram asv-antam aniścitaṁ jagaj
jagaty anitye balam avyavasthitam (°taṁ — sic) . .
[S., 9/16[cd]]
abhūta-parikalpena viṣayasya hi badhyate .
tam eva viṣayaṁ paśyan bhūtataḥ parimucyate . .
[S., 13/51]

easier exposition of the issues at hand[1]. Sometimes there are references to the characters and episodes of the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahā-Bhārata and other Brāhmaṇistic Sagenstoffe[2].

Besides the afore-said teachings of general nature there are also the fundamental tenets of Buddhism. These Hauptlehren constitute the kernel of Buddhism. The brevity and import of these basic principles won the ardent admiration of I-tsing. In these Grundbegriffe we do not find any original philosophy of Aśvaghoṣa[3].

---

1) yadāmbu-bhū-vāyv-analāś ca dhātavaḥ
sadā viruddhā viṣamā ivoragāḥ .
bhavanty anarthāya śarīram āśritāḥ.
kathaṁ balaṁ roga-vidho vyavasyasi . . [S., 9/12]
saṁkalpa-viṣa-digdhā hi pañcendriyamayāḥ śarāḥ .
cintā-puṅkhā rati-phalā viṣayākāśa-gocarāḥ . .
manuṣya-hariṇān ghnanti kāma-vyādheritā hṛdi .
vihanyante yadi na te tataḥ patanti taiḥ kṣatāḥ . .
[S., 13/35-36]
ṛtur vyatītaḥ parivarttate punaḥ
kṣayaṁ prayātaḥ punar eti candramāḥ .
gataṁ gataṁ naiva tu saṁnivarttate
jalaṁ nadīnāṁ ca nṛṇāṁ ca yauvanam (°naṁ — sic) . .
[S., 9/28]

2) vināśam īyuḥ Kuravo yadarthaṁ
Vṛṣṇy-Andhakā Mekhala-Daṇḍakāś ca .
sūnāsi-kāṣṭhapratimeṣu teṣu
kāmeṣu kasyātmavato ratiḥ syāt . . [B., 11/31]
balaṁ Kurūṇāṁ kva ca tat tadābhavad
yudhi jvalitvā tarasaujasā ca ye .
samit-samiddhā jvalanā ivādhvare
hatāsavo bhasmani paryavasthitāḥ . . [S., 9/20]
kva tad vapuḥ sā ca vapuṣmatī tanur
Gadasya Śāmbasya ca Sāraṇasya ca . . [S., 9/24cd]

3) We saw earlier that Aśvaghoṣa was more a kavi than a philosopher. His ample uses of upamā, rūpaka and other alaṅkāras even in course of the religio-philosophical sermons would also point out to the same fact. He was after all a missionary kavi whose aim was to preach through his ornate mokṣa-kāvyas the central principles of Buddhism to the saṁsāra-addicted commonalty.

He appears to represent the Buddha's philosophy as an improvement upon the Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics[1], and deal with the broad outlines of the Buddha's doctrine. Again, the Buddha as depicted in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is a human being of Indian history — and not a sublime idea of Buddhahood[2] — and it is to the person of the historical Buddha that Aśvaghoṣa pays his high homage (bhakti). This Buddha has also been hailed by Aśvaghoṣa as the embodiment of dharma or the stock of teachings propounded and followed by the Buddha himself[3]. It is also obvious that the essence of the teachings put into the mouth of the Buddha[4], his three

---

1) It would be clear a little later that Aśvaghoṣa was indebted most likely to the Mahā-Bhārata for his representation of the pro-Vedānta Sāṁkhya-Yoga categories, their gradual evolution and ultimate recoiling to the original Puruṣottama stage. His philosophical attainments constitute the vyutpatti (versatility) portion of the kāvyāṅgas discussed in Chapter III above.

We also saw earlier in Chapter II that Aśvaghoṣa's acquaintance with the Brāhmaṇic lore might be adduced in support of the legend about his being a Brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa.

2) In the full-fledged Mahā-yāna of the post-Aśvaghoṣan period the human Buddha has been ideated into a tattva. But Aśvaghoṣa does not exhibit any clear indication of his knowledge of the Mahā-yāna tri-kāya-vāda.

3) babhrāje śāntayā lakṣmyā dharmo vigrahavān iva . .
[S., 2/56[cd]]

...... sa puruṣa-vigraho dharmaḥ ......
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1,
reverse side, 1. 1]

In such passages we might trace the bīja of the tri-ratna-vāda [= the doctrine of the Buddhistic trinity, viz, i) the Buddha, ii) his dharma and iii) saṅgha].

4) aribhūteṣv anityeṣu satataṁ duḥkha-hetuṣu .
kāmādiṣu jagat saktaṁ na vetti sukham avyayam
, (°yaṁ — sic) . . [S., 12/24]

[Buddhaḥ — ?] ...... (idan) tu yat(n)ena jñā(yatāṁ) ......
[Contd.]

prominent virtues, viz., i) Buddhi, ii) Dhṛti and iii) Kīrtti[1], and his disciples[2] must have been approved by the sect followed by Aśvaghoṣa. Strictly speaking, Aśvaghoṣa appears to have belonged to some Mahā-sāṅghika sect of the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna. His association with some such transitional and relatively flexible sect is shown in many ways. Thus his acceptance of the ornate kāvya media for preaching the Buddha's principal teachings discards expressly the

---

[Contd.]
(śa)rī(ra-)nirmuktam ā(tma-)sa(ṁ)jñakam buddhi-s(au)kṣmyaṁ tat — ......

[Ś., folio designated C 4, obverse side, 11. 1-2]

pade tu yasmin na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ
na janma naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ .
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamaṁ
na vidyate yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā . . [B., 11/59]

1) ...... — Buddhiḥ — ....
nityaṁ sa supta (i)va yasya na Buddhir asti
nityaṁ sa matta iva yo Dhṛti-viprahīṇa(ḥ) (.)
[- - ⏑ - ⏑ ?] sa ca ya(s)ya n[a ?] K[īrttir asti ?]
... . [Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 4]

2) taj janma-vyādhi-mṛtyu-vyasana-parigataṁ matvā jagad idaṁ
saṁsāre bhrāmyamāṇaṁ divi nṛṣu narake tiryak-pitṛṣu ca .
yat trāṇaṁ nirbhayaṁ yac chivam amara-jaraṁ niḥśokam amṛtaṁ
tad-dhetor brahma-caryaṁ cara jahihi calaṁ svargaṁ prati rucim (°ciṁ — sic) . .
[S., 11/62]

[Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] ...
karmmā [a scribal error for "karmma"] kṣetram bījam utpatti-cetas
tṛṣṇā kleda-cchādanañ cā(p)y (avandh)ya(m) (.)
(evaṁ lokaḥ sas)y(ava)j j(ā)yamāno
jñānāditye [- ⏑ - - ⏑ - - ?] t (. .) - - -
[Ś., folio designated C 4, reverse side, 1. 1]

[Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] ...

[Contd.]

orthodox interdiction of the Hīna-yāna Aṅguttara-nikāya against any form of unmonkish art. Again, Sanskrit appears to have been accepted by Aśvaghoṣa as the medium of Buddhistic preaching and propaganda in his extant kāvyas. What strikes us most is the fact that besides the Buddha, his three essential virtues, viz., i) Buddhi, ii) Dhṛti and iii) Kīrtti (all personified into allegorical roles), and his disciples have also been allotted Sanskrit in the realistic Ś. Further, the selfless spirit of altruism (jagad-dhita), the veritable bīja of Mahā-yāna, is quite explicit in many passages in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas[1].

The idea of a merciful apostle (karuṇāmaya Bodhi-sattva) befitting Mahā-yāna overrides the selfish zeal of the Hīna-yāna Nirvāṇa or

---

[Contd.]
(karmma kṣet)r(am) b(ījam) u(tpat)t(i-cetas)
[tṛṣṇā kleda-cchādanañ cāpy avandhyam (.) ?]
evaṁ loka(ḥ) sasyavaj jāyamāno
jñānā(d)i[tye -⏑---⏑--t . . ?]
[Ś., reconstructed folio designated K IV, obverse side, l. 3]

1) bodhāya jāto 'smi jagad-dhitārtham
antyā bhavotpattir iyaṁ mameti . [B., 1/15ab]
...... vigate 'pi rāge magnasya duḥkhe jagato hitāya . .
[B., 1/20cd]
jagaty ayaṁ moha-tamo nihantuṁ
jvaliṣyati jñānamayo hi sūryaḥ . . [B., 1/69cd]
tad idaṁ parigamya dharma-yuktaṁ
mama niryāṇam ito jagad-dhitāya .
turagottama vega-vikramābhyāṁ
prayatasvātma-hite jagad-dhite ca . . [B., 5/78]
baddhāṁ dṛḍhaiś cetasi moha-pāśair
yasya prajāṁ mokṣayituṁ manīṣā . [B., 13/66ab]
atha dharma-cakram ....
...... jagato hitāya pariṣady avarttayat . . [S., 3/11ad]
ataḥ paraṁ saumya carānukampayā
vimokṣayan kṛcchra-gatān parān api . . [S., 18/54cd]

Arhattva or Pratyeka-Buddhatva[1]. The idea of a Mahā-yāna Messiah is suggested by the character of the Buddha as depicted by Aśvaghoṣa[2]. There is also the suggestion that every jīva has nirvāṇa-bīja within and is thus entitled to nirvāṇa from the standpoint of sad-dharma[3]. The underlying idea of Kīrtti as one of the three

---

1) tal lokam ārtaṁ karuṇāyamāno
rogeṣu rāgādiṣu vartamānam .
mahā-bhiṣaṅ nārhati vighnam eṣa
jñānauṣadhārthaṁ parikhidyamānaḥ . . [B., 13/61]
hṛdaya-gata-para-ghṛṇo na viṣaya-ratim agamaj ......
[S., 2/64°]
vihāya tasmād iha kāryam ātmanaḥ
kuru sthirātman para-kāryam apy atho .
bhramatsu sattveṣu tamo-vṛtātmasu
śruta-pradīpo niśi dhāryatām ayam (ayaṁ — sic) . .
[S., 18/57]

2) dṛṣṭvā ca saṁsāramaye mahaughe
magnaṁ jagat pāram avindamānam .
yaś cedam uttārayituṁ pravṛttaḥ
kaś cintayet tasya tu pāpam āryaḥ . . [B., 13/64]
sa hi doṣa-sāgaram agādham
upadhi-jalam ādhi-jantukam (°kaṁ — sic) .
krodha-mada-bhaya-taraṅga-calaṁ
pratatāra lokam api ca vyatārayat . . [S., 3/14]
ataś ca saṁdadhe kāyaṁ mahā-karuṇayā tayā .
mocayeyaṁ kathaṁ duḥkhāt sattvānīty anukampakaḥ . .
[S., 13/8]

3) saṁkleśa-pakṣo dvi-vidhaś ca dṛṣṭas
tathā dvi-kalpo vyavadāna-pakṣaḥ .
ātmāśrayo hetu-balādhikasya
bāhyāśrayaḥ pratyaya-gauravasya . .
ayatnato hetu-balādhikas tu
nirmucyate ghaṭṭitamātra eva .

[Contd]

afore-said virtues of the Buddha is the redemption of the world through the preaching of the Buddhistic aṣṭāṅga mārga[1]. Moreover, Aśvaghoṣa's knowledge about the three yānas, viz., i) the Śrāvaka-yāna, ii) Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna and iii) Bodhi-sattva-yāna or Mahā-yāna, is attested by Watters on Hsüan-Tsang. It is thus evident that Aśvaghoṣa must have been aware of the altruistic trend of the rising Mahā-yāna[2]. But it would certainly be wrong to associate Aśvaghoṣa with full-blown Mahā-yāna[3].

Therefore, we are landed on the logical conclusion that Aśvaghoṣa should be associated with some Mahā-sāṅghika sect which belonged

---

[Contd.]

yatnena tu pratyaya-neya-buddhir
vimokṣam āpnoti parāśrayeṇa . . [S., 5/16-17]
...... viśuddhasya manaso rā(gam alpena yatnena) ......
[Ś., folio designated C I, reverse side, 1. 4]
...... (vi)śuddhasya manaso rāgam alpena yatnena ......
[Ś., reconstructed folio designated K I, reverse side, l. 2]

1) prajñāmbu-vegāṁ sthira-śīla-vaprāṁ
samādhi-śītāṁ vrata-cakravākām .
asyottamāṁ dharma-nadīṁ pravṛttāṁ
tṛṣṇārditaḥ pāsyati jīva-lokaḥ . . [B., 1/71]
atha dharma-cakram ṛta-nābhi
dhṛti-mati-samādhi-nemimat .
tatra vinaya-niyamāram ṛṣir
jagato hitāya pariṣady avarttayat . . [S., 3/11]
iti tri-vegaṁ tri-jhaṣaṁ tri-vīcam
ekāmbhasaṁ pañca-rayaṁ dvi-kūlam (°-kūlaṁ — sic) .
dvi-grāham aṣṭāṅgavatā plavena
duḥkhārṇavaṁ dustaram uttatāra . . [S., 17/60]

2) It is therefore questionable to say that there is "not the slightest trace of the Mahā-yāna" in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas.

3) Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts do not prove his acquaintance with the Pāramitās, Daśa-bhūmis, Tri-kāya-vāda, Mādhyamika Śūnya-vāda and Yogācāra Vijñāna-vāda.

to the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the rising Mahā-yāna. In other words, Aśvaghoṣa cannot be claimed to have been a staunch Hīna-yānist[1] or a pronounced Mahā-yānist. It is perhaps to this neutrality of approach to the Buddha's teachings that Aśvaghoṣa's wide popularity with the adherents of both the yānas owes its origin.

After these preliminary observations let us now deal with the gist of the Buddhistic teachings as found in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas. Thus he starts with the four ārya-satyas[2] and analyses them until he unfolds his doctrinal standpoint. These four noble truths are as follows :—

i) Firstly, there is sāṁsārika duḥkha in janman (birth), jarā (old age), vyādhi (disease), mṛtyu (death), etc.[3] This duḥkha is

---

1) Aśvaghoṣa's kāvya-texts do not appear to support the Hīna-yāna standpoints of the Sthaviras, Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas.

2) iti duḥkham etad iyam asya
samudaya-latā pravarttikā.
śāntir iyam ayam upāya iti
pravibhāgaśaḥ param idaṁ catuṣṭayam (°yaṁ — sic) .. [S., 3/12]
bādhātmakaṁ duḥkham idaṁ prasaktaṁ
duḥkhasya hetuḥ prabhavātmako 'yam ('yaṁ — sic) .
duḥkha-kṣayo niḥsaraṇātmako 'yaṁ
trāṇātmako 'yaṁ praśamāya mārgaḥ .. [S., 16/4]

3) taj janma-vyādhi-mṛtyu-vyasana-parigataṁ matvā jagad idaṁ
saṁsāre bhrāmyamāṇaṁ divi nṛṣu narake tiryak-pitṛṣu ca .
[S., 11/62ab]
duḥkhārṇavād vyādhi-vikīrṇa-phenāj
jarā-taraṅgān maraṇogra-vegāt .
...... uhyamānam ārtaṁ jagaj ...... [B., 1/70]
sa prekṣyaiva hi jīrṇam āturaṁ ca mṛtaṁ ca
vimṛśan jagad anabhijñam ārta-cittaḥ .
...... na viṣaya-ratim agamaj
janana-maraṇa-bhayam abhito vijighāṁsuḥ .. [S., 2/64]

both śārīra (physical) and mānasa (mental)[1]. All sorts of citta-vikāras (mental modifications) like krodha (anger), mada (pride), bhaya (fear), etc. are also covered by the sāṁsārika duḥkha[2].

ii) Secondly, anādi avidyā (primeval ignorance) lies at the very root of the sāṁsārika duḥkha[3] and the saṁsāra-cakra is conditioned by dependent origination[4]. Again, the phenomenal world consists merely of aggregates[5].

iii) Thirdly, there is ātyantikī nivṛtti (final extinction) of the

---

1) ...... duḥkhaṁ tathā citta-śarīra-yoni .. [S., 16/11[d]]
...... duḥkhaṁ śarīrasya ca cetasaś ca .. [S., 16/12[d]]

2) kāye sati vyādhi-jarādi duḥkhaṁ
kṣut-tarṣa-varṣoṣṇa-himādi caiva .
rūpāśrite cetasi sānubandhe
śokā(-')rati-krodha-bhayādi duḥkham (°khaṁ — sic)
[S., 16/13]
.... doṣa-sāgaram agādham
upadhi-jalam ādhi-jantukam (°kaṁ — sic) .
krodha-mada-bhaya-taraṅga-calaṁ
... ... [S., 3/14[abc]]

3) anādi-kālopacitātmakatvād
balīyasaḥ kleśa-gaṇasya caiva . [S., 16/71[ab]]
svair moha-pāśaiḥ pariveṣṭitasya
duḥkhābhibhūtasya nirāśrayasya .
lokasya .... [B., 1/75[abc]]
ajñāna-naimittika eṣa tāpaḥ .. [B., 9/34[d]]

4) tat tat pratītya prabhavanti bhāvā
nirātmakaṁ tena viveda lokam (°kaṁ — sic) ..
[S., 17/21[cd]]

5) yataś ca saṁskāra-gataṁ viviktaṁ
... ...
sāmagryataḥ saṁbhavati pravṛttiḥ
śūnyaṁ tato lokam imaṁ dadarśa .. [S., 17/20[acd]]
nāpaneyaṁ tataḥ kiṁcit prakṣepyaṁ nāpi kiṁcana .
draṣṭavyaṁ bhūtato bhūtaṁ yādṛśaṁ ca yathā ca yat ..
[S., 13/44]

sāṁsārika duḥkha[1]. This freedom from the bondage of the saṁsāra, or nirvāṇa, is also a state of ineffable bliss[2]. The absolute (saṁsārottara = tri-vargottara) state of nirvāṇa is thus both negative and positive in character. It is not only the total absence of janman, jarā, vyādhi, mṛtyu, punar-janman, ahaṁ-mamety-abhimāna, māna (= citta-samunnati), mada (garva), krodha, bhaya, klama, tandri (= ālasya), nidrā, vicikitsā (= sandeha) dvandva (like rāga and dveṣa, mitra and śatru, jaya and parājaya lābha and kṣati, etc.), etc. but also the harmonious trio of sattā (= nityatva), prajñā (= cit) and nirvṛti (= kṣema)[3]. Moreover,

---

1) taj janmano naika-vidhasya saumya
tṛṣṇādayo hetava ity avetya .
tāṁś chindhi duḥkhād yadi nirmumukṣā
kārya-kṣayaḥ kāraṇa-saṁkṣayād dhi .. [S., 16/25]

2) duḥkha-kṣayo hetu-parikṣayāc ca
śāntaṁ śivaṁ sākṣikuruṣva dharmam (dharmaṁ — sic) .
tṛṣṇā-virāgaṁ layanaṁ nirodhaṁ
sanātanaṁ trāṇam ahāryam āryam (āryaṁ — sic) . .
[S., 16/26]

However, this nirvāṇa finds its aesthetic counterpart in the śānta-rasa synthesis discussed earlier in Chapter III above.

3) yasmin na jātir na jarā na mṛtyur
na vyādhayo nāpriya-saṁprayogaḥ .
necchā-vipan na priya-viprayogaḥ
kṣemaṁ padaṁ naiṣṭhikam acyutaṁ tat . . [S., 16/27]
pade tu yasmin na jarā na bhīr na ruṅ
na janma naivoparamo na cādhayaḥ .
tam eva manye puruṣārtham uttamaṁ
na vidyate yatra punaḥ punaḥ kriyā . . [B., 11/59]
durlabhaṁ śāntam ajaraṁ paraṁ tad amṛtaṁ padam . .
[B., 12/106cd]
ahaṁ mamety eva ca rakta-cetasaḥ (°-cetasāṁ — sic)
śarīra-saṁjñas (°-saṁjñā — sic) tava yaḥ kalau grahaḥ .
tam utsṛjaivaṁ yadi śāmyatā bhaved
bhayaṁ hy ahaṁ ceti mameti cārcchati (cārchati — sic) . .
[S., 9/35]

[Contd.]

the concept of this vīta-rajas-tamaska nirvāṇa means also nairātmya in the sense that in this stage ātman (= Puruṣottama = vijñāna-skandha) also is eliminated in the graduated process of psychological negation[1].

iv) Lastly, there is also the middle path (madhyamā pratipad) to nirvāṇa. By this Buddhistic middle path we are to

---

[Contd.]

prahīṇa-mānasya ca nirmadasya
sukhaṁ virāgatvam asakta-buddheḥ . . [S., 18/42]
na jaharṣa na cāpi cānutepe
vicikitsāṁ na yayau na tandri-nidre .
na ca kāma-guṇeṣu saṁrarañje
na vididveṣa paraṁ na cāvamene . . [B., 5/15]
tan niścitaṁ bhī-klama-śug-viyuktaṁ
pareṣv anāyattam ahāryam anyaiḥ .
nityaṁ śivaṁ śānti-sukhaṁ vṛṇīṣva
.... [S., 5/26abc]
lābhā(-')lābha-sukhā(-')sukhādiṣu samaḥ svasthendriyo
niḥspṛhaḥ (nispṛhaḥ — sic) . [S., 18/62a]
[Buddhiḥ — ?] ....
yenāvaptam (a scribal error for "°vāptam") paramam amṛtan
durllabham ṛtaṁ
mano-buddhis tasmiṁnn (sic) aham abhirame
śānti-parame (..)
[Ś., frg. no. (K) 1, obverse side, 1. 2]

1) Śāri(putraḥ) — ...... [anya-?]thātma-grāhe sati (sata — sic) na naiṣṭhikī nirvṛttir (a scribal error for "nirvṛtir" or "nivṛttir") bhavati (,) nairātmya-darśanāc (nairātmyāda° — sic) ca [used here in the sense of "tu"] bhavati (.) ...... (a)smin [(a)smiṁ — sic] vi(naṣṭe mukta iti niścayaḥ kṛtaḥ)

[Ś., folio designated C 4, obverse side, 11. 2, 3 & 5]

[Śāri(putraḥ) — ?] ..... (asmi)n (v)inaṣ(ṭ)e m(ukta) (i)ti niś(c)ayaḥ k(ṛ)taḥ .....

[Ś., reconstructed folio designated K IV, obverse side, 1. 3]

understand the aṣṭāṅga mārga (eightfold process)[1]. The eight aṅgas or aspects of this path are as follows :—

i) samyag-vāk-karman, ii) samyak-kāya-karman, iii) samyag-ājīva, iv) samyag-dṛṣṭi, v) samyag-vitarka, vi) samyak-prayatna vii) samyak-smṛti and viii) samyak-samādhi. These eight aṅgas are classed into three categories[2], viz., i) Śīla or Dhṛti (= śuddha-vāk-karman, śuddha-kāya-karman and śuddhā-"jīva)[3], ii) Prajñā or Mati (= śuddha-dṛṣṭi, śuddha-vitarka and śuddha-prayatna)[4] and iii) Samādhi or Śama (= śuddha-smṛti and śuddha-samādhi)[5]. Thus the Śīla group is the ethical process which is intended for controlling the different karmans. This ethical category appears

---

1) tri-skandham etaṁ pravigāhya mārgaṁ
praspaṣṭam aṣṭāṅgam ahāryam āryam (āryaṁ — sic)
duḥkhasya hetūn prajahāti doṣān
prāpnoti cātyanta-śivaṁ padaṁ tat . . [S., 16/37]
asyābhyupāyo 'dhigamāya mārgaḥ
prajñā-tri-kalpaḥ praśama-dvi-kalpaḥ .
sa bhāvanīyo vidhivad budhena
śīle śucau tri-pramukhe sthitena . . [S., 16/30]

2) abhidhāya ca tri-parivartam
atulam anivartyam uttamaṃ (°maṁ — sic) .
dvādaśa-niyata-vikalpam ṛṣir
vininaya Kauṇḍina-sagotram āditaḥ . . [S., 3/13]

3) vāk-karma samyak sahakāya-karma
yathāvad ājīva-nayaś ca śuddhaḥ .
idaṁ trayaṁ vṛtta-vidhau pravṛttaṁ
śīlāśrayaṁ karma-parigrahāya . . [S., 16/31]

4) satyeṣu duḥkhādiṣu dṛṣṭir āryā
samyag vitarkaś ca parākramaś ca .
idaṁ trayaṁ jñāna-vidhau pravṛttaṁ
prajñāśrayaṁ kleśa-parikṣayāya . . [S., 16/32]

5) nyāyena satyādhigamāya yuktā
samyak smṛtiḥ samyag atho samādhiḥ .
idaṁ dvayaṁ yoga-vidhau pravṛttaṁ
śamāśrayaṁ citta-parigrahāya . . [S., 16/33]

to comprise both Dhṛti and Kīrtti (i. e., preaching, propaganda and altruistic trend of the early Mahā-yāna school of Buddhism), and is also an essential prerequisite of the two other prominent categories[1]. Again, the Prajñā group is the psychological process which is aimed at negating the mental defilements. This psychological category thus consists of Buddhi. Lastly, the Samādhi group is the psychological-cum-metaphysical process which is intended for restraining the mind. This psycho-metaphysical category also comprises Buddhi. In this way emphasis has been laid on the mental culture of a nirvāṇa-aspiring mendicant.

Thus the eightfold path to nirvāṇa is virtually a threefold doctrine which refers to both theory and practice. Strictly speaking, a graduated dhyāna-process is the quintessence of this doctrine. This dhyāna-process consists of nine steps leading ultimately to nirvāṇa or nairātmya. Thus the first dhyāna eliminates the defilements like kāma, dveṣa, etc. relating to the Kāma-dhātu (= Kāma-loka = Kāma-bhūmi), and engages itself with vitarka, vicāra and prīti-sukha born of kāya-gata and citta-gata vivekas. This dhyāna ensures vākya-nirodha, lifts the aspirant from the level of śarīra-bhoga and leads him to Brahma-loka[2].

---

1) niḥśreyasaṁ jñāna-samādhi-gamyaṁ ..... [B., 13/51c]
prāpnuyān manasāvāpyaṁ phalaṁ ..... [B., 12/103cd]
svastha-prasanna-manasaḥ samādhir upapadyate .
samādhi-yukta-cittasya dhyāna-yogaḥ pravarttate ..
[B., 12/105]
dhyāna-pravarttanād dharmāḥ prāpyante yair avāpyate .
durlabhaṁ śāntam ajaraṁ paraṁ tad amṛtaṁ padam ..
[B., 12/106]
dhyāna-viṣayam avagamya paraṁ
bubhuje varānnam amṛtatva-buddhaye .. [S., 3/5cd]

2) atho viviktaṁ kāmebhyo vyāpādādibhya eva ca .
vivekajam avāpnoti pūrva-dhyānaṁ vitarkavat ..
[B., 12/49]
tac ca dhyāna-sukhaṁ prāpya ..... [B., 12/50a]
..... kāma-dveṣavigarhiṇā .

[Contd.]

The second dhyāna rejects vitarka and vicāra, and pertains to prīti-sukha caused by manaḥ-samādhi. This dhyāna lands the monk on Ābhāsvara-deva-loka[1)].

The third dhyāna cancels prīti and indulges in sukha and smṛti. This dhyāna leads to Śubha-kṛtsna-deva-loka[2)].

The fourth dhyāna rejects sukha and duḥkha, saumanasya and daurmanasya, and as such the vyāpāra-rahita (= karma-° = udyama-°

[Contd.]

Brahma-lokam avāpnoti ..... [B., 12/51[bc]]
samavāpta-manaḥ-sthitiś ca sadyo
viṣayecchādibhir ādhibhiś ca muktaḥ .
savitarka-vicāram āpa śāntaṁ
prathamaṁ dhyānam anāsrava-prakāram .. [B., 5/10]
adhigamya tato vivekajaṁ tu
parama-prīti-sukhaṁ manaḥ-samādhim . [B., 5/11[ab]]
kāmair viviktaṁ malinaiś ca dharmair
vitarkavac cāpi vicāravac ca .
vivekajaṁ prīti-sukhopapannaṁ
dhyānaṁ tataḥ sa prathamaṁ prapede .. [S., 17/42]

1) jñātvā vidvān vitarkāṁs tu manaḥ-saṁkṣobha-kārakān .
tad-viyuktam avāpnoti dhyānaṁ prīti-sukhānvitam ..
[B., 12/52]
sthānaṁ bhāsvaram āpnoti deveṣv Ābhāsvareṣu saḥ ..
[B., 12/53[cd]]
athā 'vitarkaṁ kramaśo 'vicāram
ekāgra-bhāvān manasaḥ prasannam (°naṁ — sic) .
samādhijaṁ prīti-sukhaṁ dvitīyaṁ
dhyānaṁ tadā 'dhyātma-śivaṁ sa dadhyau .. [S., 17/47]

2) yas tu prīti-sukhāt tasmād vivecayati mānasam .
tṛtīyaṁ labhate dhyānaṁ sukhaṁ prīti-vivarjitam ..
[B., 12/54]
Śubha-kṛtsnaiḥ sa sāmānyaṁ sukhaṁ prāpnoti daivataiḥ ..
[B., 12/55[cd]]
prīter virāgāt sukham ārya-juṣṭaṁ
kāyena vindann atha saṁprajānan .
upekṣakaḥ sa smṛtimān vyahārṣīd
dhyānaṁ tṛtīyaṁ pratilabhya dhīraḥ .. [S., 17/50]

= ceṣṭā-°) citta (equated with ātman by some) is left with upekṣā-smṛti. This dhyāna ensures śvāsa-nirodha and leads to Bṛhat-phala-deva-loka[1].

These four dhyānas (= samāpattis) pertain to Rūpa-dhātu (= Rūpa-loka = Rūpa-bhūmi) and are called Rūpa-dhyānas (= Rūpālambanaka-dhyānas = Rūpāyatanaka-dhyānas ≐ Sākāra-dhyānas = Samyak-samādhis) inasmuch as their ālambanas (= āyatanas) are śarīra, indriya and viṣaya[2].

After the treatment of the four Rūpa-dhyānas we now come to that of the four Arūpa-dhyānas. The Arūpa-dhyānas (= Arūpālambanaka-dhyānas = Arūpāyatanaka-dhyānas = Nirākāra-dhyānas) are concerned with the ālambanas (= āyatanas) of Arūpa-dhātu (= Arūpa-loka = Arūpa-bhūmi).

Thus the fifth dhyāna (= the first Arūpa-dhyāna) rejects the saṁskṛta rūpa (= śarīra, indriya and viṣaya) and concerns itself with the ananta ākāśa in the saṁskṛta indriyas in the body[3].

---

1) tādṛśaṁ sukham āsādya yo na rajyaty upekṣakaḥ .
caturthaṁ dhyānam āpnoti sukha-duḥkha-vivarjitam . .
[B., 12/56]
tatra kecid vyavasyanti mokṣa ity abhimāninaḥ .
sukha-duḥkha-parityāgād avyāpārāc ca cetasaḥ . .
[B., 12/57]
asya dhyānasya tu phalaṁ samaṁ devair Bṛhat-phalaiḥ .
[B., 12/58[ab]]
atha prahāṇāt sukha-duḥkhayoś ca
mano-vikārasya ca pūrvam eva .
dadhyāv upekṣā-smṛtimad viśuddhaṁ
dhyānaṁ tathā 'duḥkha-sukhaṁ caturtham (°rthaṁ — sic) . .
[S., 17/54]

2) samādher vyutthitas tasmād
dṛṣṭvā doṣāñ (doṣāṁś — sic) charīriṇām .
jñānam ārohati prājñaḥ
śarīra-vinivṛttaye . . [B., 12/59]
kāmebhya iva sa prājño rūpād api virajyate . . [B., 12/60[cd]]

3) śarīre khāni yāny asmiṁs (asmin — sic)
tāny ādau parikalpayan .
ghaneṣv api tato dravyeṣv
ākāśam adhimucyate . . [B., 12/61]

The sixth dhyāna (= the second Arūpa-dhyāna) cancels the indriya-gata ākāśa and engages itself with the ananta vijñāna (= the fifth "skandha" = "mahat" = "buddhi"; also termed "ātman" by some) in the indriya-gata ananta ākāśa[1].

The seventh dhyāna (= the third Arūpa-dhyāna) rejects the ananta vijñāna (= the fifth "skandha" = "mahat" = "buddhi" = "ātman" in some sense) and thereby the entire "vyakta" group of twentythree evolutes [= mahat (= buddhi) + aham + manas (jñāna-karmobhayendriya = indriya-rāja) + five jñānendriyas (cakṣus, karṇa, nāsikā, jihvā and tvac) + five karmendriyas (vāc, pāṇi, pāda, pāyu and upastha) + five tanmātras (or sūkṣma-bhūtas = rūpa, śabda, gandha, rasa and sparśa) + five mahā-bhūtas (or sthūla-bhūtas = tejas, vyoman, kṣiti, ap and marut)][2] of "Avyakta" [in Sattva (= Śuddha cid-aṁśa or Akṣara-Puruṣa + "Avyakta" or Kṣara-Puruṣa)]. This ananta-vijñāna-laya, or rather vyakta-laya, ensures vyāvahārika-sattā-nirodha (= saṁsāra-laya) and lands the yogin on the avidyopāhita (= avyaktācchanna) Sattva or Jīva stage (= saguṇa or sopādhika Īśvara) in which the śuddha cid-aṁśa (= Akṣara-Puruṣa = Kṣetrajña = jña) is encased in the sheath of Avyakta (= Kevalā Prakṛti = Pradhāna = Sattva-rajas-tamo-guṇa-sāmya-daśā = Avidyā = Kṣara-Puruṣa = Kṣetra = ajña). Then through Kṣara-Puruṣa-laya (= Kṣetra-laya) Akṣara-Puruṣa (= Kṣetrajña = Jīvātman) alone (= Kṣara-rahita = Kṣara-śūnya = śūnya) exists as the saṁjñin (= Kṣara-śūnyatva-saṁjñāvat = anantā-"kiñcanya-saṁjñā-yukta) and is identified ultimately through sva-rūpa-jñāna with Puruṣottama

---

1) ākāśa-gatam ātmānaṁ
saṁkṣipya tv aparo budhaḥ .
tam (tad — sic) evānantataḥ paśyan
viśeṣam adhigacchati .. [B., 12/62]

2) The total number of the vyaktas may also be counted in a different way as follows :—

seven prakṛti-vikṛtis (= mahat + aham + five mahā-bhūtas; in other words, eight bhūta-prakṛtis - Avyakta or Kevalā Prakṛti) + sixteen kevala-vikṛtis (= manas + five jñānendriyas + five karmendriyas + five tanmātras),

(= Para-Brahman = nirguṇa or nirupādhika Paramātman)[1]. The term "Pratibuddha" is used to include both Akṣara-Puruṣa (= Kṣetrajña = jña) and Puruṣottama (= prājña = Kapila)[2]. This dhyāna is thus known as saṁjñā-saṁjñi-yukta anantā-"kiñcanyā-"yatana[3].

The eighth dhyāna (= the fourth Arūpa-dhyāna) rejects the two correlatives, viz., saṁjñā (= asaṁjñin = Kṣara-Puruṣa-laya-saṁjñā = Kṣetra-laya-saṁjñā = Avyakta-pratiyogikā-'bhāva-saṁjñā) and saṁjñin (= asaṁjñā = Kṣara-Puruṣa-laya-saṁjñāvat = Kṣetra-laya-saṁjñāvat = Akṣara-Puruṣa = Kṣetrajña = Avyakta-pratiyogikā-'bhāva-saṁjñāvat), and thus reaches the jñāna which transcends both saṁjñā (jñeya) and saṁjñin (jña). Thus this dhyāna-stage is saṁjñā-saṁjñi-rahita (= saṁjñā-'saṁjñā-rahita) or vijñānā-'vijñāna-rahita (= jñā-'jña-rahita)[4].

---

1) adhyātma-kuśalas tv anyo nivartyātmānam ātmanā .
kiṁcin nāstīti saṁpaśyann ākiṁcanya iti smṛtaḥ . .
tato muñjād iṣīkeva śakuniḥ pañjarād iva .
Kṣetrajño niḥsṛto dehān mukta ity abhidhīyate . .
etat tat paramaṁ Brahma nirliṅgaṁ dhruvam akṣaram .
yan mokṣa iti tattvajñāḥ kathayanti manīṣiṇaḥ . .
[B., 12/63-65]

2) saśiṣyaḥ Kapilaś ceha Pratibuddha iti smṛtaḥ .
[B., 12/21[cd]]

3) saṁjñā-saṁjñitvayor doṣaṁ jñātvā hi munir Udrakaḥ .
ākiṁcanyāt paraṁ ..... [B., 12/85[abc]]
It is up to this dhyāna-stage that Arāḍa Kālāma explained to Sarvārthasiddha.

4) saṁjñā-saṁjñitvayor doṣaṁ jñātvā hi munir Udrakaḥ .
Ākiṁcanyāt paraṁ lebhe 'saṁjñā-'saṁjñātmikāṁ matim . .
yasmāc cālambane sūkṣme saṁjñā-'saṁjñe tataḥ param .
nā 'saṁjñī naiva saṁjñīti tasmāt tatra gata-spṛhaḥ . .
yataś ca buddhis tatraiva sthitā 'nyatrā 'pracāriṇī .
sūkṣmā 'paṭvī tatas tatra nā 'saṁjñitvaṁ na saṁjñitā . .
[B., 12/85-87]
It is up to this dhyāna-stage that Rāmaputra Udraka explained to Sarvārthasiddha.

After the four Arūpa-dhyānas we now come to the ninth and the last dhyāna. This highest dhyāna eliminates even the jñāna that there is neither saṁjñā (= Avyakta-pratiyogikā-'bhāva-saṁjñā) nor saṁjñin (= Avyakta-pratiyogikā-'bhāva-saṁjñāvat), and thus aims at the indescribable absolute stage. In other words, the highest absolute (nirvāṇa = nairātmya) is the total extinction (ātyantikī nivṛtti = naiṣṭhikī nivṛtti) of the ajña jñeya (= avijñāna = Kṣetra = Kṣara-Puruṣa), jña (= vijñāna = Kṣetrajña = Akṣara-Puruṣa) and jñāna (= prājña Puruṣottama = Paramātman)[1]. This dhyāna-stage is known as Saṁjñā-vedanā-nirodha (= Saṁjñā-'saṁjñā-'bhāva-jñāna-hāna). The Buddha is said to have reached this dhyāna-level[2]. Under his guidance Nanda also attained the nirvāṇa (= nairātmya) plane in

---

1) yasmāc ca tad api prāpya punar āvarttate jagat .
Bodhi-sattvaḥ paraṁ prepsus tasmād Udrakam atyajat . .
[B., 12/88]

[Buddhaḥ — ?] ..... (idan) tu yat(n)ena jñā(yatāṁ) ..... (śa)rī(ra-)nirmuktam ā(tma-)sa(ṁ)jñakam buddhi-s(au)kṣmyaṁ tat— sūkṣmatvāc caiva doṣāṇām avyāpārāc ca cetasaḥ (.) (dīrghatvād ā)yuṣaś caiva mokṣa(s tu) (pa)rikalpyate (..) [= B., 12/75] — Śāri(putraḥ) — (Bhaga)van ..... [anya-?]thātma-grāhe sati (sata — sic) na naiṣṭhikī nirvṛttir (a scribal error for "nivṛttir" or "nirvṛtir") bhavati (,) nairātmya-darśanāc (°tmyādarśa° — sic) ca bhavati ..... (a)smin [(a)smiṁ — sic] vi(naṣṭe mukta iti niścayaḥ kṛtaḥ)
[Ś., folio designated C 4, obverse side, 11. 1-5]

..... (asmi)n (v)inaṣ(ṭ)e m(ukta) (i)ti niś(c)ayaḥ k(ṛ)taḥ ..... [Ś., reconstructed folio designated K IV, obverse side, 1. 3]

2) "Thereon having passed through all the trances, the group of nine attainments (samāpatti), in the upward order, the Great Seer following the reverse order returned to the first trance again."
[B., 26/90 (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations)]

meditation and became an Arhat (= jīvan-mukta) before being a preacher of the nirvāṇa norm to the common populace[1].

From the foregoing discussion it is thus clear that this dhyāna-process is the essence of the Buddha's teachings as interpreted by Aśvaghoṣa because this psychological process of bodhi-citta-samutthāna aims at eliminating in the pratiloma-krama[2] all the non-ātman ālambanas (= āyatanas) and finally the Paramātman (= Puruṣottama) and even the jñāna pertaining thereto.

Therefore, nairātmya or nirvāṇa is the ultimate goal and the ātma-grāha-nirāsa is directed against the pro-Vedānta Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-vāda. In other words, this Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-grāha forms a formidable pūrva-pakṣa encountered by the nairātmya theory of Sarvārthasiddha. Nevertheless the nairātmya-vāda presupposes the pro-Paramātman dhyāna-stages which thus constitute the basis of Buddhism as explained by Aśvaghoṣa[3]. In brief, the Buddha accepted the first eight dhyānas of his two main adversaries, viz., Arāḍa Kālāma and Rāmaputra Udraka, and improved upon these common dhyāna-levels by adding the ninth nairātmya-dhyāna.

---

1) Arhattvam āsādya sa sat-kriyārho
nirutsuko niṣpraṇayo nirāśaḥ .
vibhīr viśug vīta-mado virāgaḥ
sa eva dhṛtyānya ivā "babhāse . . [S., 17/61]
bhrātuś ca śāstuś ca tayānuśiṣṭyā
Nandas tataḥ svena ca vikrameṇa .
praśānta-cetāḥ paripūrṇa-kāryo ..... [S., 17/62[abc]]
nirmokṣāya cakāra tatra ca kathāṁ kāle janāyārthine
[S., 18/62[e]]

2) śrutaṁ jñānam idaṁ sūkṣmaṁ parataḥ parataḥ śivam .
Kṣetrajñasyā 'parityāgād avaimy etad anaiṣṭhikam . .
[B., 12/69]
parataḥ paratas tyāgo yasmāt tu guṇavān smṛtaḥ .
tasmāt sarva-parityāgān manye kṛtsnāṁ kṛtārthatām . .
[B., 12/82]

3) Should we suppose that Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Aśvaghoṣa himself had Sāṁkhya-Yoga leanings prior to their conversion to Buddhism ?

Now, the account of the Sāṁkhya-Yoga ātma-grāha in Aśvaghoṣa's authentic kāvyas bears a close resemblance to that in the Mahā-Bhārata, and it is most likely that Aśvaghoṣa is indebted to this Great National Epic for his treatment of the topic in question. Further, Aśvaghoṣa mentions the names of Jaigīṣavya, Janaka and Vṛddha Parāśara as some celebrated jīvan-mukta teachers of the pro-Vedānta Sāṁkhya-Yoga metaphysics[1], and these names are also mentioned as such in the Mahā-Bhārata[2].

However, the pro-nairātmya dhyāna-process is the cream of the Buddha's aṣṭāṅga upāya (= the fourth ārya-satya) which culminates ultimately in the nairātmya (= nirvāṇa) upeya (= the third ārya-satya). So the Buddha's sad-dharma as represented in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is virtually the nirvāṇa-dharma or nairātmya-dharma which is attainable through the Buddhistic san-mārga (aṣṭāṅga-mārga).

Thus the doctrinal standpoint of Aśvaghoṣa is hinged on the Buddha's four ārya-satyas[3]. But this would sound as a Buddhistic propaganda on the part of Aśvaghoṣa that any other philosophy, like the anādi avidyā itself, would drag one to the saṁsāra-cakra and would not allow ātyantikī duḥkha-nivṛtti[4]. As we discussed earlier,

---

1) Jaigīṣavyo 'tha Janako Vṛddhaś caiva Parāśaraḥ .
imaṁ panthānam āsādya muktā hy anye ca mokṣiṇaḥ ..
[B., 12/67]

2) But the names of Arāḍa Kālāma and Rāmaputra Udraka are not mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata.

3) yāthātmyato vindati yo hi duḥkhaṁ
tasyodbhavaṁ tasya ca yo nirodham (°dhaṁ — sic) .
āryeṇa mārgeṇa sa śāntim eti
kalyāṇa-mitraiḥ saha vartamānaḥ .. [S., 16/39]
tasmāt pravṛttiṁ parigaccha duḥkhaṁ
pravartakān apy avagaccha doṣān .
nivṛttim āgaccha ca tan-nirodhaṁ
nivartakaṁ cāpy avagaccha mārgam (mārgaṁ — sic) ..
[S., 16/42]

4) abodhato hy aprativedhataś ca
tattvātmakasyāsya catuṣṭayasya .
bhavād bhavaṁ yāti na śāntim eti .
saṁsāra-dolām adhiruhya lokaḥ .. [S., 16/6]

Aśvaghoṣa was a missionary kavi and his favourite kāvya-theme was the preaching of the Buddhistic nairātmya theory for the conversion of the heretics into Buddhism[1].

However, Aśvaghoṣa lays strong emphasis on the firm faith in the Buddha's sad-dharma as an essential condition for the final liberation from the sāṁsārika bondage[2]. Aśvaghoṣa even goes to the extent that this fervent faith in the Buddha's doctrine (sad-dharma-bhakti) is more important than the salutation to the Buddha himself (Buddha-bhakti)[3].

This glowing devotion to both the Buddha and his doctrine[4] is seasoned with reason. Thus, both bhakti and jñāna are displayed in the neat arrangements of the narratives and the logical discussions in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas[5].

Besides the said bhakti there are also other accessories to the four ārya-satyas like dhṛti, kṣamā, ārjava, tuṣṭi, praviviktatā, asaṁgatā, etc.[6]

1) We saw beforehand that the ideas of preaching and propaganda for conversion were suggested by Kīrtti, one of the three essential virtues of the Buddha.

2) yasmād dharmasya cotpattau
śraddhā kāraṇaṁ uttamam (°maṁ — sic) . [S., 12/40[ab]]

3) uttiṣṭha dharme sthita śiṣya-juṣṭe
kiṁ pādayor me patito 'si mūrdhnā .
abhyarcanaṁ me na tathā praṇāmo
dharme yathaiṣā pratipattir eva . . [S., 18/22]

4) ity Arhataḥ parama-kāruṇikasya śāstur
mūrdhnā vacaś ca caraṇau ca samaṁ gṛhītvā . [S., 18/61[ab]]

5) The logical discussions of Aśvaghoṣa justify properly his appellation "mahā-vādin" as found in the colophon to the S. The same appellation also appears to have been implied by the word "eloquent" in the colophon to the B. (in Johnston's English retranslation from the Tibetan and Chinese translations). The relevant passages have been cited in Chapter II above.

6) asyopacāre dhṛtir ārjavaṁ ca
hrīr apramādaḥ praviviktatā ca .
alpecchatā tuṣṭir asaṁgatā ca
loka-pravṛttāv aratiḥ kṣamā ca . . [S., 16/38]

Therefore, we come to the conclusion that the doctrinal standpoint of Aśvaghoṣa is best represented in a suggestive way in his following single verse :—

atha dharma-cakram ṛta-nābhi
dhṛti-mati-samādhi-nemimat .
tatra vinaya-niyamāram ṛṣir
jagato hitāya pariṣady avartayat .. [S., 3/11]

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters a modest attempt has been made to launch a mainly two-pronged approach to the four authentic kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa for a comparative and historical evaluation of the literary and doctrinal aspects. In other words, our aim has been to record the diverse results of the critical investigations into the niceties of the ornate technique and the Buddha's basic teachings.

Thus we started our account with the Epic legacy in the ornate Sanskrit literature and Aśvaghoṣa's milieu. Then we proceeded to lay down the findings of a critical examination of the amount of the historicity which could be traced in the legendary biographies of Aśvaghoṣa. Thereafter we arrived at his tentative date of flourishing from the varied dependable data supplied mainly by his four genuine kāvyas. After this workable hypothesis we entered into the various details of the externalia of these kāvyas and examined individually the numerous apocryphal works of later date which were ascribed inaptly to him. Thereupon we dealt exclusively with the afore-said four kāvyas and delved deep into the linguistic peculiarities, stylistic particulars and religio-philosophical materials offered by these works.

After this schematic summary of the materials marshalled and elaborated in the previous four chapters we are now left to make a critical assessment of the contributions of Aśvaghoṣa both as an ornate kavi and as a Buddhist missionary. His contributions to the growth of the ornate Sanskrit literature and its technique, and to the history of Buddhism are noted in the following :—

1) Firstly, the "K" manuscript of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. is the hitherto known earliest palm-leaf manuscript of India. The palaeographic peculiarities would show unmistakably that this manuscript might have been written in the early Kuṣāṇa era — most probably during the reign of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. It is therefore important as a record not far removed from the date of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaniṣka, and is likely to be a close transcript of the codex.

2) Secondly, Sanskrit is accepted by Aśvaghoṣa — obviously with the approval of some Mahā-sāṅghika sect of the

transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna which he belonged to — as a medium of preaching the Buddha's basic teachings in the B. and the S. What strikes us most is the fact that even in the realistic Ś. Sanskrit only — and not any of its dialects — has been allotted to the Buddha, his three essential virtues, viz., Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrtti (all personified into allegorical roles), and his disciples.

3) Thirdly, in the MSS. remains of Aśvaghoṣa's Ś. we meet with the earliest known specimens of three dramatic Prākṛtas in a fluid state, viz., i) "Old Māgadhī", ii) "Old Ardha-Māgadhī" and iii) "Old Śaurasenī". These available samples of three archaic Prākṛta-types are not rigidly regular as their prototypes in the later classical dramas. Further, there is no clear trace of Māhārāṣṭrī in the printed fragments. However, the three old Prākṛtas are of the same phonetic standard as Pāli.

4) Fourthly, Aśvaghoṣa's four nirvāṇa-kāvyas (= two śravya-kāvyas, viz., the B. and the S., and two dṛśya-kāvyas, viz., the Ś. and the R.) have nirvāṇa for their aim and as such they depict śānta-rasa synthesis under the influence of the Mahā-Bhārata. These works set at naught at once all controversies regarding the possibility of śānta as an aṅgibhūta rasa and its use in the kāvyas, and thereby confirm indirectly the śānta section in Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra.

5) Fifthly, Aśvaghoṣa's nirvāṇa-kāvyas are important to the history of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra inasmuch as the stylistic particulars of these kāvyas supply ample materials for forming some text-confirmed ideas of the pre-Bharata stage of Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy of the first century A. D. This stage of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra is rather amorphous in character. Thus, some conventional features are already in use. But there is still an aroma of archaic simplicity in them. Again, there are some early experiments in stylistic twists which are not yet laboured and stereotyped. Besides these there are some other stylistic aspects which correspond to the theories of the later texts on the Alaṅkāra-śāstra. Anyway, Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas are on the whole not much removed in technique from the later texts on Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy — even though we are not in a position to say which pre-Aśvaghoṣa — and obviously pre-Bharata — premature text or texts on the Alaṅkāra-śāstra served as the model or models for Aśvaghoṣa.

6) Sixthly, Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas are of sociological importance

in the sense that his vivid depiction of the society about the Buddha with the roles like the harlots, hangers-on, villains and hermits of different orders is influenced obviously by the realistic background of Aśvaghoṣa's own time. The Indian society of the first century A. D. is also reflected in Vātsyāyana's Kāma-sūtra.

7) Seventhly, Aśvaghoṣa's ornate nirvāṇa-kāvyas are important to the history of Buddhism in so far as they embody the Buddha's basic teachings as explained by some Mahā-sāṅghika sect of the transitional period between the late Hīna-yāna and the early Mahā-yāna which Aśvaghoṣa belonged to. His doctrinal standpoint is not pure Hīna-yāna because he refutes the mere arhattva or pratyeka-buddhatva (= personal salvation) and aims at jagad-dhita (= universal salvation). But beyond this altruistic spirit, the veritable bīja of the rising Mahā-yāna, there is no distinguishing philosophy peculiar to the full-fledged Mahā-yāna of the later epochs. So the cream of the nirvāṇa-mārga as preached by Aśvaghoṣa appears to be an improvement upon the pro-Vedānta Sāṁkhya-Yoga dhyāna-process which we find recorded in the Mahā-Bhārata. However, it must be admitted on all hands that the kavi in Aśvaghoṣa far outshines the philosopher in him. In other words, his inborn kavi-pratibhā is proportionately more prominent than his vyutpatti or scholarly attainments.

8) Lastly, the Buddha as portrayed in Aśvaghoṣa's kāvyas is after all a human being — and not any Buddha-idea. This Buddha is thus a historical personage of highly sensitive mind (sukumāra-citta) who renounced the family life in search of some absolute truth and finally turned out to be the prophet of sad-dharma. The death of this human Buddha and the distribution of his relics (dhātu-vibhājana) are also described by Aśvaghoṣa.

Besides the historical Buddha, King Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty is also mentioned by Aśvaghoṣa as a great champion of Buddhism.

In the present context we might mention en passant that the theoretical repudiation of the harmonious tri-varga-sevā ideal already in vogue in the social life regulated by the earlier Varṇāśrama-dharma challenged the very existence of the Indian society and proved utterly impracticable. Further, the preaching of renunciation and nirvāṇa norm only to the ordinary tri-varga-loving commonalty was rather discouraging. Moreover, the idea of forcible conversion spelt disaster. So the antisocial character of the Buddha's nirvāṇa-dharma contained the seed of the decline of Buddhism on the Indian soil.

However, Aśvaghoṣa's genius as a scholarly kavi is applauded highly by the Buddhists, both Hīna-yānic and Mahā-yānic, of India and Greater India. The warm encomia by Hsüan-Tsang, Hwui-Li and I-tsing attest to the wide popularity of Aśvaghoṣa. The B. is said to have been widely read in the Malay Archipelago (= Sumatra, Java and the neighbouring islands). Nearly the first half of this mahā-kāvya has been discovered in Nepal. Two fragments of a MS. of this work have been unearthed in Central Asia. The B. has also won access to China and Tibet through the Chinese and Tibetan renderings respectively. Again, the text of the S. has been found in Nepal. Only one fragment of a MS. of this mahā-kāvya has also been unearthed in Central Asia. Similarly the fragments of two MSS. of the Ś. have been discovered in Central Asia. Lastly, the gist of the R. has been translated into Chinese and a single passage of this drama has been cited in two Sanskrit works on Indian logic — one of which has been found in India and the other in Tibet. Further, some works of art betray the influence of the B. and the S. Moreover, the concise treatment of the Buddha's basic doctrines in the B. has been eulogized by I-tsing. Aśvaghoṣa is also hailed as an illustrious person like Kumāralāta and Ārya-Śūra. Aśvaghoṣa is also referred to as a bodhi-sattva in the Abhidharma-dīpa-vṛtti (probably by Vimalamitra). Nevertheless it is rather striking that the S., Ś. and R. have not been graced with any translation into Chinese or Tibetan. Are we to suppose that the abundance of the uninviting secular features of these three ornate kāvyas failed to win over the puritanic translators? Anyway, it is a pity that excepting several minor citations and adaptations of grammatical, lexicographical and general interests from Aśvaghoṣa in various later works not a single quotation of strictly doctrinal nature from any of Aśvaghoṣa's four nirvāṇa-kāvyas with or without the mention of his name has been traced as yet in any later work on Buddhistic philosophy. This fact is significant enough to prove that his doctrinal interpretation lacks the lustre of originality. In other words, the philosopher in Aśvaghoṣa appears to have been subdued by the ornate kavi in him.

However, the missionary kāvyas of Aśvaghoṣa must be judged by their own worth and their success determined primarily in comparison with the other nirvāṇa-kāvyas of the similar missionary kavis like Mātṛceṭa, Kumāralāta and Ārya-Śūra. Judged by this standard Aśvaghoṣa appears to be the best among his brethren.

But Aśvaghoṣa cannot be said to represent the perfect standard of the ornate technique in the classical Sanskrit literature. He only belongs to an early and premature stage of this literature while Kālidāsa claims the highest and mature stage. Thus the first place in the hierarchy of the classical Sanskrit kavis must be assigned to Kālidāsa, the national kavi of India, while the second place must be apportioned to Aśvaghoṣa.

Lastly, it is pertinent to note here that the results of the researches in Aśvaghoṣa as recorded in the present humble treatise are deduced directly from our up-to-date collection of the dependable data supplied mainly by his four authentic kāvyas. Again, the citations are as far as practicable from his kāvya-texts. Thus, the principle followed throughout this work is — "nā 'mūlaṁ likhyate kiñcin nā 'napekṣitam ucyate".

The results thus obtained are now placed modestly before the best experts for a better appraisal of Aśvaghoṣa. Here we might be permitted to close this last chapter of the present work with the hope that our labour on Aśvaghoṣa would evoke newer avenues of thought in the posterity.

Śrī-Guru-caraṇa-samarpaṇam astu ..